

M I S C E L L A N E O U S
T R A C T S,

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM BOWYER, PRINTER, F. S. A.

AND SEVERAL OF

HIS LEARNED FRIENDS;

INCLUDING

LETTERS, ON LITERARY SUBJECTS,

By MR. MARKLAND, MR. CLARKE, &c. &c.

COLLECTED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES,

By JOHN NICHOLS, PRINTER, F. S. A. EDINB.

"It is my pride, my joy, my only plan,
"To lose no drop of this immortal Man."

GARRICK.



L O N D O N,
PRINTED BY AND FOR THE EDITOR.
MDCCLXXXV.

MISCELLANEOUS
MISCELLANEOUS
T. R. A. C. S.

WILLIAM BOWYER, F.S.A.
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HIS LEARNED FRIENDS
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LETTERS ON LITERATURE
BY MR. MARK AND MR. CLARK, &c.
COLLECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH COPIES OF
B. JOHN NICHOLS, F.S.A. EDINB.
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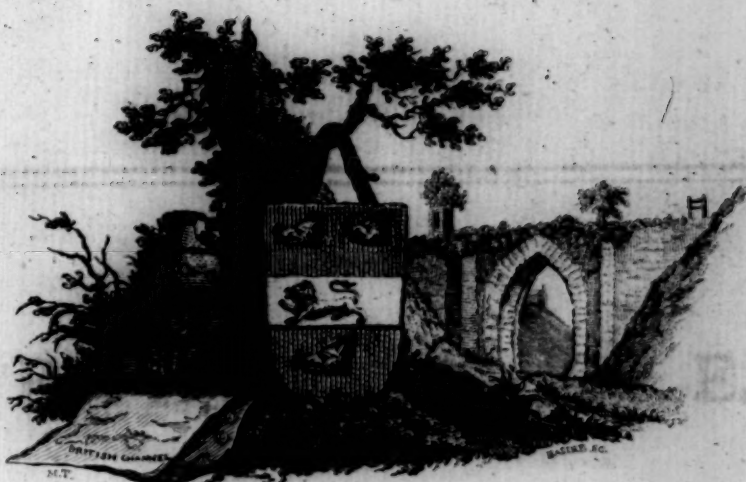
L O N D O N
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TO PERPETUATE,
AS FAR AS THESE PAGES MAY EXTEND,
THE WELL-EARNED FAME OF
THE MOST LEARNED PRINTER OF HIS AGE,
THESE REMAINING TESTIMONIES
OF MR. BOWYER'S INDUSTRY AND ABILITIES
ARE SELECTED BY J. NICHOLS,
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF
AN EARLY FRIEND AND GENEROUS BENEFACTOR.
HIC CESTUS ARTEMQUE REPONIT.



THESE REMAINS OF THE
ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF
THE MOUND BUILDERS
WAS DISCOVERED BY
JAMES W. WELLS
IN THE YEAR 1839
AT THE MOUND OF
CANNON, IN THE
STATE OF OHIO
AND ARE NOW
DEPOSITED IN THE
MUSEUM OF THE
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND ETHNOLOGICAL
SOCIETY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO



TO

RICHARD GOUGH, ESQ.

THESE REMAINS OF MR. BOWYER,

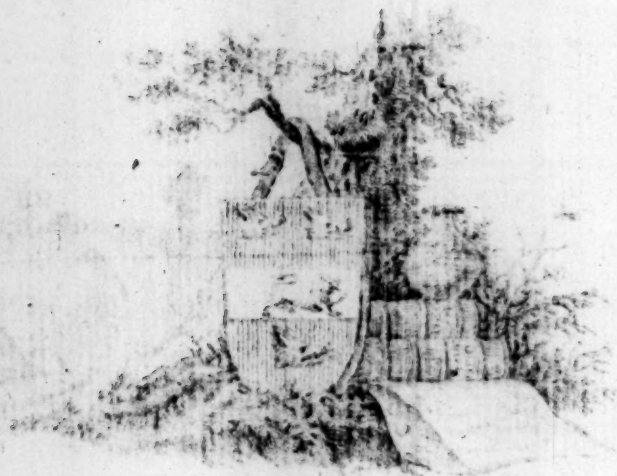
WHOM HE VALUED AS A FRIEND,

AND RESPECTED AS A SCHOLAR,

ARE INSCRIBED BY THE EDITOR,

IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MANY LITERARY FAVOURS

CONFERRED ON HIS PREDECESSOR AND HIMSELF.



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P R E F A C E.

LITTLE is necessary to be said to introduce a Collection of Miscellanies which claim for their author the last of learned Printers.

The public have been sufficiently apprized of Mr. BOWYER's early attention to every department of literature, and to every book which came under his father's or his own press, while finishing a learned education at the university, and while applying the store of knowledge there treasured up, to improve the classic authors which he printed, or to criticize those published by his friends.

Mr. Bowyer's Life is the best illustration of his Miscellanies; and the Editor of them thinks he could not do him greater credit than in leaving him to speak for himself in the various forms of Author, Commentator, Critic, and Correspondent, on and with some of the first Literati of his age.

His Commentary on the New Testament is a copious memorial of his critical talents; and, though it needs not to be set off by any lesser work, we trust the loose notes, from the margins of his interleaved classics, will not be deemed unworthy to follow it.

The Epitome of Selden's book "De Synedriis veterum Hebræorum," and the other memoranda from that learned writer, were

the result of his superintendence of the complete edition of Selden's works in his press, 1722—1726¹.

His admirable Sketch of Mr. Baxter's Glossary of Roman Antiquities had the same origin².

His seasonable correction of the Vicar of Dewsbury, may be seen in his "Remarks on Mr. Bowman's singular Sermon on the "Traditions of the Clergy".

Though he bore no part in the brilliancy of the public act at Oxford in 1733, he attended it as a spectator; and, while he was printing some of the productions which it occasioned, wrote an imitation of one of the sprightliest of them.

The strictures which he threw out anonymously in the newspapers on the republication of "Stephens's Thesaurus" were principally occasioned by his friendship for Dr. Taylor, who of course supported him in the controversy³.

A Roman inscription found at Bath, and illustrated by Mr. Roger Gale⁴, gave rise to much learned discussion between him and his friends. How much he shone in such a walk may appear from his marginal notes on Mr. Chishull's Antiquitates Asiaticæ⁵; as his Comment on the Saxon Feast of Yule⁶ was a proper return for the honour conferred on him by the Society of Antiquaries⁷ in appointing him their printer, who was before a member of their body.

His intimate acquaintance with the history and antiquities of Greece and Rome, as well as with their respective languages, will appear from his observations, though little more than marginal, on Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero⁸; on Kennet's Roman Antiquities⁹; on Colonel Bladen's Translation of Cæsar's Commentaries¹⁰, the latter making part of the edition of that translation printed at his press¹¹; and on the Life of Julian¹²; and from his Miscellaneous Remarks on Roman History¹³.

¹ Life, p. 49.

⁴ P. 86—128.

⁷ P. 161—188.

¹⁰ P. 281—363.

¹³ Life, p. 217.

² Ibid.

⁵ Life, p. 63.

⁸ P. 754.

¹¹ P. 377—420.

¹⁴ P. 493—496.

³ Life, p. 69.

⁶ P. 133.

⁹ Life, p. 75.

¹² P. 189—231.

¹⁵ P. 364—376.

Nor had he bestowed less attention on the controversy concerning Grecian and Roman money, from his thoughts on which his friend Mr. Clarke's learned "Connexion" derived so much assistance¹. Mr. Bowyer's strictures received from the gentleman on whose opinion they were made that candid acknowledgement which is inseparable from true politeness.

If the publication of marginal notes on books stand in need of any apology, the Editor cannot make a better than by referring to those multifarious and learned notes which compose the two volumes of "Miscellaneous Observations," by Dr. Jortin and his friends. Let it not be supposed, however, though this volume is professedly a collection of fragments, that it contains the gleanings of Mr. Bowyer's library. An ample harvest yet remains on the margins of many of his books, which, though they may be too minute perhaps for extraction in the present mode, would be of no small utility to future editors; and they shall be communicated to any gentleman who may in future be engaged in the task of publication.

Were even the several indexes which Mr. Bowyer drew up to various books for his own use proper subjects for detached or collective publication, the Editor is persuaded he should obtain the thanks of the most superficial, as well as of the most attentive, reader. How many books would be benefited by an index made out by such an hand, which would at once be a glossary, a syllabus, and a table of corrections!

Nor was our learned Printer so devoted to the ancient classics as not to pay a proper regard to those of his own country².

But, after all, should the tribute of private gratitude be deemed uninteresting to the literary public, the Editor, while he indulges his own feelings, will not regret that he has introduced to the world the correspondence with Mr. Bowyer's friends, and such illustrious names in the republic of letters as close this volume, and form at least a third part of it.

¹ P. 259—280.

² P. 433—449, 496—498, 504—509.

* * Mr. Bowyer's own publications, which appeared during his life, besides those which are included in the present volume, are,

The Beau and Academick, 1733	See his Life, p. 83
Translation of Trapp's Lectures on Poetry, 1742	161
Seventh Volume of Swift's Miscellanies, 8vo, 1742	168
A Pamphlet on the present State of Europe, 1744	176
Kuster, de vero Ufu Verborum Mediorum, 1752	211
New edition of Pindar, 12mo, 1755	259
Verfes on the Coronation of King George II. 8vo, 1761	321
Thirteenth and Fourteenth Volumes of Swift's Works, 8vo, 1762	338
New Testament, 2 vols. 12mo, 1763	344
Notes and Index to Mr. Clarke's Connexion of Coins, 1767	383
Conjectures on the New Testament, 8vo, 1772	430
Select Discourses concerning the Hebrew Months, &c. 8vo, 1773	446
New edition of Schrevélius' Lexicon, 8vo, 1774	449
Origin of Printing, 8vo, 1774, and again in 1776	450
New edition of Bentley against Boyle, 8vo, 1777	477
Apology for Mr. Hooke on the Roman Senate [posthumous, 1782.]	

CONTENTS.

E PI TOM E of Part of Selden, "De Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum," taken by Mr. Bowyer <i>in haste as he read the Proofs</i> , 1726	P. 1—38
Operum Seldenianorum Ordo Chronologicus	39, 40
A View of a Book, intituled, "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," in a Letter to a Friend, 1726	41—54
Additional Remarks, from Mr. Bowyer's Mss.	55, 56
Notæ breves, per Gul. Stukeley, F.R.S.	57
The Traditions of the Clergy not destructive of Religion; being Remarks on Mr. Bowman's Visitation Sermon; exposing that Gentleman's Deficiency in Latin and Greek, in Ecclesiastical Learning, and true Reasoning	59—75
Verſes occaſioned by Mr. Bowman's Sermon, 1731	76—79
Bellus Homo et Academicus, 1733	80—85
Papers occaſioned by the Re-publication of Robert Stephens's "Theſaurus," 1732	86—128
Propoſals for printing Dr. Johnson's Collections relating to the Antiquities of Yorkſhire	129—132
Letter from Mr. Bowyer to Mr. R. Gale, on the Bath Inſcription, 1736	133
Letters on the ſame Subject from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Bowyer	144—149
Letter from Mr. Markland to Mr. Bowyer	150, 151
Marmora quædam penes illuſtriſſimum Comitem Exoniensem in ædibus	

ædibus Burleianis; communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Bowyer	152, 153
Dissertation on the Gule or Yule of the Saxons, in a Letter from Mr. Bowyer to Bishop Lyttelton	154—160
Additions and Corrections in Chishull's "Antiquitates Asiaticæ," transcribed from the margin of Mr. Bowyer's Copy, now in the possession of Edwin Lord Sandys	161—188
Mr. Bowyer's Notes on Cæsar's Commentaries, with References to the Translations of Bladen and Duncan	189—222
Chronological Anecdotes of Cæsar's Life	223—226
Letters to and from Mr. Bowyer, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Clarke, on the subject of Atticus's Expences	227—230
Mr. Bowyer's Preface to Montesquieu's Reflections on the Causes of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1759; with his final Corrections	231—249
Notes on Montesquieu	250, 251
Dialogue between Sylla and Eucrates, translated by Mr. Bowyer	252—257
Observations on the Use of the Word NUMMUS in Plautus, by Mr. Clarke and Mr. Bowyer	258—261
Dissertation on the Roman Sesterce, by Mr. Clarke and Mr. Bowyer	262—265
Remarks occasioned by a Dissertation on the Greek and Roman Money, originally printed by Mr. Bowyer as a Supplement to Mr. Clarke's Book on Coins	265—274
Discourse on the Commerce of the Romans	275—280
Notes on Middleton's Life of Cicero	281—358
Epitome of Cicero's Life	359—363
Miscellaneous Remarks on Roman History	364—376
Detached Notes on Kennet's Antiquities of Rome	377—420
Preface to "Kuster De vero Ufu Verborum Mediorum," &c. 1773	421—425
Index Verborum Homericorum, in quibus Clarkius primigeniam Vocis Mediæ significationem indicavit	426, 427
Correction of a Passage in Pope's Homer	427
Preface to Leedes "De ancipitum Græcarum Vocalium in prioribus Syllabis Mensura," &c. 1773	428—431

Two Letters from Dr. Bentley in the Shades below to Lord Orrery in a Land of thick Darkness; written and printed by Mr. Bowyer, but never published	432—449
Mr. Bowyer's Preface to a Translation of Rousseau's Discourse which obtained the Prize at the Academy of Dijon in 1750	450—452
Remarks on a Speech made in Common Council, on the Bill for permitting persons professing the Jewish Religion to be naturalized, so far as Property is supposed to be affected by it, 1753	450—452
Preface to "Selectæ e Veteri Testamento Historiæ"	453—458
Preface to "Selectæ e Profanis Scriptoribus Historiæ"	462—469
Preface to Wallis's "Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae," 1765	470
An English Preface designed for Wallis's Grammar	471—477
Preface to Hardouin's "Prolegomena ad Censuram Scriptorum veterum," 1771	478—482
Cursory Remarks on Dr. Wotton's Edition of the Laws of Howel Dhâ	483—487
Letters occasioned by the Publications of Two learned Divines	488—492
Notes on the Life of Julian	493
Notes on Bishop Warburton's Julian	494—496
Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Criticism on Pope's Epitaphs	496, 497
Letter on the Arrangement of Types in the Cases used by Printers	498
Observations on the Sixth Chapter of Daniel	449
Account of the Chronicon of Dexter	502, 503
Specimen of Pope's Essay on Man, attempted in Prose by Mr. Bowyer	504—509
Pope's Verses on his Grotto, imitated by Mr. Bowyer	510
Extracts from Mr. Markland's Letters to Mr. Bowyer	511—543
Extracts from Mr. Clarke's Letters to Mr. Bowyer	544—596
Extracts from Mr. Penoyre's Letters to Mr. Bowyer	596
Letters from Mr. Ambrose Bonwicke to his Father, transcribed by his grateful Scholar W. Bowyer	597—602
Poems by Mr. Bonwicke	603—619
Letters between Mr. Bonwicke and Mr. Blechingden concerning the Oaths	620—654
Abridgement, by Mr. Bowyer, of Phil. Rohr's <i>Pictor Errans</i>	655—660
Original Letter from Professor Ockley to Dr. Wotton, on the Confusion of Tongues	661—677

Dissertation, by Dr. Owen, on 1 Kings, x. 22, and 2 Chronicles, ix. 21	678—680
Disquisitions on the Land of Goshen, by Mr. Costard and Mr. Bryant	681—693
Two original Letters from Mr. Nelson, to his young Cousins George and Gabriel Hanger, containing some admirable Instructions for their Conduct through Life	694—712



MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

BY MR. BOWYER.

EPITOME OF PART OF SELDEN [a],
"DE SYNEDRIIS VETERUM EBRÆORUM [b]."

Taken in haste as he read the Proofs.

LIB. II. CAP. IX.

Qualifications of the Members of the Synedrium Magnum and Vigintitriumvirale.

I. IT was requisite that all who were admitted members of the Synedrium P. 1412.
Magnum, or of the Synedrium Vigintitriumvirale, should have a thorough knowledge not only of the Law of Moses, both oral and written, but of all kinds of arts and sciences, even those which related to witchcraft and conjuration. An exact knowledge of languages was particularly required, and that to the number of *seventy*. They fix upon this number, because the

[a] The works of Selden were collected by Dr. Wilkins, and printed at London in three volumes, folio, under the following title, "Joannis Seldeni Jurisconsulti Opera omnia, tam edita quam inedita, in tribus voluminibus collegit ac recensuit, Vitam Auctoris, Præfationes, & Indices adjecit David Wilkins, S. T. P. Archidiaconus Suffolciensis, Canonicus Cantuariensis, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino Domino Gulielmo Divinâ Providentiâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, &c. &c. a Sacris Domesticis, 1726." The three volumes (the two first of which are his Latin works, and the third his English) consist of 804 sheets; and were published by subscription, in a manner which would now be thought singular. The small paper copies were paid for at the rate of two pence a sheet, and amounted to 6 l. 14 s.; the large paper, at three pence a sheet, cost 10 l. 1 s. A *chronological* view of the whole works of Selden will be found in this Epitome. J. N.

[b] The ancient Jews had three kinds of Synedria, consistories or courts of judicature, established among them. The first, called *Synedrium Magnum*, consisted, according to some authors, of LXX, LXXI, or LXXII members. The second, called *Synedrium Vigintitriumvirale*, consisted, as the term shews, of XXIII. And the third, or lowest court, called *Synedrium Trimumvirale*, was established in the villages, and consisted of three persons only. See Selden, vol. I. p. 1233, &c. J. N.

earth is said (in Deut. xxxii. 8.) to have been divided according to the number of the children of Israel; and seventy is the number which, in Gen. xvi. 27. is said to have gone down into Egypt. Though this number was fixed upon as a round number to comprehend all languages; yet we can no more suppose that any one man actually understood so many
 1414. languages, than that all Masters of Arts are thoroughly versed in the
 1415. seven sciences.

[A short digression [a], containing an account of some persons, who have been famous for being great linguists.]

Were we to suppose that most of the Synedri came up to the character here required, it would be hard to reconcile Mordecai's being so particularly celebrated beyond all others.

II. But still, how shall we reconcile that passage in Josephus (lib. xx. c. 9.), where he says, that the *speaking the dialect of seventy nations* was a thing not practised by his countrymen? this does not seem to relate to nations of different original and place, but only that it was not the
 1416. custom of the Jews to spend their time in examining nicely the different dialects of the Greek tongue, which, besides those five noted ones, were very numerous in Europe, Asia, and Egypt. It is certain some such interpretation must be given of the place, to make it agreeable to the sense of the Talmudists, and the authority of abundance of other testimonies. The LXXII Interpreters, to omit Philo and Josephus, are sufficient evidences of the Jews skill in the Greek tongue. And as to the Grecian arts
 1417. and sciences, Origen indeed says, *that the Jews don't much concern themselves in Grecian philosophy*. But this must relate to the custom of the Ancient Jews. The quotations of St. Paul from Aratus, Epimenides, Menander, and his caution to the Colossians (ii. 8.) who were converted Jews, against being led by philosophy, &c. sufficiently shew that the Jews were not strangers

[a] Mithridates (Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.) is said to have been master of twenty-two languages; and Apollonius Tyaneus (Philostr. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. i. c. 13.), not only "universas hominum voces seu linguas optime calluisse;" but even "quæ tacebant aut cogitabant homines, imo & avium, aliorumque brutorum voces omnes intellexisse;" which, Selden gravely observes, "parilis est farina, pariterque credendum." Marcus Antoninus, after mentioning the industry and abilities of Livius Laurentis (by others called Asteropæus), speaks of his being skilled in Latin and Greek as somewhat uncommon; and Galen, who says it was formerly thought wonderful that a man should speak any language but his own, complains (de Diff. Pulsuum, l. ii. c. 5.) of innovations from other tongues, so barbarous that he confessed himself unable to comprehend them. J. N.

to the sciences which the Grecians prided themselves in *. [Authority * Of Mo-
 from David Kimchi, ad Isaia xi. 26, of their knowledge in mathematicks.] ^{dam, see} 1418, 1419.

It may be observed, as a farther explication of the passage in Josephus, 1418, that at the time that Titus besieged the city, (which was about twenty-five years before the writing this passage) they made a law *ne quis filium suum Græcè doceret*. But this the Rabbies understand only of the Grecian customs and religions. [A passage from the Misna, tit. *Sota*, c. 7. Talmud Babylon. fol. 32. 1. to shew what passages in the service must be repeated in their own language, what not.] A passage in the Gemara Hierosolymitana, tit. *Megilla*, c. i. fol. 71. tries to shew that there are but four languages over all the world wherein Grecians are called *Barbari*.

III. Authors enumerated that have written about the number of different languages, whether 70, 72, or 75.

IV. There are mentioned in Maimonides some farther qualifications necessary for all that were chosen into the Synedrium Magnum and the Vigintitriumvirale. 1422. An old man was particularly excluded, and an eunuch; and, by all that appears, as well he that is born so, as he that is made so. Whereas it is observable, that he who makes himself an eunuch is only excluded from orders by the apostolical canons; but he that is born so, or made so by others, is not excluded.

It has already been observed, that in the first ages *old men* were excluded. In the latter ages, some say any one could be admitted either into the Synedrium Magnum or XXIII. at twenty years, or even sooner. But whether then they might be judges in capital cases seems uncertain, since the authorities which are produced for this indulgence may refer to their being one of the Triumviri, and so judges only in pecuniary matters. However, the rule of admitting men 1424. into the Synedrium at such an age seems to have been overlooked when any one supplied what he wanted in age by the forwardness of his parts: this we learn from the example of Josephus †, who, at the age of four-^{† In Vit.} teen, used to consult with the high priests in knotty points of law. So Eleazar Ben Azaria was admitted into the Synedrium at the age of fourteen, or at farthest eighteen.

But as none were to be admitted too young, so neither those who were worn out with age. But, in general, it was required that they should be persons of good appearance in their persons, and of pretty plentiful estates.

1425. V. The Misna mentions farther some certain customs of life, to which if any one gave himself up, he was to be excluded from the Synedrium. The disqualifications are four: playing at dice; usury, whether giving or taking; teaching doves to fly; and making gain of the fruits of the sabbatical year. Before any person could be admitted who had been notoriously guilty of these things, he was to shew his repentance by some contrary acts. Thus they that had been guilty of gaining by the fruits of the sabbatical year, were to stay till another seven years were past.

1426. Alciatus quotes Eccles. xxxviii. that tradesmen were not admitted to the Synedrium, because it is there said, *super sellam Judicis non sedebunt*. In the first place, it is very uncertain whether the passage be genuine; for though it is in the Complutensian edition, it is not in several others. Besides, it is only an oratorical flourish to shew that men of low births were not generally to be advanced to such high posts; but, if there was no other obstacle but their trade, it does not appear that that excluded them.

1427. VI. A passage or two out of Maimonides, to shew that, among the members of the Synedrium and Vigintitriumvirale, deformity and illegitimacy were sometimes overlooked.

VII. Of the king's being admitted into the Synedrium.

C A P. X.

Place and Time of the meeting of the Synedrium Magnum.

1430. I. The greatest deference imaginable was paid to the president of the Synedrium.

II. As to the times of the Synedrium's sitting, it must be observed that they met on the Sabbath-days, and other festivals; but then that was not in the *Lifgath-hagazith*, but only כתיב before the wall of the Temple: this too, not to pass judgement, but only to consult about any affairs, and converse with one another. But when they met in their public court of judicature, they sat from morning to the eighth hour and a half, *i. e.* about half an hour after two, the Lesser Synedrium breaking up at about twelve. From judicature they went to their evening sacrifice, which always began about that time, unless upon the preparation for the Passover, when they went to sacrifice an hour sooner; if that fell on the Sabbath, two hours. These rules of their breaking-up at such a time are not to be strictly taken; for upon some emergent occasions they could sit up late at night; and in civil

civil causes, and those that did not reach the life, they could pass judgement in the night, though they never gave sentence so late in capital cases. However, it must be observed they never entered upon a new cause at such an unseasonable time. And this circumstance is agreeable to a maxim in the Roman laws. In relation to their days of fitting, it must be observed, that in Ezra's time it was decreed that the Synedrium should sit on the second and fifth common days, *i. e.* Mondays and Thursdays. This was not to exclude them from sitting on other days, but only to oblige them to sit on those two. So that it was lawful to hear any causes less than capital on any common day; but capital they could not on any day preceding a festival, or the Sabbath [a]; because sentence, in these cases, was always to be given the day after the cause was heard. Now if a festival followed the day on which the cause was heard, sentence could not be given on the following day. It may be observed, that in the Apostolical Constitutions, l. I. c. xlvii. there is a command which seems to have had its rise from this practice of the Jews. *Τὰ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν γενέσθω δευτέρου σαββάτου*, *i. e.* on Monday, *that if any dispute shall arise afterwards upon that judgement, it may be re-examined without any interruption.*

III. All causes and all persons whatsoever were subject to the determination of the Synedrium Magnum. Some there were which so peculiarly belonged to this, that they could not be heard before the inferior courts of judicature. Of these I shall treat in my third book. All those causes, as well capital as civil, which are not there excepted, belonged to the XXIII. *Judicia de Homine & Bestia coeuntibus, &c. De Bove petulco, &c.*

IV. The Triumviri were a sort of a court of judicature below these. As the XXIII. determined capital and civil causes, so these determined civil causes, and all such as were not capital. Here, it must be observed, there were two sorts of Triumviri; the one appointed in towns and cities by authority; these could inflict whipping upon offenders: the other were such as the parties disagreeing pitched upon for arbitrators.

[a] This serves to explain a very perplexed passage in St. John's Gospel, ch. xviii. 31. *Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews hereupon said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* That the Jews had power of inflicting capital punishments is evident from Pilate's proposal. And it is no less evident from John xix. 7. *that by their law they thought Jesus ought to die.* What therefore hindered them from laying hold of the concession here granted, and judging him accordingly, but only the law mentioned by our author, which forbade them *ἀποκτείναναι*, to condemn any man to death on the PREPARATION-DAY? H. O.

V. All

- V. All persons whatsoever were subject even to the Triumviri, except the king; though he, in civil causes, might be tried by XXIII. Nay, the Gemara Hierosol. determines that the king was liable to the sentence of being scourged. And as all persons, so all causes, whether sacred or profane (except some, which, as we said, the Synedrium Magnum took cognizance of), were within their jurisdiction. For the reader must not imagine that there was any such thing as an Ecclesiastical Court, because there was somewhat like it among the Romans and the Grecians; for, even in their States, whatever power the college of the priests claimed, it was derived to them by the supreme secular power, and they received it intirely as a grant from thence. A remarkable passage [a] in Thucydides upon this subject.
1438. VI. As to what some learned men dream of a great power in the High Priest, we shall confute that opinion more largely by-and-by. In the mean time, there are exprefs testimonies from the Misna, from Gemara Babylon.
1439. &c. that he was subject to the Court. In this sense they expound Zeph. ii. 1. The Gemara Hierosolym. mentions, that when the High Priest was to be tried, אנטולר *entoler*, i. e. a procurator, was to be assigned him.
- 1441.

VII. Hence an excursion, whence this word should be derived. Some expound it οἱ ἐν τέλει, i. e. *Magistratus*. Others from ἐνελᾶς, i. e. οἱ ἀρχόντες. But both these constructions seem to favour too much of a superiority and dignity in the word; and the latter οἱ ἐνελᾶς is so very rarely used in the sense alledged, that it is not probable the Jews should borrow a word from the Greeks to use it in a different sense from what they generally did. The most likely derivation, in short, is from a word used among the Greek

[a] Huc sane spectat illud Atheniensium caduceatoris ad Bæotos apud Thucydidem (lib. iv.) missi, qui a suis proculdubio recte edoctus, eorumque verbis usus ad illud quod Bæotorum dixerat caduceator ad Athenienses, nimirum, "juxta Græcorum jura omnibus esse constitutum, eos qui alienam terram invaderunt a locis sacris quæ illic sunt abstinere;" respondit, "Jus apud Græcos hujusmodi esse, ut penes quos imperium sit cujuscunque five magni five parvi territorii, penes eosdem sint semper templa & loca sacra, ubi eisdem modis aut ceremoniis fiant sacra quibus more receptum sit, & præterea etiam quibus quivis possit." Adeoque penes eosdem ipsos quibus imperium summum erat, idem erat parile, uti etiam apud Ebræos, tam circa sacra quam profana tum apud Græcos tum Romanos; uti etiam penes Druidas (Cæsar, l. vi.) apud Gallos veteres, quales itidem apud alias olim gentes, tum mythicis tum historicis seculis, passim obtinuit.—The Athenian herald replies to the demand of the Bæotians, that places of worship should be respected in their inroads; that it was the custom of Greece, that the temples belonged to the party that was in possession of the country. Τὸν δὲ νομὸν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι, ὡς ἂν ἡ τοῦ κράτος τῆς ἐκείνης τῆτων καὶ τὰ ἱερά αὐαί γίγνινθαι. Thucyd. IV. c. 98, Ed. Duker. This does not seem to imply what Selden understands by it. R. G. lawyers

lawyers ἐνολεύς, which is expressly interpreted διοικητής, procurator. If any one should object that the Greek ends with a *ς*, and the Hebrew with *ט*, we answer, that the changes in the derivation of words from Greek to 1444- Hebrew were frequent: thus from κεραιμῖς, קרמִיד, nay פִּיפִיר, from *Papa*, is a far greater change.

VIII. But further: as the word occurs but seldom, so the copyist might easily mistake it, and from a worn-out *□* write a *τ*. Or even the 1447- Greek word might be frequently wrote ἐνολεύς with a *ς*; for we know it was the dialect of several nations to change *es* into *s*: thus ἴππος, &c. * 1447- Vide Cass. Animadv. in Athen. lib. viii. c. 11.

C A P. XL.

Forms of prosecuting, of appeals, and of oaths.

I. It now remains that we should shew the forms used in prosecuting, 1449- citing, and pleading in these several courts. There were some particular forms too, which were used in appealing from the XXIII. to the Synedrium. Those we shall speak of in the third book. But, before we enter upon the forms, it will be requisite to premise somewhat about oaths, as being used in all courts whatever.

II. All lawful oaths, then, were made by the name of God. This they found upon Deut. vi. 13. Nor were they to add any other name to the name of God in their oath. If a man could not speak the oath plain, it was still valid. But if any one declares his assent to an oath, without repeating, he was not reckoned guilty of perjury if he did not keep it, though he was still bound to the performance of it. Though the saying *Amen* was reckoned, to all intents and purposes, the same as repeating an oath. In all oaths there was an execration implied against the violator of them, besides the guilt of perjury. It was thus in oaths which heathens made.

III. An excursion upon heathen forms of oaths. What seems most re- 1452- markable is their swearing by common things which they could not esteem as gods; such as a goose, a dog, &c. The oath of the gods, by Styx. Mention made in Sophocles, of trying by ordeal. The league between the Carthaginians and Romans was confirmed by an oath *per Jovem Lapidem* *. 1454- Mention is made of the oath being cut upon pillars in the places * Polyb. l. iii. where the Olympick and Pythian games were celebrated. The oath which all 1455- Athenians took after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; and that which 1456- the Heliastæ, or chief judges, took. The gods, which the Ephebi called to witness.

witness. [Q. Apollo in Pandis [a] ?] The invocation which Plato, which Solon prescribed. The Mountain Taurus sworn by in the oath of the Capadocians; as the Palus Mæotis and Tanais, by the Massagetæ*. The oath published from the Cretan Marble being pretty scarce: in it, remarkable, the title of *Τελαῖος ὁ Σεῦς*, a title peculiar to Jupiter in Crete, according to Hesychius. *Σεῦς Laconicè & Doricè pro Θεῦς.*

* Maximus Tyrius, Diff. 38.

1457.

IV. The philosophers had particular forms of oaths, by which they obliged their disciples to secrecy. A passage in Julius Firmicus, collated with MS. in Lincoln Coll. Oxon.—Plato (Epist. vi.), in the oath he would have Hermias, &c. oblige themselves by, describes God in such attributes

† In Cels. as are agreeable to the true God. And Origen † accordingly applies it as if it was said of the Son of God; though for *ἡγεμόν* he reads *ἡγεμονιᾶ*. The greatest oath of the Pythagoreans was by *νοῦ* and *ᾤ* [b]. Pythagoras called

‡ From Sto-bæus.

1460.

Τετρακτῶς. A remarkable disagreement ‡ between Cleanthes and Crypsippus, in their opinion of perjury. The first thought a man was not perjured if he did but intend to keep his oath when he took it; but if he broke it afterwards, it signified nothing. The other was orthodox in his opinion, and believed that then was the trial, whether a man was guilty of perjury, when he came to the performance of his oath. As all oaths implied an imprecation against the violators of them, so very rarely was there any human punishment inflicted upon the violators of them. It was thought, as appears from Hesiod, that every fifth day the Furies went about to punish the breach of oaths: such a notion had they, that some remarkable

1461.

judgement always followed perjury; though the gravest of them, even Plato, thought that lovers false oaths were excusable. It is observable, that in the Roman law, and even in Justinian's Code, though perjury was left wholly to the punishment of Heaven when they swore by the name of the true God yet when they had sworn by the emperor, his genius, his health, &c. if they swore in a heat and passion, they were guilty of *treason*; or, if deliberately, fustigation was their punishment. Afterwards the custom came of affixing a punishment to perjury. Remarkable testimonies of heathens against swearing in common conversation. [Q. This whole sentence, and whether Mich. Attaliates' version ought to be blamed?]

[a] "Magnetes jurabant per Terram, Solem, Martem, Minervam Martiam, Dianam, Matrem Sipylenem, Apollinem in Pandis." Petit, Comm. ad Leg. Attic. p. 154. J. N.

[b] How conformable is this to our Saviour's precept, Matth. v. 37! H. O.

V. As to the Mahometans; some passages in the Alcoran compared with the Latin translation of Robertus Retinenfis. They swore by other things as well as the name of God. Perjury not punished in human courts by their law; but certain expiatory penances prescribed by the Alcoran.

VI. As to Christians; Matth. v. 33. examined and explained. The story of Linacre [a] throwing away the Testament upon reading the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew, the first time he ever took the Bible in his hands, though he was a Divine as well as Physician. The meaning of a corporal oath. Specimens of different forms of oaths used among Christians. A remarkable way of swearing a Jew, about the year 980 after Christ. Particular seasons in which oaths might not be taken, nor causes heard, even in the Christian church. Hence the original of Terms.

VII. But to come at length to the Jews again. Though, as we said before, p. 7, the most solemn and judicial oath of the Jews was to swear by the name of God; yet in conversation, and in solemn promises, they used to swear by other things; but took care that the name of God should not be joined with them. See Gen. xlii. 15. 2 Sam. xi. 11. Matth. xxiii. 16. However, as these sort of oaths were not esteemed universally obligatory, when a Jew was strictly to be bound, they had a very emphatical form of adjuration, *per N, 7, &c.* through each letter in Adonai. Our Saviour refers to this distinction (in Matth. xxiii. 16.) of the Pharisees, who did not think themselves obliged, if they swore only by the Temple, if the name of God was not mentioned. So Martial, Epigr. 95, l. xi. *jura, verpe, per Anchialum*. Steph. Forcatulus observes, that Anchialus was the most sacred Name of God, according to the Romans; and Joseph Scaliger * has observed that it came from *Chi allah*, by the Living God. Two or three passages out of Philo relating to swearing, and his notion of the Word of God not disagreeable from that of us Christians. These passages ill translated. Swearing in common conversation to be avoided, according to the precepts of Jewish Rabbies. Certain ceremonies used, to add to the solemnity of an oath in courts of judicature; such as producing a bladder blown up, and which should blow out a candle, at the same time ut-

* Prol. de
Emend.
Temp.

[a] It appears from Sir John Cheke, "de pronunciatione Græcæ Linguae," p. 282, that Linacre did not begin the study of Divinity till he was broken by age and infirmities.—It was after this change in his studies that he projected the College of Physicians, where he presided till his death, which happened Oct. 20, 1524, at the age of 64. J. N.

1479. tering imprecations, &c. Express caution, that he that was sworn did not take the oath in any private sense of his own, but in that of the imposer.
1480. VIII. Four nice distinctions of oaths.—Exod. xx. 7. Different translations of it.
1482. IX. There was a sort of absolution used, if any one had taken a rash oath. The absolution was to be pronounced by one wise man, or by three of the vulgar when such an one could not be had.
1486. X. Customary to put the oath upon which they examined any one in several lights; changing the form, and urging the words with all the ways of emphasis they could think of. To this sort of examination the Christian, in St. Chrysostom *, brought a noble lady. “A Chrysostomo
*Orat. adv. Jud. 1. “rogatus causam ob quam, ecclesia relicta, eam in Ebræorum synedria
 “traxisset; respondet multos ei dixisse formidabiliora esse juramenta ibi
 “adhibita.”

C A P. XII.

The Mode of Judicial Proceedings in the Synedrium Triumvirale.

1487. I. In what cases oaths were required to be taken.
1490. II. Forms of process on debt.
1491. III. The expression *judicare seipsum* arose from a mode of self-exculpation peculiar to this judicature. Hence several passages of St. Paul may be illustrated. See particularly Rom. xiv. 22. 1 Cor. iv. 3. xi. 28.
1492. IV. In what cases appeals were allowable. In case of disagreement in this court more members were called in from amongst their *pares*, to the amount sometimes of LXXI.

C A P. XIII.

Capital Punishments. Scourging.

1494. I.—VIII. On capital punishments amongst the ancient Jews.
1515. IX. Scourging, however infamous esteemed among the western nations, was not so in the eastern parts of the world. It was sometimes used as a fore-runner of some greater punishment, either condemnation to the mines, or even death itself. Thus Antigonus *, king of the Hasmonæans, was first scourged, and then put to death by Antony, out of respect to Herod; though his punishment is not to be reckoned as inflicted upon him after the Jewish manner, but purely Roman. That this nation anciently made
* Joseph. l. xv. c. 1. Plutarch. in Anton.

use of scourging appears from Suetonius in Neron. c. xlvii. Pet. Faber in Semeſtr. l. ii. c. 12. Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 7. § 4. From this Roman custom of scourging thoſe who were not citizens, it was thought, our Saviour was ſcourged: for the inflicting of that puniſhment upon a perſon condemned to death was contrary to the Jewiſh law. Among the Greeks this was ſo far from being infamous, that he who had undergone it was thought to have expiated for his crime, and to be ſet right again in the eye of the world. As well citizens as foreigners underwent it; even Lichas, the ſon of Archefilaus, for violating ſome rule in the public games, was ſcourged. Thucyd. lib. 5. It was a custom among the Lacedæmonians to laſh their children once a year, at the altar of Diana Orthia, for a whole day together.

X. Two witneſſes required to the attestation of every fact.

XI. Ten ſorts of perſons diſqualified from being witneſſes. Women, ſervants, minors, idiots, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the impious, the *impudentiores*, thoſe of the ſame kindred, and thoſe who have been before convicted of falſe evidence.

XII. Some various lections from a MS. of Philo's book *τὰ περὶ διακρίσεως*. A caution againſt taking a particular paſſage in Philo as if it mentioned a tribunal of the prieſts alone.

C. A. P. XIV.

Extraordinary Courts of Judicature.

Having given ſome account of the Synedrium Magnum, it now follows that we ſhould treat of the extraordinary courts: ſuch were the *Royal Tribunal*, and the determination of a ſingle judge; the Zelotes; the Synedria of ſome particular ſects, and thoſe belonging to one tribe, or diviſions of that tribe; and, laſtly, the prieſt's determination in the caſe of leproſy.

Ezra x. 8. The power of conſiſcation, there threatened to be performed according to the counſel of the princes and the elders, is not to be taken as a power inherent in the king by virtue of his regality, but as a power flowing to him from the Synedrium Magnum, which he and his colleagues at that time repreſented.

II. Though, as we have before ſhewn, the members of the Synedria were to be either III, or XXIII (a), or LXXI, in every caſe conſiſting of

[a] Grotius, on Deut. xvii. 5. ſpeaks "de numero XXIII, aut minimum XXI."

an odd number; yet since all the numbers were arbitrary, except the LXXI, which was determined by Scripture, it was allowed that *one* alone might determine in some plain civil cases, but never two, or any *even* number.

1529. III. We have before spoken of the case of the Zelotes (*a*). A remarkable passage from Philo adduced. The Jews seem to have pretended ignorance of the power allowed these Zelotes, when they accused Herod, the son of Antipater before Hyrcanus, for killing Ezekias an idolater *. Something like this case of the Zelotes in heathen laws. An *outlawed* person given over to the power of every one that would kill him. Some thought that they who incurred a *præmunire* were liable to the same fate; but this expressly guarded against in Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 1.

* Joseph.
Orig. l. xiv.
c. 17.

1530. *Utlagatus* and *caput lupini* synonymous. *Wolfes bede* used for *outlaw* by Chaucer †; whose description of an unthrifty 'prentice is but a prologue to the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, which immediately follows it. The four lines which Selden quotes from his MS. as the beginning of this tale, are different from the printed edition [*b*], both in the words themselves and the measure of the feet, though they are the same in sense:

† P. 46.
ver. 1431.

" Lithen and listneth and harkneth aright,
" And ye shall heren of a doughti knight,
" Sire John of Boundis was his name,
" He cowde of nurture and mochel of game."

Selden says, that as this description is part of the Coke's Prologue, so those two lines at the conclusion of ver. 34,

" And therewithall he lough, and made chear,
" And said his tale, as ye shallen after hear,"

should be printed at the end of it (according to his MS.) as an introduction to the following story. The supposition of this *Description* being part of the Coke's Tale, and so left imperfect, he says, is *Hallucinatio summa, ac præstantissimo poetæ fraus non toleranda*.

1532. IV. As to the Synedria of particular sects, something of their authority may be seen in Josephus, *Haloseos* II. c. xii. or vii.

1533. V. According to the Law of God, Lev. xiii. 2. xiv. 3. the priest, I mean any priest, was to judge of leprosy, &c. Deut. xxi. 5. *And by their*

[*a*] De Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. iv. c. 3, 4, 5.

[*b*] Urry's edition, p. 36, is here referred to by Mr. Bowyer. Whatever relates to the Father of English Poetry has been since so admirably elucidated by Mr. Tyrwhitt, that it is sufficient to refer the reader to the Preface of that gentleman's edition, p. xix. J. N.

word

word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried, not to be taken as if all manner of power was in the priests, but only in relation to the case of leprosy; as it is particularly expressed in Deut. xxiv. 8.

C A P. XV.

Where the Synedrium sat; their migrations; decay of their jurisdiction; power of the priesthood, &c.

I. Of their ordinary fittings before the time of Christ, taken from 1536. writers not Talmudical.

II. Of their continuance after Christ, from the same authorities. 1540.

III. Some slight interruptions to their fitting, particularly in the times 1541. of Antiochus Epiphanes and of Herod the Great.

IV. The *stone-chamber*, where the Synedrium Magnum assembled, why 1544. so called.

V. In what particulars the Nazarene Synedria resembled those at Jérusalem. 1550.

VI. As to the place where the Synedrium Magnum used to sit, the 1552. *Lisketh Hagazith*; it must be observed, that, according to the original institution, no other place was allowed for the Synedrium; and the Talmuds say, they had no power to judge in capital cases but there. And as this supreme court, to which the others appealed, was of no force except in this place, so the inferior courts ceased in like manner in their several migrations.

VII. Now the migrations were three; from the *Lisketh Hagazith* to 1553. *Hanoth*, *i. e.* the *shops* [tabernæ] situate on the mountain of the Temple; from thence to Jerusalem, *i. e.* other places in Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Jabne.

VIII. As to the time; the first happened about forty years before the destruction of the second Temple, which happened in the second of Vespasian, and seventieth after Christ. Of this the Chaldee Paraphrast interprets the 60th Psalm.

Lebanon, used sometimes for the Temple, sometimes for the city of 1554. Jerusalem, and even for the whole land of Israel.

A meeting of the wise men at Jericho and Jabne, where Samuel, in the presence of Rabban Gamaliel, first formed that curse against heretics, in the ancient copies of which the Christians are cursed by the name of *מנינים*. But afterwards, as Buxtorf observes, it being notorious that the Christians were

were meant by that word, they changed it into *Epicuriosin*; which comes either from *Epicurus*, or from *פקר*, *to profane, and defecrate*.

IX. Of Jabne, which of the two cities of that name the migration was made to.

1557. It seems probable, from Josephus, in his own Life, that the Synedrium Magnum remained, even at Jerusalem, till the time of the destruction of the second Temple. When he was præfect of Galilee, he wrote, he says, τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων. It may be observed too, that Josephus himself established there a sort of Synedrium Magnum.

1558. X. As to the reasons of making these migrations. The cause of the first, the Talmud says, was owing to the frequent murders which happened, while the persons guilty of them were prosecuted by the Roman præfects, who were now their conquerors, and carried on the prosecutions in the Jewish courts. The Jews were not driven away by force, but chose to go to some other place to avoid these inconveniences. Postellus, therefore, is mistaken in saying the Jews were *driven* away forty years before the destruction of the Temple. Petrus Galatinus is still more mistaken in saying "about forty years, &c. they were driven out, on account of the false "judgement they gave of Christ;" as their migration forty years before the destruction of the second Temple must have happened two or three years before they passed their judgement.

1560. XI. So much for the place where the Synedrium Magnum used to sit, and its several migrations. We now come to treat of the decay of its jurisdiction. Here abundance of testimonies mention the ceasing of all capital causes about forty years before the destruction of the second Temple, *i. e.* at their first migration. Though, as we said before, several Christian writers, such as Galatinus and Postellus, are to blame in thinking that the power of sitting was wholly taken away by the Romans. There is a great deal of difference between being deprived of a power, and the persons in whom it resides voluntarily ceasing to exercise that power, which was the case of the Jews. The word *בטל* in the Talmud, on which 1561. they found the former interpretation, may very well signify *intermittere*. Nay, even after the overthrow of the Temple, the Synedrium does not seem to be wholly extinguished; but to have been of force, in some parts of the Holy Land, for several years after. This assertion confirmed from

*Tit. *Abol.*
Zara.

Thosiptha *; and it will be farther confirmed from the New Testament in the

the third book. For the present, that the Synedrium had a power of inflicting stripes a considerable time after our Saviour's Passion, and therefore within the forty years before the destruction of the Temple, appears from St. Paul's receiving forty stripes save one, 2 Cor. xi. 24; where it is observable, that though as a Roman citizen by the Portian law he could not be scourged at all, yet as a Jew he underwent the law inflicted by his countrymen. 1564.

XII. We come now to speak of the power which the priests had in the Synedrium. Here we have before shewn, that as Priests and Levites were more particularly addicted to the study of the law, so they were more frequently chosen as members of the Synedrium; *but this only by accident, not as priests*. However, in the time of the Hasmonæans, or Maccabees, *i. e.* one hundred and seventy years before Christ, a revolution was made, and the power of the State was fixed in the priesthood. After the Hasmonæans had thus begun, Julius Cæsar put Hyrcanus the son of Alexander in possession of the high priesthood, as Pompey had before in that of the kingdom. See the Decree in Jos. l. xiv. c. 17. From this full extent of power fixed in the priesthood, the succeeding Roman princes took the hint of joining the supreme power to that title, which they themselves affected to join to theirs. But before this of the Hasmonæans, it does not appear that the priests were chosen on account of their office to preside in the State. If we are to give credit to the Excerpts out of Diodorus Siculus* in Photius, we must believe that Moses himself appointed priests to preside, in the first institution of the Jewish government. That passage particularly examined. As it was written at a time when the priesthood came into greater power in governing the State, about the time of the building the second Temple, hence the error might arise, and the writer might be apt to think the first was like that under which he lived. And hence Trogus Pompeius, who lived about the same time with Diodorus, has propagated the same error, and it is preserved to us by Justin*. Josephus, adv. Apionem, l. ii. magnifies the power of the priesthood to the same height. Eusebius† has transcribed a passage from him, importing that the power at first was wholly in the priests; but, as Scaliger observes, what he there asserts may be easily confuted. 1565. 1566. * Lib. xi. † Hist. 36. ‡ Precep. Evang. l. viii.

A passage

1569. A passage from Synesius of Cyrene. An observation on excommunication. Josephus, l. xi. c. 8. says, that Manasses was forbid by the elders of Jerusalem (*i. e.* the Synedrium) to come to the altar. This is not to be taken as if he was excommunicated from partaking of the sacrifices, but only put out from officiating in the priesthood. Sal. Ben Wirga runs into another error, by saying it was an assembly of priests that degraded him.

XIII. Concerning the observation of the phases of the moon.

1570. XIV. A great mistake of several learned men, who give out that there was a particular convention of the priests to judge in ecclesiastical matters. Nor is it any more to be believed that the *high priest was head of the Synedrium* as high priest. From the time, indeed, of the Hasmonæans the high priests presided in the Synedrium; but that was only because the chief power of the State happened to fall into their hands.

1571. XV. As to those heads of the Synedrium, whether priests or not, it cannot be denied but that, in the latter times especially, they were frequently changed, and others put into their government. On this account it happened that one was put in by the Romans, while another was head according to their own laws. Thus St. Paul, Acts xxiii. 5, did not know that Ananias was high priest when he pleaded before him: where it may be observed, that St. Paul supposes him a ruler of the people as well as high priest; *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of my people*. Ananias was the prince put in by the Romans; whereas by the hereditary rule Rabban Gamaliel the elder (who is said to be St. Paul's tutor), or his son Simeon, was the high priest.

C A P. XVI.

Traditions in respect to their Laws.

1574. I. The traditions of their oral law. That Moses wrote thirteen books of the law. That he gave one to every tribe, and laid one up in the Ark. But as for precept (or oral law), which they distinguish from the written law, that Moses gave it to the LXX. in the Synedrium, especially to Eleazer, Phineas, and Joshua.
1576. II. Joshua, the chief of the Synedrium, delivered it to Phineas, Phineas to Eli; though there are three hundred years between Joshua and Eli: all the rest which come between are not taken notice of.

III.

III. But others have given a more particular account of the tradition, and 1577.
mentioned throughout the several princes of the Synedrium. They ac-
count with some difficulty for Deborah * being the president of the Syne- * Judges
drium. iv. 4.

IV. The prince of the people and of the Synedrium, as far as David, 1578.
were the same person. Saul the prince and Jonathan the father of the
Synedrium.

V. Jerem. xxxviii. 5. *Therefore the princes said unto the king*, is taken 1582.
for the Synedrium. 2 Sam. viii. 18. *And David's sons were chief rulers*.
The Vulgate Latin renders it wrong; *Filii David sacerdotes erant*, led to it
by כהן, which signifies properly λειτουργεῖν. Thence the participle λειτουργόν,
if applied to God; and αὐλορχήν, if applied to a king. See Grotius.—
2 Sam. xx. 26. explained.

VI. Different opinions about the Synedrium. In the vision of Ezek.
viii. 11, Grotius thinks that Jezonias Ben Saphan was the chief of the
LXX there named: others, as Vossius, take them to be all priests of the
tribe of Levi, as if none but priests could perform those rites to idols
there mentioned. How the Synedrium stood under Ezra at the Restoration,
may be learnt from Artaxerxes's mandate †. From thence it appears, that † Ezra
Ezra was probably prince of the Synedrium. Mention indeed is made of vii. 25.
CXX, instead of LXXI. But this number probably includes such new mem- 1586.
bers as were elected to fill up all the vacancies occasioned by death in the
whole of Ezra's time.

VII. Mention made of the oral law, which Ezra is said to have put 1587.
into writing at this time. Joannes Pica mentions three of these books
being transcribed into Latin by order of Sixtus Quintus. Though he is
in such raptures upon the sight of this Cabala, it is probably no other 1589.
than what was printed at Venice by Dan. Bomberg, A. D. 1523, and
quoted by several others.

VIII. A list of those who presided in the great Synedrium, till the over- 1590.
throw of it. An explanation of the Catena. From this it appears that
sometimes the high priest was chief of the Synedrium: sometimes their
kings were so, according to the will of their conquerors. Thus, when 1592.
James the Just is condemned *, Ananus is said to have presided in the Syn- * Joseph.
edrium; though, according to our Catena, either Rabban Jochanan Ben l. xx. c. 8.
Zacai or Rabban Gamaliel ought to have presided. Upon this it may be

- observed, by the way, that Josephus only says that Ananus condemned St. James to be stoned, which was a Jewish punishment inflicted upon blasphemers. From whence some have invented a story of his being thrown down from the pinnacle of the Temple. The casting a person headlong, indeed, from some eminent place, was agreeable enough to the Jewish manner of stoning sometimes; but it never used to be from the Temple. But to return: Josephus tells us, that Ananus was put out from the high priesthood by Agrippa. In the same place, of Josephus
1594. there is another instance of the power of the Romans over the Synedrium.

IX. That Joshua Ben Peralkiah could not be our Saviour's præceptor, as some * ridiculously pretend.

* Gemar.
Babylon.
Abraham
Ben Dior.
& Zacut.

- X. A farther account of the persons mentioned in the Catena: whence the existence of the Synedrium is traced to A. D. 430, the time of Valentinian III. The whole history clearly treated of in the observations of Sam. Petit, l. iii. c. 3. It has been observed by some writers, that
1595. as the Areopagus at Athens and the Synedrium had a beginning about the same time, so had they their end nearly together. Vespasian overthrew the Temple, and by that means put an end to all capital causes in the Synedrium, and in a great measure may be said to have extinguished it: Vespasian reduced Achaia, wherein Athens was, into a province, and so took away the power of the Areopagus. The Jews never so far submitted to their conquerors as to give up their right to the Holy Land, &c.
1598. XI. From what has been said of the Synedria and of their presidents, some light will be given to determine when the sceptre departed from Judah. Grotius, de Jure Belli & Pacis, in the Paris edition of 1625, and that of Amsterdam 1731, says that the sceptre remained till the confirmation of Archelaus. But he afterwards, ed. Amst. 1642, corrects the passage, and says "*remained after the confiscation.*" The confiscation happened a few years before the birth of Christ.
1600. A reflection on Sigonius, who represents the state of the Jewish Synedrium intirely wrong.
1601. On Thomas Aquinas and several others, who magnify the authority of the priesthood, as if all the power lay there.
1602. On Rabbi Eliazer; and upon all those who give the high priest a place in the Synedrium on account of his priesthood.

LIB. III. CAP. VI.

On Prophets, true and false. The Synedrium judged of a false Prophet.

- I. Of false prophets, the Synedrium Magnum alone had cognizance. 1650.
- II. Of the credit to be given to prophets in transactions past or present. 1651.
- III. And in their predictions of future events. 1652.
- IV. An example of the power which the Synedrium Magnum had in judging a false prophet, is shewn in the story of Jeremiah, xxvi. 8. Some think too, that our Saviour's being tried as a false prophet was an instance of the same power; and upon this depends what our Saviour says, that it is impossible that a prophet should be condemned to death out of Jerusalem, since there it was the Synedrium sate. As for the sacerdotal degrees which St. Jerom talks of, I can find nothing like it in the Jewish writers. But Baronius agrees in the opinion I am now speaking of, that our Saviour was tried as a false prophet. Thus too, our Saviour * exclaims, *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest, &c.; killest*, that is, by strangling, the punishment due by law to false prophets; *stonest*, which was the punishment of those who did not pretend to prophesy, but only to lead the people into some new doctrine.

* Matth. xxi. 3.

C A P. VII.

Expiation of uncertain Murder.

- I. The law concerning the expiation of an uncertain murder, Deut. xxi. 1. 1655.
This affair under the direction of the Synedrium Magnum. Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 8. seems to have described this law with less exactness than he should have done. He makes the Priests, the Levites, and the whole Synedrium of the neighbouring cities, pronounce the expiatory sentence; whereas, according to the Jewish writers, it was to be pronounced by the priests alone. According to him, the Priests and Levites, with their friends; according to others, only the Synedrium LXXIII. and the rest of the elders [a].

[a] "The most natural and religious course in making laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgement of the wisest in those things which they are to concern," Hooker, p. 159. — "It cannot in any reason seem otherwise than most fit, that unto ecclesiastical persons the care of devising ecclesiastical laws be committed, even as the care of civil unto them which are in those affairs most skilful." *Ibid.* W. B.

1660. VII. The doctrine of expiation in the case of murder imitated in some measure by heathen nations.
1661. VIII. This naturally puts us in mind of the ancient custom among the English: when any person was found, and it was not known by what means he died, the body was reckoned as some foreigner's; and the country in which it was found was fined on account of the murder, unless they came and swore publicly in court that it was no foreigner, but an Englishman that was killed. Hence, anciently, the word *murdrum* signified not only *murder* in the present sense, but the fine that was the consequence of it. This proof, which was offered to shew he was no foreigner, was called *Englescheria*. There was the same thing in Wales, which was called *Wallefheria*. But this was abolished in the fourteenth of Edw. III. A. D.
1662. 1339. Bracton has a particular account of the rise of this, though I cannot find from what authority he gathered it *. He tells us, that the Barons of England desired Canute the Dane, after his conquest here, to send back his army, which was a grievous burden to them, to Denmark; and, on engagement that he should suffer nothing by the diminution of his power here, they promised that if any Dane, of the number he retained with him, should be found dead, and the person accused of his death could not clear himself by the ordeal, he should suffer justice; and if he fled from it, the parish wherein the dead man was found should pay sixty marks; if the parish could not pay, the fine was to be laid on the hundred, and paid into the royal treasury.

* There is much the same story told of William the Conqueror, by the author of Dial. de Scaccario. See Sax. Laws, p. 212. W. B.

C A P. VIII.

Privileges of the Priesthood.

1663. I. That capital causes of the high priest were to be judged only by the Synedrium Magnum.
1664. II. The same circumstances in proceeding against a high priest as against others; only, in civil causes, he was allowed to appear by his proctor, as we have already shewn in the second book, c. x. § 6, 7. *
1665. III. Something particular relating to the Asylum. Others (according to the Law, Num. xxxv. 24. Exod. xxi. 13.) in case of chance murder, flew to the City of Refuge, and there staid till the death of the high priest. But if

if the high priest had killed a man, or any man had killed the high priest, they were to stay in the City of Refuge all their life. In case of the high priest's flying to the altar, some say he might be dragged from thence, though he had begun to sacrifice; others say not.

IV. Of the particular honour and dignity of the high priest. He was 1667. not obliged to be a witness in any case; no, not in the Synedrium. The same privilege was allowed to the Flamen Dialis among the Romans.

V. That it was the Synedrium that excommunicated, already shewn in 1668. another work *. It was the Synedrium that determined all causes against the succession to the priesthood.

* Lib. ii.
de Success.
in Pontif.
c. x.

VI. Whomsoever the Synedrium chose to be made high priest, if he was poorer than his brethren, care was taken to make him richer. And they 1669. always chose one that excelled in other qualifications. Out of the priesthood there was chose *שֹׁמֵר*, *segen*, as vicarius to him; and to the *segen* they chose two or more *catiboli*, who were as vicarii to them.

C A P. IX.

Kings subject to the Synedrium.

I. Some cases which the Synedrium had a power of judging, and the king 1670. had not; particularly cases about the determination of the tribe any one belonged to; cases concerning the high priest and prophet. Grotius instances in Jer. xxxviii. 5. He farther adds the story of Herod's being 1671. called before the Synedrium, though Hyrcanus was strongly against it †; and at last Hyrcanus was forced upon a stratagem to secure him from their power. Petit makes a wrong conclusion from this story.

† Joseph.
Ant. l. xiv.
c. 17.

II. Various opinions whether the Synedrium had a power of passing 1673. judgement on the king's person: Baronius for it; Casaubon against it.

III. The Rabbies different; the Fathers against it. 1675.

IV. V. Grotius would reconcile the different opinions of the Jews, by 1676. supposing that where they say that the king was subject to stripes from the Synedrium, it was to be meant only of some voluntary penance which the king underwent for his sins; but that they had not power of inflicting it by way of punishment. Against this, Maimonides has a passage which can hardly be got over. The opinions of Petit, Casaubon, and Salmasius, given in their own words.

1679. VI. That the Synedrium constituted kings. They looked into their family, to guard against the violation of the law * of chusing one that was of their brotherhood. In determining on this question, they had always the greatest regard to the mother's side. This notion agreeable to other nations. So Virgil, de Drance, Æn. xi. A sentence from Julian brought to favour this notion. [Qu. If not wrested to this purpose?]

C A P. X.

Tributes for the Sacrifices.

1681. I. As to the tributes usually paid towards the sacrifices; we must consider sacrifices in two respects. One sort * were such as were duly and regularly performed on the Sabbath, new moons, &c. for the sake of all the people in general. The other †, an expiatory sacrifice, which was performed in case *the whole congregation of Israel had sinned through ignorance*. Towards the first, every man was to pay the half shekel of the sanctuary ‡; that is, a whole common shekel, equal to the Attic didrachma. This tribute was increased for a while to a [a] third part of a shekel, under the beginning of the second Temple §. After the overthrow of the second Temple, the Jews were compelled to pay their half shekel still to the Capitol.
1682. II. This tribute was to be paid somewhat before the beginning of the year; that is, before the month Nisan, which answers almost to our March *. Those that gathered it stood ready to receive it the 15th of that month; but if any by the 25th refused it, they took it from them by force. From all, I say, except priests; who though they were obliged to pay, yet were never seized on, out of respect to their order. Women, servants, and minors, were exempt from the tribute.
1683. III. The power of the collectors allowed by the Synedrium Magnum.

(a) It is so expressed in Nehemiah. Qu. If it should not be three parts of a shekel? How else can a third part of a shekel be more than half a shekel? Half a shekel was the usual tribute. But, provisions for the sacrifices being dearer, they were forced to increase the tribute to a third part (he says) of a shekel. W. B.—The words of Selden are, “Tertia pars sicli—edicto temporario adjecta est;” whence it should seem that *both* tributes were to be paid, the *half-shekel* as originally directed, and a *third part* in addition to it. The passage of Nehemiah, however, does no way countenance this conjecture. J. N.

IV. If there was any thing remaining at the year's end of the shekels 1684, which had been gathered, the number of sacrifices was discretionally increased, which were then called *sacrificia altaris secunda*. If any beasts were remaining, bought with the former year's money, they returned them to the owners who sold them, taking care always to begin the new year with sacrifices bought with the new year's money.

C A P. XI.

Ceremonious regulations of the Priesthood, their dress, &c.

I. Under the second Temple it was a custom, that, seven days before the 1686. Feast of Expiation*, which was the 10th of the month Tizri, the priest should * Lev. xvi. 16. keep within the veil of the Temple; and the Synedrium deputed some one to read over to him every day the whole office he was to perform, that he might be the more expert at it. And the night before the feast they suffered him to eat but little, and not to sleep at all, for fear of pollution.

II. As the priest was to offer incense within the veil, so that nobody 1687. could see him †, they made him swear that he would innovate nothing in † Lev. xvi. 12. the ceremony. The Sadducees did not allow burning the incense within the veil.

III. Sheringham had objected to Selden, that the priests were not distin- 1689. guished, out of the Temple, from the common people by their habit. This Selden here maintains, and proves that the girdle, which was an heterogeneous garment, i. e. made of wool and linen both, might not be worn, except at the very time of officiating. As for the other garments, they might be worn all day within the Temple, but never out. Besides testimony from Jewish tradition, he says, the Scripture itself confirms it, in 1693. Exod. xxviii. 43. Two derivations of the word *Hierusalem*. Every thing great 1696. and eminent in its kind called by the name of *ἱερός*, or *sacer*. So the *falling sickness* is called *ἡ νόσος ἱερῆ*, *morbis sacer*, and also *Herculeus* [a]. Hence the *Os Sacrum*. So to several medicines is given the name of *hiera*; so *Unguentum* 1697. *Apostolorum*. A vindication of Avicenna, from the aspersion cast upon him [b], 1698. that he did know the number of the apostles. The epistles between him and St. Augustine a most ridiculous fragment; as Avicenna was born

[a] Vid. Galen. ad Hippocr. l. vi. de Morb. Epidem. c. 7; Aretæum de Causis & Notis diuturnorum Affectuum, l. i. c. 4. & M. Casaub. in Athen. l. vii. c. 10. J. N.

[b] By John Renodæus, Institut. Pharmaceuticarum, lib. v. c. 20. Antidotarium Mes-sanenfe, p. 251. J. N.

A. D. 980, and St. Augustine flourished about the end of the *third* and beginning of the *fourth* century [a].

1700. Galen, treating of three different sorts of Lemnian Lutum, says, “una an-
“ tediſta illa terræ ſacræ, quam nemo alius præter ſacerdotem ſceminam
“ tangebatur; i. e. Dianæ ſacerdotem.”

1712. IV. Some farther circumſtances relating to the uſe of the prieſt's habit.
The manner of caſting lots who ſhould officiate, in caſe any one of the
1713. prieſts did not thoroughly underſtand his office. A tradition among them,
that it was not lawful to number the children of Iſrael by their perſons,

* Halofeos,
l. vii. c. 45.
ſeu 17.
in parte
libri prioris.

but by ſome appendages or other. To this Joſephus * is ſuppoſed to re-
fer, when, being deſired by Ceſtius to give in the number of the Jews, he
deſired the high prieſts to reckon them. They accordingly counted them,
not by their perſons, but by the Paſchal Lambs, &c. the number of
meſſes [*comedentium contubernia.*] To this purpoſe may be explained
ſeveral texts of Scripture; as 1 Rom. iii. 8. Hoſ. i. 10. Joſh. xv. 24.
1 Sam. xi. 8, &c.

C A P. XI.

Where the power of making war was veſted.

1720. I. That war which depended on the command of God, of deſtroying
ſeven nations and the Amalekites, &c. might be undertaken at the prince's
pleaſure, without conſulting the Synedrium. But an arbitrary war againſt
other nations, not contained in thoſe ſeven, could not be began without
conſent of the Synedrium. A reflection on Petrus Galatinus, that he ſtole
all from Raymundus Martinus [b]; and upon Carolus Sigonius not under-
ſtanding Hebrew †.

† The ſame
reflection oc-
curs again in
p. 1725.

II. Under the declenſion of the Roman State a like law made, that ge-
nerals ſhould not undertake a war without conſent of the ſenate.

1721. III. Joſephus, Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8, ſeems to ſay, that, from the origi-
nal inſtitution of Moſes, it was not lawful to wage war without conſulting the
high prieſt and ſenate. Selden blames him, as he often does, for aſcribing
ſuch a power to the high prieſt.

[a] He ſhould have ſaid end of the *fourth* and beginning of the *ſiſth*. W. B.

[b] Galatinus's Book is ſo impudent a plagiarifm as is not, I believe, to be paralleled
again in the world. There is, if I remember right, an edition of it in *Sion College*
Library, wherein references are continually made to *Raym. Martin's* original. H. O.

IV.

IV. An examination of Numb. xxvii. 21. according to the Vulgate. It 1722.
is supposed, from the Jewish traditions, that, both here and in Josephus,
the consulting of the high priest was not consulting the oracle, the stones in
the breast-plate, whether they should go forth to war. A short digression 1723.
how long this oracle lasted. A book ascribed to Epiphanius seems to
make it last to the time of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist: but
in another copy of his book it ended with Zacharias, mentioned in 2 1724.
Chron. c. xv. A reflection on a book published by John Frisch-
muth [a], a German professor.

C A P. XIII.

*On what conditions the City permitted to be enlarged; mode of dedicating the
Temple; Feasts, &c.*

I. That the city was not to be enlarged without the consent of the 1725.
Synedrium Magnum.

II. Nor yet with that alone; but the authority of the king, the pro- 1726.
phet, and the oracle, was requisite. This restriction is founded on Exod.
xxv. 8, 9. where God commanded Moses to make every part of the Ta-
bernacle according to the instructions he had given him; and though the
Synedrium was not founded sooner than a year after this, as is shewn in
a former passage *; yet in Moses and Aaron, they say, all the characters of
king, prophet, high priest, and Synedrium, were united. * Seld. de
Synedriis,
l. ii. c. 4.

III. Accordingly the Temple, they say, was built by the authority of 1727.
all these. The Mountain of Moriah was pointed out by God to David for
the place where his Temple should stand. This, though performed by his 1728.
son Solomon, yet the twenty-ninth Psalm is by many (by others the thir-
tieth) interpreted to be the dedication-psalm composed by David. This 1729.
psalm was used not only at the Feast of Dedication, but also at the bringing-
in and offering their First Fruits *. An account of their procession when
they made this offering. * Deut.
xxvi. 2.

As to the dedication of the Temple, the whole form is set down in 1730.
1 Kings c. viii. and 2 Chron. vii. And here it is to be observed, that the
first dedication or consecration is called *ἑγκαίνια*, as well as those consecra-

[a] De Rege eligendo & deponendo discursus, Jenæ, 1653, 4to.

tions which were performed anew upon some profanation. Here, by the way, it may be observed, that several commentators have ill interpreted that of John x. 22. to belong to the feast in memory of Solomon's dedication: in St. John, the time is expressly said to be in winter; and therefore was not in memory of the dedication of either the first or second Temple, but of the consecration of the second, after the profanation of it by Antiochus. Whereas the dedication of Solomon's Temple was in the month *Ethanim**, which is the seventh month from Nisan, *i. e.* Tizri, answering to our September.

* 1 Reg.
viii. 2.

IV. The ceremony used when the city was to be enlarged.

V. And when any thing was added to the court of the Temple.

1732. VI. Under Ezra, Nehemiah, &c. we have several express examples of the rites used upon these occasions †. The Rabbies say, however, that they could not at this time confer any new holiness to the place, because the king and oracle were both wanting. In 2 Macc. i. 9 and 18, there is a letter to the Jews, to invite them to keep the feast of purification of the Temple on the xxvth of the month Casleu. The second book of Maccabeus rejected by many as not genuine; and many difficulties have arisen upon this very place. Here is mention made of the sacrifice being lighted with water found in the place where fire from the altar was had. And this feast of Fire (τὸ πυρὸς) many interpret to be in memory of the fire Nehemiah found when he purified the city. Nehem. xii. 31 †, *constitui duo præpositi laudationis magnæ*, appointed two great companies of them that give thanks, should be rendered *two eucharistical sacrifices*.

† Ill print-
ed xxxi.

VII. This feast of purification, or dedication of the Temple, which was kept on the 25th of Casleu, or 9th, according to the Maccabees* and Josephus †, was observed, and is still, with the commemoration of the xxxth Psalm. This feast was held for eight days; and is the same mentioned in St. John x. 22; though several Fathers have been mistaken upon that passage; St. Chrysostom referring it to the dedication of the second Temple under Zorobabel. So Theophylact, Nonnus, Euthymius, Zygabenus, Erasmus. Others referring it to the renewing the city; so Theodorus, bishop of Mopsa. Whereas it certainly refers to the dedication under the Hasmonæans; for the time of Solomon's dedication was in Tizri, which is about Autumn; and the dedication of Zorobabel's

* I. iv. 52.
† L. xii.
c. 11.

Temple

Temple was in Adar, which is a little before the Vernal Equinox. Whether there was any anniversary feast in commemoration of the dedication before the Hasmonæi, I have not yet found. Part of the service used upon this occasion. Drufius has confounded what is brought out of the Jewish Ritualists, and makes the purgation to be in the time of Matthias, whereas he died two years before it; and it was performed under Judas Maccabeus.—A late writer (Guil. Vorstius) thinks that this feast of dedication mentioned in 1 Macc. iv. 59. was not to be kept yearly, but only for eight days that year. But the words plainly prove the contrary; ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν ἐνικυτὸν κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν, &c. 1737.

VIII. It must be observed that Zorobabel's Temple was always called the second Temple, as well that which was before Antiochus's profanation as that which was altered by Herod. Some were offended at Josephus's saying that Herod new-built the Temple, as if it had overthrown the prophecy, "that the glory of the second Temple should be greater than the first." But this was a fruitless fear; for, notwithstanding Herod's addition to it, the Temple continued the same. 1738.

IX. In the feast of the Maccabaical dedication, it was customary to light up candles and torches in abundance, like the festum *πυρῶν* among the Argives, or *λαμπάδος* among the Athenians, as there were three which bore that name, in Panathenæis, Hephæstiiis, and Promethiis. So among the Christians, with the feast in memory of Simeon's meeting our Saviour in the Temple called *Ἑπαπανή*, was joined the purification of the Virgin Mary, and was ordered to be kept February 2, by Pope Sergius, A. D. 690. On this feast, I say, wax-lights were set up, thence called Candlemas-day.—The Jewish writers give a particular reason for burning lamps at the feast of consecration. As there were in the Tabernacle seven lamps *, which were always kept burning †; so in the first Temple there were ten, and likewise in the second ‡. Now, when Antiochus profaned the Temple, he took away the oil; and the Jews being at a loss for some, found at last one drop which he had not polluted, but was preserved under the seal of the high priest. This, they tell you, increased to a miracle, and lasted burning eight days, during which time they got more. In memory of this, they have always since burnt lamps at the feast of dedication or purification, Others differ about the origin of the custom. 1740.

1743. X. Some have thought that this feast was kept in memory of Judith's victory, and which of the Judiths is still farther disputed; whether she that killed Holophernes, or she that killed Nicanor. For the first, St. Jerom's Latin version is alledged: it concludes the book Judith with a passage which mentions a day kept in memory of her victory. But this passage is not in the Greek.

1747, & seq. XI. A Jewish Kalendar, published from a very scarce book called Megillath Thainish, not taken notice of by Buxtorf the father in his Rabbinical Bibliotheque, nor by the son in his Review of it; though it is plain he had made use of the book.

C A P. XIV.

Methods of Dedication.

1759. I. Two senses of the words חנך and חנוכה, ἐγκαθίστημι and ἐγκαίνια, &c. One as they signify to dedicate, or re-consecrate, after pollution; the other, as they signify to *begin*, to *banfel*, without any respect to consecration. So there is a law *, that the man who had built a house, and *had not taken banfel of it*, as some translate it, οὐκ ἐνεκαίνισεν οἶκόν, was excused from going to war the first year. So he that had married a wife †. Suetonius uses the word *dedico* in the same sense, de Nerone, c. 31; and de Vitellio, c. 13.

* Deut.
xx. 6.

† Ibid.
xxiv. 5.

1761. II. The Targum of Uzielides is somewhat singular in the explication of dedicating a house: it is there said, that fixing up the posts is dedicating it, *i. e.* the mezuzæ or parchment upon the posts, containing 4, 5, 6—9 verses of Deut. vi.

1763. III. From the Jews came the custom among the heathens of dedicating their houses, altars, temples, &c. with costly curiosities. But they who were more sparing made use of κύτρου, pots only; which, being filled with all sorts of herbs, were carried about upon their heads. Aristophanes ‡ referred to upon this head.

‡ Plut. A&.
v. Sc. 3.

* * * * *

MEMO.

MEMORANDA FROM SELDEN'S PRIVILEGES
OF THE BARONAGE.

The bishop of Winchester, temp. Ed. III. pleads his peerage when going to be questioned in the King's Bench, vol. III. p. 1538.

The bishop of London, under the same king, pleaded to issue, and the defendant could not have a day of grace, *ibid.*

Bishop of Norwich, temp. R. II. expressly allowed to be a peer, *ibid.*

Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, temp. Ed. III. challenges his seat in the parliament-house as a peer, p. 1538, 1539.

Adam, bishop of Hereford, temp. Ed. II. tried for treason by a common jury, though the whole clergy endeavoured to have kept him from conviction, p. 1539, 1540.

Thomas L'Isle, bishop of Ely, temp. Ed. III. his case with the lady Wake, p. 1540.—tried by a common jury, *ibid.*

Tho. Merks, bishop of Carlisle, temp. Hen. IV. indicted for treason, and tried by a common jury, p. 1540, 1541.

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, temp. Hen. VIII. and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, under Q. Mary, tried by a common jury, p. 1541.

Cromwell, under Q. Elizabeth, attached contrary to the privilege of peers, p. 1543.

Northumberland, earl of, temp. Hen. VI. amerced by his peers, p. 1545.

Crowland, abbot of, temp. Ed. II. not amerced as a baron, because he did not hold by barony, *ibid.*

Ormond, countess of, temp. R. II. a *capias* awarded against her, being only an Irish baroness, p. 1546.

Lord Sanchar indicted only by the name of Robert Creighton, being a Scotch peer, *ibid.*

Duke of Bretagne, temp. Ed. I. and Sir John Douglass, temp. Ed. IV. not named in the proceedings against them by the dignities they bore in their own country, p. 1546.

Case of an English prebend's becoming void by the possessor's being bishop of Utrecht (not *Urton*, as misprinted in the State Trials, 19 Ed. III.), p. 1547.

Archbp.

Archbp. of Raguse, temp. John, having a benefice in the bishoprick of Carlisle, to be accounted in England an archbishop for dignity, though not for jurisdiction, p. 1547.

The earl of Rutland allowed, in the case of the earl of Shrewsbury, 8 James I. to exercise the office of stewardship by deputy, though he received the office from Q. Elizabeth without that power, p. 1586. *

FROM SELDEN'S JUDICATURE IN PARLIAMENT.

The reason of the Judges opinion in Thorp's case, 31 Hen. VI. p. 1587.

Simon de Bereford, judgement given upon him by the Lords, 4 Ed. III. for the murder of Ed. II. *ibid.*

Alice Peirce, 1 R. II. the Lords command a jury to be impaneled for trial of the facts, p. 1588.

Archbishop of Canterbury, 15 Ed. III. and Bishop of Norwich, 7 R. II. tried in Parliament, for misdemeanors, by their peers, *ibid.*

Bishops of York and Norwich, 11 Rich. II. tried by their peers for treason, *ibid.*

Archbishop of Canterbury, 21 Rich. II. accused by the Commons of treason, and adjudged a traitor by the Temporal Lords, p. 1589.

Duke of Clarence, temp. Ed. IV. the only precedent of execution upon life and death being stayed at the request of the Commons, when the Lords had adjudged the person, *ibid.*

Spencers, 5 Ed. II. the Lords judgement against them erroneous, and why, p. 1591.

John de Worsenham and Walter de Chairton, 49 Ed. III. though accused only in general, exhibit petitions in their own defence, p. 1593.

Lord Stanley, accused, 38 Hen. VI. of being confederated with the duke of York, p. 1593.

Gomeniz and Weston, 7 Rich. II. put to their answer, though complained of only in the general, p. 1593. 1610.—The manner of their arraignment, p. 1603.

* In the edition of Selden, 1726, the numbering of the pages between 1547 and 1586 is accidentally omitted. J. N.

Bishop of Norwich, 7 R. II. called to account for money received for the king's service, p. 1593.

Richard Lyons, merchant, 50 Ed. III. impeached for procuring patents to transport wools beyond seas, p. 1594.

William lord Latimer, 50 Ed. III. impeached, *ibid.*

William Ellis, of Great Yarmouth, 50 Ed. III. impeached, *ibid.*

John Peach and Richard Lyons, merchants, impeached, 50 Ed. III. for procuring the monopoly of selling sweet wines, p. 1595.

John Nevil, 50 Ed. III. for buying the King's debts, p. 1595.

Alice Peirce, probably impeached 50 Ed. III. though it be not entered, *ibid.*—cited before the Lords, p. 1610.

Adam de Bury, mayor of Calais, 50 Ed. III. impeached, p. 1595.

Michael de la Poole, earl of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, 10 Rich. II. accused by the Commons on several articles, p. 1596.

John Tidman possessed of an annuity under Ed. III. p. 1597.

Archbishop of Canterbury, 21 Rich. II. impeached of treason by the Commons, *ibid.*

Sir Thomas Mortymer and John de Cobham; impeached of treason, 21 Rich. II. *ibid.*

Duke of Suffolk, 28 Hen. VI. protests his innocence, to clear himself of public reports, and is committed upon it, 1597-8.

Sir Giles Mompeffon and Sir Francis Michell, knights, impeached by the Commons, 19 James I. p. 1598.

Francis lord viscount St. Albans, chancellor under James I. accused of bribery, p. 1599.

John Bennet, judge of the Prerogative Court, accused of bribery, 19 James I. *ibid.*

Lionel earl of Middlesex, and lord treasurer, accused of bribery, 21 James I. *ibid.*

Bishop of Norwich, 21 James I. impeached of misdemeanors by word of mouth, *ibid.*

George duke of Buckingham impeached, 1 Car. I. *ibid.*

Roger Mortimer, 4 Ed. III. accused *ex parte Domini Regis*, *ibid.*

Sir Ralph Ferrers, knight, 4 Rich. II. accused *ex parte Domini Regis*, *ibid.*

Earl

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

Earl of Bristol, 1 Car. I. accused by a formal information exhibited in parliament, *ibid.*

Henry earl of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Bardolph, 7 Hen. IV. accused by the king's command, upon former proceedings against them in Chancery, *ibid.*—how proceeded against, p. 1608.

Sir John Mortimer, 2 Hen. VI. accused upon request of the Commons, *ibid.*—Indicted first in London, and the indictment returned into Chancery, p. 1604.—His case falsely made use of as a precedent, p. 1606.—The substance of the proceedings against him, p. 1609, 1610.

Alice Pierce, 1 Rich. II. Gomeniz, Weston, and the bishop of Norwich, 7 Rich. II. accused *ex parte Domini Regis*, p. 1600.

Edmund earl of Kent condemned 4 Ed. III. and executed for treason, p. 1600.—The next year that judgement repealed, *ibid.*

Simon de Bereford, knight, an assistant of Roger de Mortimer, *ibid.*

John Mautravers, Thomas de Guernei, and William de Ogle, 4 Ed. III. condemned, p. 1601.

Spencers, Lords join with the Commons in their accusation against them, *ibid.*

Lord Berkley arraigned for the death of Ed. II. and waives his right of being tried by his peers, p. 1602.—Tried by a common jury, and why, p. 1634.—The manner of his arraignment represented, p. 1603.

Sir Ralph Ferrers, knight, 4 Rich. II. arraigned for suspicion of treason, p. 1603.—Two questions resolved relating to his case, p. 1604.

Thomas Holland earl of Kent, John Holland earl of Huntingdon, John Montague earl of Salisbury, lord de Spencer, and Ralph Lumley, 2 Hen. IV. beheaded for rebellion, p. 1605.—Judgement against them entered, but not the information *ex parte Domini Regis*, though it is necessarily understood, *ibid.*

John earl of Bristol, 1 & 2 Car. I. the method of proceeding against him, p. 1605.—Objections answered in relation to the legality of his indictment, p. 1606.

Duke of Clarence, 18 Ed. IV. arraigned in Parliament, p. 1607.

Northumberland, earl of, 5 Hen. IV. the manner of his trial, p. 1607, 1608.

Mompesson, lord chancellor and treasurer, the proceedings of the Lords against him examined, p. 1611.

John at Lee, steward of the king's house, 42 Ed. III. proceeded against upon the complaint of William Latimer, p. 1612.

William Ellis, 50 Ed. III. bills exhibited against him by John Botild and William Cooper, p. 1613.

Sir William Cogan, knight, accused by R. Clynedon, 5 R. II. p. 1614.

Cambridge, mayor and commonalty of that town, accused of outrages against the scholars, p. 1614. 1625. 1632.—The liberties of the town seized by the king, and the assise of bread, &c. granted to the scholars, p. 1628.

Michael de la Pole, chancellor, and John Otreys clerk, 7 R. II. complained of by John Cavendish fishmonger, p. 1614. 1649.

10 Rich. II. the Commons accuse the chancellor openly before the Lords and King, p. 1617. 1619.

Thomas Philips complains against the bishop of London, for his long imprisonment on suspicion of heresy, *ibid.*

Duke of Gloucester protests to Richard II. his innocence of designing to dethrone him, p. 1618.

Nicholas Brembre, 11 Rich. II. his case, p. 1619.

Sir Roger Belknap lord chief justice, and Sir John Carey chief baron, 11 Rich. II. accused for untrue answers made before the King, *ibid.*

The duke of Gloucester, Richard earl of Arundel, and the earl of Warwick, 21 Rich. II. an appeal drawn up in writing against them by the Lords, p. 1619, 1620.—These appeals afterwards abolished by Hen. IV. p. 1620.

Thomas Mortimer, 21 Rich. II. summoned to appear, and judgement passed against him for not appearing, p. 1620.

Earl of Northampton and lord Bardolph, 7 Hen. IV. summoned by proclamation to answer in parliament, p. 1621.

Duke of Gloucester, 21 Rich. II. summoned to answer in parliament, though the lords appellants knew he was dead, p. 1621.—The method of proceeding against him, p. 1622.

Richill, justice of the Common Pleas, 1 Hen. IV. deserved to die for not declaring that the duke of Gloucester's confession was altered after he had returned the commission to examine the duke, *ibid.*

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

Duke of Ireland, archbishop of York, and Michael de la Pole, acquitted by Richard the Second's proclamation, p. 1622.

Mompesson, 18 Jac. condemned, without a proclamation citing him to appear, p. 1623.

Sir John Mortimer, 2 Hen. VI. made answer to his indictment of escape out of prison, though not recorded, *ibid.*

Sir Thomas Talbot, 17 R. II. to be convicted of treason, if he do not appear upon proclamation, *ibid.*

Duke of Suffolk, 28 Hen. VI. not committed before he was accused of particular treason, p. 1624.

Michael de la Pole, 10 Rich. II. after his answer committed, and then bailed, p. 1624.—Not denied counsel when tried for misdemeanors only, as the parliament under Charles I. thought he was, p. 1626, 1627.

William lord Latimer, and John lord Nevil, 50 Ed. III. answered in their places, p. 1624.

Bishop of Norwich and lord chancellor, 7 Rich. II. answered in their places, *ibid.*

Lord chancellor, 10 Rich. II. answered in his place, *ibid.*

Richard Lyons, William Ellis, and John Peach, 5 Ed. III. answered as freemen, *ibid.*

Adam de Bury, 50 Ed. III. his goods put in arrest, for not appearing before the Commons, *ibid.*

Earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer, 21 Jac. I. accused of misdemeanors, p. 1625.—Does himself the first wrong, by absenting himself from the Parliament, *ibid.*

Sir Ralph Ferrers, 4 Rich. II. refused counsel, being accused of treason, p. 1625.

Sir Richard Cogan, 5 Rich. II. refused counsel, when tried for extorting money from the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, p. 1626.

Duke of Suffolk, 28 Hen. VI. answered to his accusation of treason, without counsel, *ibid.*

Earl of Middlesex wrongfully denied to answer by counsel, touching misdemeanors only, 21 Jac. I. p. 1628.

Earl

Earl of Bristol, 1 Car. I. allowed counsel by a mistake, though tried for treason, p. 1628.—Two questions arising from his case forbidden by the King to be determined, p. 1635.

Bishop of Norwich, 7 Rich. II. refused counsel, p. 1627.

Duke of Buckingham, 1 Car. I. answers to his impeachment for misdemeanors by counsel, p. 1627.

Richard Lyons, 50 Ed. III. his impeachment, p. 1628. His answer, and the replication of the Commons, p. 1629.

Lord Latimer, 50 Ed. III. his impeachment, *ibid.* His answer to it, 1629, 1630. William Walworth of London sworn against him, p. 1632.

William Ellis, 50 Ed. III. answers to his impeachment, and the Commons reply, p. 1630. The witnesses against him, p. 1632.

John lord Nevil, 50 Ed. III. the substance of his impeachment and defence, p. 1630, 1631. The witnesses against him, p. 1632.

Duke of Bucks, 1 Car. I. Commons reply to him, p. 1631.

John Peach, 50 Ed. III. The witnesses against him, p. 1633.

Alice Pierce, 1 Rich. II. The witnesses against her, and who the committee to examine them, p. 1633.

Richard earl of Arundel, temp. Rich. II. when brought to answer appeals, the Lords appellants throwing down their gloves by way of a challenge, answered, *Si effem liber, non resurgeram*, p. 1634.

Lord Cobham, 22 Rich. II. condemned for procuring a commission derogatory to the king's prerogative, p. 1634.

George duke of Clarence, 18 E. IV. an account of his accusation, from a MS. in the Cotton Library, p. 1635.

Roger Mortimer, 4 Ed. III. the slender evidence against him, p. 1636. The judgement against him reversed, p. 1646. Barons awarded and judged in his case, p. 1637.

Mompesson, 18 Jac. I. resolved in his case that none might be examined upon any thing that might accuse, p. 1636.

Davenport, 18 Jac. I. punished for representing a case worse than it was in Parliament, though it was not upon oath, *ibid.*

Thomas earl of Salisbury, 2 Hen. V. petitioneth to reverse a judgement against his father John, 2 Hen. IV. p. 1637.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

John Mautravers, the King's assent not mentioned in the judgement against him, p. 1638.

So Boeges and John Deveroil, Tho. de Gurney and W. De Ocle, *ibid.*

Earl of Salisbury and others, 2 Hen. IV. judgement against them for treason, by the King's consent; and so in the judgement against the earl of Northumberland, p. 1639.

The articles objected against Simon de Burley without the King's consent, and against his will, *ibid.*

In judgement on misdemeanors the King's assent not required, p. 1641.

The King's presence, p. 1642.

The presence of the Lords Spiritual, p. 1643—1646.

The presence of the Commons in capital cases, p. 1647.

Not to be present when the Lords consider of the delinquent's answer and the proofs, and determine of their judgement, *ibid.*

7 Hen. IV. the Commons prayed to have cognizance of what was done touching the said rebellions of Salop, p. 1648.

Gomeniz and Weston, 1 Rich. II. brought before *les Seigneurs en plein Parlement*, which includes the Commons, *ibid.*

Their presence not necessary, unless they impeach the delinquents, *ibid.*

Their interference in the cases of lord Latimer and William Ellis, *ibid.*

How concerned in the trial of lord Nevil, *ibid.*

Michael de la Pole, 7 & 10 R. II. fishmongers complain against him, and the Commons present at his answer, p. 1649.

Alice Peirce, 1 Rich. II. her trial deferred by the Lords till the Commons departed, *ibid.*—Purchases she made by dures held for none, p. 1653.

Judge Trefilian (21 Rich. II.) blamed for his answer touching the judgement of Michael de la Poole, p. 1649.

Earl of Northumberland, 5 Hen. IV. delivered to the judges, p. 1650.

Simon Burley, 21 Rich. II. appeals in Parliament concerning his death, p. 1650.

Earl of Kent, the King's uncle, 4 E. III. condemned to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, p. 1651.—King Edward, in a letter to the Pope on this judgement, says, *cui sententiæ dolentes acquievimus*, *ibid.*

Mortimer,

Mortimer, 4 E. III. hanged as a traitor, p. 1651.—Why nothing said in the judgement against him of what he should forfeit to the King, *ibid.*

Simon de Bereford, the same condemnation, *ibid.*

Weston, 1 Rich. II. adjudged a traitor, *ibid.*

Jo. lord Gomeniz, a German, being an alien and a banneret, beheaded, that being the death used in Germany to gentlemen, *ibid.*

Simon de Burley and the earl of Arundel, 12 Rich. II. adjudged traitors, *ibid.*

Earls of Kent and Salisbury, 2 Hen. IV. adjudged traitors, p. 1652.

Earl of Northumberland, 7 Hen. IV. adjudged to forfeit all his lands, *ibid.*

John de Lee, 42 Ed. III. adjudged to pay a fine, without fixing the sum, *ibid.*

Richard Lyons, 50 Ed. III. adjudged the same, *ibid.*

Lord Latimer, 50 Ed. III. to pay fine at the King's will, *ibid.*

William Ellis and John Peach, 50 Ed. III. to pay fines at the King's will, *ibid.*

William Latimer, 42 Ed. III. restitution made to him of the wardship he was outed of by John de Lee, *ibid.*

William Ellis, 50 Ed. III. pays 20 *l.* damages, *ibid.*

John Peach and John Nevil, 50 Ed. III. to make satisfaction in general, p. 1653.

John Cavendish, 7 Rich. II. adjudged to pay 1000 marks for slandering the Chancellor, p. 1656.

William Ellis, 50 Ed. III. accused by Botheil and Cooper of extorting seventeen nobles from the merchants of Pruse, and the cause referred to the civil lawyers, p. 1653.

Clynedon, 5 Rich. II. referred by the Lords to be tried at common law, *ibid.*

Weston and Gomeniz, 1 Rich. II. arraigned by the steward of the King's house, p. 1654.

Thomas Haxey, 20 Rich. II. arraigned by the lord steward of England, *ibid.*

Earl of Northumberland, 5 Hen. IV. if the lord chancellor kept his place at his trial (which it is not certain that he did), it was because he was to deliver the opinion of the Lords, *ibid.*

Earl

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

Earl of Bristol, 1 Car. I. lord keeper kept his place while articles were read against him, but did not arraign him, *ibid.*

Mortimer, 4 Ed. III. commands given to the earl marshal for his execution, p. 1655^{*}; and for that of Simon de Beresford, *ibid.*

Earl of Warwick adjudged to die; but that punishment exchanged for banishment, *ibid.*

John de Lee, 42 Ed. III. committed to the Tower, in the custody of Aleyn de Buxhull, *ibid.*

Lord Latimer, 50 Ed. III. committed; afterwards, upon mainprise of divers persons, suffered to go at large, p. 1656^{*}.

William Fitzhugh, 1 Rich. II. committed to the Tower, *ibid.*

Earl of Berks, 18 Jac. I. why sent to the Fleet, *ibid.*

Earl of Middlesex, 21 Jac. I. committed to the Tower, *ibid.*

Earl of Bristol, 1 Car. I. brought before the house of Lords by the gentleman-usher, *ibid.*

James Wright, 18 Jac. I. his punishment, for arresting a servant of the Parliament, *ibid.*

Botheil and Cooper, 50 Ed. III. 20 l. damages allowed them; but not mentioned how to be recovered, *ibid.*

John Nevil, the same year, awarded to make restitution, but not mentioned how nor when, *ibid.*

Alice Pierce, 1 Rich. II. The Lords determined that the party aggrieved by her should have remedy by process in Chancery, *ibid.*

John Cavendish, 7 Rich. II. to pay 1000 marks to the Chancellor, *ibid.*

John Talbot †, 32 Hen. VI. why exception taken to a writ against him, p. 1725.

^{*} Misprinted, in Selden, 1659 and 1660. J. N.

† This instance is taken from the "Argument concerning the Baronies of Grey and Ruthin." J. N.

OPERUM SELDENIANORUM

ORDO CHRONOLOGICUS*.

	A. D.
Analec̃ta Anglo-Britannica. Script. An. Ætat. 22.	1606
England's Epinomis.	1610
Janus Anglorum.	ibid.
The Duellum.	ibid.
Notes on Drayton.	1612
Titles of Honour, { An. Ætat. 30 } 1	1614
{ An. Ætat. 47 } 2	1631
Notæ in Fortescue de Laud. Leg. & in Sum. D. Rad. de Hengham.	1616
De Diis Syriis.	1617
Of the Jews in England.	ibid.
History of Tithes.	1618
The Privilege of the Baronage, script. A. D.	1621
Notæ in Eadmerum. An. Ætat. 38.	1622
Letter to Mr. Vincent.	ibid.
Commentaries on the Arundelian Marbles.	1627
De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti, secundum Leges Hebræorum.	1629
De Jure Naturali & Gentium.	About 1634
Mare Clausum.	1636
De Anno Civili & Calendario Judaico.	1644
Uxor Hebraica.	1646
Differtatio ad Fletam.	1647

* "I most heartily thank you," says Dr. *Wotton*, in a letter to Mr. *Bowyer*, dated *St. Luke*, 1726, "for the trust you have reposed in me, in lending me the new *Selden*. "Assure yourself it shall be particularly taken care of."—To which Mr. *Clarke* subjoins, "I can only add my thanks to the Doctor's, for the great treasure you have sent us. They came down safe; and I will take as much care as possible that they receive no damage. I have already put new coats upon them, that change of air and other like accidents might not affect them. I shall not think of returning them till the roads are fair again; nor shall I forget your directions about hay, though I hope you do not take me to have *foenum in cornu*."—This Chronological View, drawn up by Mr. *Clarke*, accompanied the volumes on their return. J. N.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

	A. D.
De Synedriis & Præfecturias Hebræorum, lib. I.	1650
Judicium de X Scriptor.	1652
De Synedriis, &c. lib. II.	1653
Vindiciæ secundum Integritatem Existimationis suæ.	ibid.

OPERA POSTHUMA.

A Review of the History of Tithes.	1661
Birth-day of our Saviour.	ibid.
Office of Lord Chancellor.	1671
Of the Judicature in Parliament (an imperfect piece, MS. lost).	1681
Of the Original of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments; written about the year 1628.	1683
Table-Talk.	1689

Published by Dr. Wilkins.

1. Answer to Sir James Sempill.
2. — — to Dr. Tilseley.
3. Of the Number 666.
4. Of Calvin's Judgement of the Revelations.
5. Of his purpose in writing the History of Tithes.
6. Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham.
7. Argument concerning the Barony of Grey and Ruthin.
8. Speeches.
9. Letters and Poems *.

* In 1671, came out, under his name, a "Discourse of the Office of Lord Chancellor of England:" in 1675, "Joannis Seldeni Liber de Nummis;" but this latter was written, before he was born, by Alexander Sardo of Ferrara. In 1683, Dr. Adam Littleman published his English translation of "Jani Anglorum Facies altera;" with "The Original of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments;" and "The Disposition or Administration of Intestate Goods." And "The Table-Talk" was published by his amanuensis R. Milward in 1689. Some of these, however, were thought not genuine, and unworthy of Selden's learning and judgement. See some particulars of him, and of his editor Dr. Wilkins, in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer." J. N.

A V I E W
OF A BOOK, INTITLED,
RELIQUIÆ BAXTERIANÆ.
IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

KIND SIR,

IT is with a double pleasure I now look into the various occurrences of the learned world, since you are not displeased with my accounts of them: while I am deprived of your company, it is some satisfaction I can give you an entertainment at a distance; and I am sure, where you make one of the guests, I can never enjoy pleasure without advantage. At present I send you a small history of "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ;" which you should have received among the "Memoirs of Literature," if the author of them had not rejected it: but, since his representation of this book has not wholly superseded mine, I now address myself to you, instead of speaking unknown to I know not whom, the gentle reader.

These Remains of Mr. Baxter contain a fragment of his own Life written by himself, a glossary of Roman antiquities, as much as he had digested under the letter *A*, and four familiar epistles.

The person to whom we are indebted for the publication of them is the reverend Mr. Moses Williams; the same who, during the author's lifetime, obliged us with Mr. Baxter's "Glossary of British Antiquities." As the design of that work was to settle the situation of the ancient towns in England, and to give the true etymology of their names, it was chiefly useful to an English antiquary: as this is formed upon a more general plan, and takes in a greater compass of antiquities, every scholar may find something peculiar to his taste. In both the author proceeds much in the same method, and searches out the meaning of each word by tracing it to its original. By this means at once the memory is relieved, at the same

G

time

time the judgement is informed, new observations are made on the change of languages, the analogy between them, and the original of them.

As to this last particular, Mr. Baxter's hypothesis is the same through both works; his proofs of it you may see in his "British Antiquities" under the word *BRIGANTES*; in his "Roman Antiquities" under *ARABES*, *ARAMÆI*, *ARMENII*.

The most ancient people, according to the concurrent testimony of profane history, were the Scythians. "Scytharum gens semper antiquissima," is a maxim asserted by Justin, l. ii. and confirmed by a multitude of other historians. They spread themselves, Mr. Baxter observes, over the greatest part of Asia and Europe, under the name of *Scythians*, *Phrygians*, or *Thracians*. Σκύθαι, he derives from Σκῆτω, or Ἑσκηύθω, *occulto*; importing the same with *Troglodyta*, the common epithet given to them and the several nations descended from them. The Scythians having passed into Thrace, and seated themselves among the cold mountains of that country, a colony of them, upon their return into Asia, were called *Phrygians*, either from the Greek Πρύϑη, *Frigus*, or from the tops of the mountains, called by the ancients Πέργαι, Βέργαι, or Βρέργαι. From hence, according to different dialects, the people were named Βρίγες, Βρύγες, Γρύγες, Φρύγες *, or by changing Φ into Θ, Θρήγες, Θράγες. From whence *Brigantes*, *Frixi*, *Frigones*, *Fri-fones*, *Britones*, *Britanni*. See Ant. Brit. p. 48. Ant. Rom. p. 248.

As they received different names according to their different plantations, so Mr. Baxter reduces them all to much the same signification. Γῆται from Γῆα, *Terra*. *Arabes*, *Armenii*, *Erembi*, from εἰς τὴν Ἐραν βαίνειν, or ἐμβάίνειν. So in Persic Τῆρκ, and British *Turch*, is the same with the Greek Πάρκη, *Sus*, whence came the name of *Turks*; *Hunni* from Ὀχεν, in Tartary signifying *Sues*, p. 281.

What the language of these ancient Scythians was has been matter of enquiry among the learned. Salmasius † supposes that from thence great numbers

* Βρίγες ἴδιος Θρακικόν. Ἡρόδωτος.—Οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακίδονες λέγουσι, καλεῖσθαι Βρίγες. Steph. Byz.

† Salm. De Hellenisticâ, p. 378. "Non dico eandem omnino fuisse linguam Græcorum, Getarum sive Thracum, & Teutonum sive Germanorum; sed multa has tres gentes habuisse vocabula communia, & ab eadem origine venientia. Persica quoque sive Parthica, quæ & ipsa auctores originis habuit Scythas, infinitas præfert voces quæ eadem reperiuntur in Græca pariter dialecto & Teutonica.—Crediderim tamen
" ab

numbers of words were received into the Greek, the Persic, and the Teutonic or German; that the Teutonic in particular sprang from it. Before him Goropius Becanus spent two folios to prove that the German was the Scythian dialect; that Japhet and his progeny, having no concern in the Tower of Babel, preserved this original language from being lost in the confusion which followed that undertaking.

Mr. Baxter at length (with what success I leave you to determine) sets up the Armenian. In this he finds those old Scythian words, preserved in Herodotus, and other Greek writers, which Salmasius owns himself at a loss to explain. "Ἀριμᾶ (says Salm. p. 394) Scythia apud Herodotum " idem est quod unus, σπῆ quod oculus. Quod nulla Scythica lingua " earum quas prædiximus agnoscit." Eustathius makes Ἀρι unus, and Μῆσοσ οculus. " Sed falsus est doctissimus Grammaticus (says Baxter, " p. 238) siquidem Armenis, qui hodie veteri Scytharum lingua loquun- " tur, Αἰρ est Vir, quæ vox hæret in Græcarum vocum terminationibus, ut " αἰρῆ, πατῆρ, &c. Latinis integra vox Vir est, Sax. per, Brit. Our (ipfi " scribunt Wr), Hebræis liquefacto R אִישׁ Ais & אָנוֹשׁ Anos pro Αἰρ & Ἀνδρ

" ab ipsis principiis diversas fuisse linguas Geticam, à qua Germanica, & Græcam; sed " propter vicinitatem Getarum, Thraicum & antiquorum Hellenum, qui Macedones " erant, quasi in agris collimitantibus, radices ab uno in alterum transisse." Ibid. p. 380.—" Regionem, quam postea Getæ tenuerunt, nisi iidem Getæ & Scythæ hoc " modo vetustioribus Græcis nuncupati, illo recentioribus," p. 381. I chuse to give you Salmasius's opinion in his own words, because in the learned bishop Nicholson's Discourse at the end of Chamberlayne's Lord's Prayer, through some typographical error I suppose, it is not very intelligibly represented. " Boxhornius & Salmasius Græcam, " Latinam, & Persicam, non nisi quatuor veteris Linguae Scythicæ dialectos fuisse existi- " mârunt," p. 13. BOWYER.

" I am glad that Tract concerning the original of languages was capable of giving " you any amusement, but am afraid it was too much at my cost. What I wrote I gave " Chamberlayne in English; and he, without acquainting me at all with it, got some " Proletarian Tything-man or other to turn it into Latin: who it was I never inquired, " and to this day don't know. There are gross faults in the translation, as I find by an " English copy which I have by me. I should be glad if it was forgot, because I can't " own it for mine. Baxter's whim of כֹּהֵן Cohen to answer to Συμπρεσβύτερος is his " own. Cohen is an original Hebrew, consisting of three radical letters which are es- " sential to the roots of that tongue. To make כֹּהֵן hen an intire root, it must be a " contraction from hanan, of which there is nec vola nec vestigium in Hebrew; and " whatever W. B. might have thought, the Jewish priest Cohen can have no analogy " with the Greek συμπρεσβύτερος, because Cohen is as old as Aaron, who was sole priest; " i. e. had no compresbyter; I can't bring Hebrew from Armenian." Dr. Wotton, Letter to Mr. Bowyer, dated St. Luke, 1726.

“ vel Ἀνῆ proferuntur. Iisdem Armenis Μῖ est *Unum*, quod plane Græcum est, natumque de Fœminino Μία, unde Μόν. Denique Ἀζι dici-
 “ tur *Oculus*, uti veteribus Græcis Ὀσκι, unde Ὀσσι & Ὀσκα & Ὀππα,
 “ & Latinum *Oculus*. Et ab Ἀζι Arm. est Ἀζιαπ *Oculis intente spectans*
 “ & per hoc *Fascinator*, ut ex Rivolæ Armeniaco Lexico compareret: quo
 “ & Græca Σκέπω & Σκόπ referenda esse manifestum est.”

Again. Do Salmasius* and Becanus both require, that the original tongue should abound in monosyllables, which other languages † have since improved

* “ Nemo dixerit Parthicum, sive Scythicum *Deh* ex Græco Δία effictum. Contra est. Quæcunque enim illæ linguæ orientalium ex Græco mutantur vocabula, integra ea repræsentant, non contracta nec abbreviata per Apocopen. Certum quippe est, linguas omnes, quæ monosyllabis constant, esse cæteris antiquiores.” *Salm. de Hellen.*

p. 390.

† “ I don’t remember what I said about Mr. Baxter’s Armenian grandmother, that
 “ could injure either of their reputations; but it is such a doctrine as will never go
 “ down either with Jews or Christians. The antiquity of very ancient languages can
 “ never be established by the languages themselves; at the distance we are speaking of,
 “ we can never be able to distinguish the Mother from the Daughter without some other
 “ evidence than the relicks which are left of them: as, in your instance (if we knew
 “ nothing of the antiquity of Greece and Rome), κοίνη might as well be supposed to
 “ come from *cæna*, because many eat together, as *vice versa*; for eating in every coun-
 “ try is certainly of as ancient date as its inhabitants; and the Welsh *bara* has as much
 “ antiquity in its sound and signification as the Hebrew: it is therefore from the history
 “ and progress of nations that we must learn the progress of languages. Colonies must
 “ not be supposed, but settled first, and then we may have leave to suppose afterwards;
 “ not but that I think we may safely say that this or that word could not be borrowed
 “ from another language, because we find it under such restrictions as are peculiar to
 “ its own: general rules in grammar, that are drawn from the genius of a language,
 “ must be as old as the language itself; though general rules, as to writing or teaching
 “ it, may be of any later date; but without history, etymology would be a very useless
 “ amusement. קרן, Gr. κέρα, Lat. *cornu*, Wallice *corn*, Angl. *horn*: how would it
 “ be possible to know which was the Mother of these words without knowing the history
 “ of the language; though, by knowing the rules, I could safely say that קרן did not
 “ come from *horn*, because in that language ק is never put before any word, unless it
 “ was originally a part of it. From *horn* the Jews would have made קרן or רנן,
 “ *haran*, or *rannan*, but never *keren*. I don’t know how much weight there may be
 “ in this way of reasoning, but I think enough to overbalance such colonies as have
 “ been planted only in the imagination; and כהן therefore has as fair a plea at least
 “ for antiquity as *bén*; it is certainly the first word that ever we know of to have been
 “ used for priest, i. e. *sacerdos publicus*: it is applied to Melchisedeck; and Will. Baxter
 “ had read of few priests much older, even in his Hieroglyphicks.

“ I have

improved into a greater length? Mr. Baxter appeals to the same testimony, and produces words which appear in Armenian in their simple form, but in other tongues only as compounds, or with prefixes and affixes joined to them. So *Sus* in Latin, from the Greek ὕς, that from Arm. Xs̄s, whence the Hebrews, adding the Armenian masculine termination, which I mentioned just now, made חֲזִיר *Chazir*, *Porcus*. *Hên* in Arm. and Brit. is *Senex*, for which the ancient Greeks said ἔνϕ. *Cobên* in Arm. and Brit. is *Consenex*, Συμπεριτέρεϕ; hence the Hebrews borrowed what is supposed to be their radix, כֹּהֵן *Coben*, signifying *senator* and *sacerdos*. See *Antiq. Brit.* p. 11. *Ant. Rom.* p. 19.

Mr. Baxter mentions nothing of the difficulties which occur concerning the confusion of tongues; but concludes (as I suppose) with Becanus, that the country where the ark rested was first peopled, and the original language there preserved. The ark stopt (according to his and the most received opinion †) at the top of Mount Taurus in Armenia Major; from whence Japhet's progeny, having passed into Scythia and Thrace, spread themselves over Asia and Europe. I might go farther back, and observe to you, that Mr. Baxter makes mankind to have been first planted, where it was afterwards renewed; and as the Tygris and Euphrates were agreed upon to be two of the rivers of Paradise, he first discovers the Araxes and Phasis to be the other two, p. 281.

"I have one thing to observe further, though, as it is against very great authors, I do it with great diffidence. Salmasius asserts, as you quote him, "Linguas omnes, quæ monosyllabis constant, esse cæteris antiquiores;" now I take the very reverse of that assertion for truth. Time has used languages as Procrustes did legs; and I think in etymology you oftener find words shortened than extended. It would be endless to pretend to instances, and the controversy would at last be decided only by the best arithmetician. But I must give you a few: *calamus*, *calav*; *τέρμα*, *terminus*, *tervyn*; *βανός*, *bann*; *arvum*, *ar*; *γλαυκός*, *glâs* in *Welsh*; *κλώθω*, *cloth*; *κάπη*, *cnæpp*; *moth*, *atomus*; *ordior*, *ord*; *vinum*, *vin*, *wine*; *tempus*, *temps*; *septimana*, *femaine*; *vado*, *Ital. vo*; *dicere*, *dire*; *loro*, from *illorum*. I have not skill enough in languages to prove this point; and I don't care to trouble the Doctor with it at present, though I can't tell whether he is of my opinion." *Mr. Clarke, Letter to Mr. B. 1726.*

† The two chief who have opposed this opinion are Becanus and Sir Walter Raleigh, who plead for Mount Caucasus or Paropamisus, because that lies east of the plains of Shinaar; and in Gen. xi. 2. it is said, *as they journeyed from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinaar*. But since the original may be translated as well in the East as *from* the East, little can be founded on this their main argument.

This

This conjecture he endeavours to confirm from etymology; but as that cannot afford much certainty on so obscure a subject, I shall rather give you an instance of the use it may be of, in settling the true meaning of common words. How grossly is Ovid mistaken, when (in his *Fasti*, lib. ii. ver. 569) he derives *feralia* from *fero*, “*quia iusta FERUNT*,” a word which is as applicable to all sacrifices, as to those which are offered for the dead! But we have some foundation for the signification of it, if we derive it from *Ἑρα*, *Æol.* *Γῆρα*, *Terra*, unde *Ἑρποι*, *Inferi*, *Inferia*, p. 217.

Another use Mr. Baxter makes of etymology, is to unravel the mysteries of the heathen mythology, and shew how they multiplied their gods under different names of the same signification; whereas, when that obscurity is once removed, the sun, moon, or stars, generally appear to have been the foundation of their fables, and the original objects of their worship.

He has shewn likewise the conformity of the heathen religion among different people, and how they borrowed from each other the same deities, though they gave them new appellations. He has farther illustrated the heathen theology from the writings of the Oneirocritics, whose observations being founded on the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, let us into a reason why particular honours were paid to ordinary creatures, instead of the things they once represented. *Adonis* may be an instance of all these particulars, p. 37, 38. “*Phrygibus Attin*, Gr. *Ἀιδώνας*, *Ἀΐδης*, *Ἀδης*, “*Teutonibus Odin* vel *Wodin*, Cilicibus, teste Steph. de Urbibus, “*Ἀδων*.—Idem Numen quod cornutus tibicen *Pan*, h. e. & *Primus Sol* “& *Deus Lunus*, five *Attis Menotyranus*, qui Sol erat lunari scapha circumvectus, Latinis *Virbius*, quod sæpius interiret & revivisceret.—*Aper* “igitur, qui Deum dente suo interfecit, nihil aliud erat quam *Hybernum* “*tempus*: siquidem Hyemis Genium & porcis & capris inesse credebatur. “*Quare Deæ Syriæ cultores abstinebant fuilla.* Σάμαρος ὑετόν τε σημαίνει & “*χειμῶνα βίαιον*, inquit Oneirocrites Artemidorus.”

In a glossary of this nature you will easily imagine Festus is often cited and illustrated; the emendations of Scaliger upon that author are frequently confirmed, and sometimes new ones proposed; and since other authors, both sacred and profane, receive light from Mr. Baxter in abundance of instances, I shall just give a specimen or two of his illustration in each particular.

In

In p. 33, we have a new interpretation of Psalm lxviii. 13, 14. He translates the original thus, "Si requieveritis sub oris alarum columbæ deargentatæ, cujus alarum terga sunt de fulgore auri; hæc, ubi disper- ferit Saddai reges per eam, nivea comparebit in vexillo." It was the custom, he tells us, for the Hebrew armies, as well as the Syrians and Assyrians, to have a dove for their standard; to which the Psalmist alluding says, "If you shall abide by your standard the silver-coloured dove, whose wings are gilt with gold, when the Almighty by its means has scattered the kings, the marks of victory shall be displayed in your ensign, and your dove appear as white as snow." All interpreters have blindly followed the LXXII in this place, who either ignorantly, or perhaps wilfully, rendered it obscure; for, being unwilling to gratify the Syrians, who worshiped a dove, with so honourable a mention of their deity, instead of translating the Hebrew word *a standard*, as they ought to have done, they made a proper name of it, and rendered it Mount *Selmon*. On this head he observes, there was a sect of Samaritans among the Jews, who corrupted Judaism with heathen notions, and confounded the true God with the Syrian PANTHEUS, who is the same with *Deus Lunus*, *Adonis* or *Bacchus*, *Dea Luna*, or *Semiramis*. These worshiped a dove, to speak in the terms of their gross idolatry, as the bird of God. By one of this sect he thinks the 4th book of Esdras was writ, which was justly condemned as uncanonical by the Council of Trent, though cited by Clemens Romanus. Accordingly he endeavours to shew evident marks of the forger's principles in that book.—But the proofs being too long to insert here, I refer you to them, and several other curious observations, under the Article *ATOSSA*, p. 330.

To come now to profane authors: in the sixth Æneid, where the poet represents his hero in Elysium, the commentators are miserably upon the rack to explain one particular in the description. Ver. 658, Æneas sees,

— — *lætum choro Pæana canentes*

Inter odoratum lauri nemus: unde superne

Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.

" — — some the choir maintain

" Beneath a laurel shade, where mighty Po.

" Mounts up to woods above, and hides his head below." *Dryden.*
The

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

The difficulty in the original I chuse to represent in the words of the judicious Mr. Trapp. "Servius, and after him Ruæus, interpret *superne* " as of running from Elyfium to the upper world. But I wish either of " them had given us an instance, in any good author, in which *superne* is " used for *sursum*, upwards. I imagine it is always used for *desuper*, " from above. But, taking it in the sense which I chuse, they know not " how to account for *unde*, just before it. Why not? The river runs " from the wood, because it runs beyond it one way; and comes from " above, because it is beyond it another way; the wood being situated in " a declivity." Accordingly he translates the passage thus:

— — " In the fragrant grove
" Of laurel; whence descending through the wood
" Eridanus abundant rolls his waves."

Though this translation may possibly be just, the comment upon it, I fear, will hardly hold. That *superne* does not *always* signify *desuper* is plain from Hor. lib. II. od. 20. "Album mutor in alitem *superne*." So again, De Art. Poet. ver. 4. "Definat in piscem, mulier formosa *superne*." And, notwithstanding the authority of Lexicographers and Grammarians *, I much question whether it is *ever* used in that signification; and much more, whether it is ever so used, without being joined to some other word that necessarily betokens *descent*. *Volvitur superne* can never signify *rolls from on high*, if *superne devolvitur* possibly may do so. The words then in Virgil, if they are so to be connected, can signify no more than *from whence the river rolls on high*, not *sursum*, but *in supero loco*. But if *unde superne* joined together will express the same as *ex quo supero loco*, the sense will then be *from which ascent the river rolls*. Either of these constructions (and these are the only ones the words can possibly admit) are a confirmation of Mr. Baxter's explication, viz. That we have no occasion to consider this Eridanus in Elyfium as descending from earth, no not of coming from *beyond the wood* where Æneas views it (for you

* I add *Grammarians*, because they place this adverb only among those which express *motum à loco*; whereas, with equal right at least, it ought to be ranked among the *Adverbia in loco*; just as *intus* is placed under both classes, being used to express *from within*, when joined to *exit*, *evocat*, *prodit*, or a verb compounded with some such preposition.

may, if you please, suppose it to take its rise there), since as the ancients divided the world into three parts, so they gave the same names to rivers and places in each of them, and they had a distinct Eridanus in heaven, in earth, and the shades below; as they had three suns, &c. p. 284.

To give one specimen more of Mr. Baxter's illustrations, I shall mention that of the famous passage in Martial, lib. xi. Epigr. 95. "Jura, Verpe, per Anchialum *." Anchialus he supposes to be made from a Hebrew word *אנחיאל* *Anchiel*, h. e. *Ruden's Deus*, or *אנחיאל*, a word compounded of *אנח* and *אל*, as *אריאל* *Ariel*, *Leoninus Deus*, is of *ארי* and *אל*. You know it was a common scandal cast upon the Jews, and afterwards on the Christians, that they worshipped an ass. Theodorus, a Latin Jewish poet, to clear himself of the crime he was taxed with, swears by Jupiter Tonans, an oath which Martial knew he took in vain, how sacred soever it was among the heathens, who esteemed that God as the more especial revenger of perjury. The heathen poet then thus retorts the sneer upon the Jewish:

"No, by thy long-ear'd braying godhead swear,

"Such is thy Jove, thy dreadful thunderer."

The foundation of this false report concerning the Jews has been matter of as much enquiry as the passage before us. Fuller supposes it to have taken its rise from what Moses relates of Anah the Horite, Gen. xxxvi. 24. "This was that Anah that found the asses in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." He might with as much reason have pitched upon any other passage in the books of Moses, where an ass is so much as mentioned. Tanaquil Faber, therefore, having justly wondered that so great a man as Fuller † should invent or Vossius ‡ subscribe to such a poor solution, proposes another of his own, in Ep. vi. Vol. I. "Josephus, says he, gives us an account of Onias's building a Jewish temple near Heliopolis, from whom the city where the temple stood was called *Ὀνιάσιον*, and the country thereabouts *ἡ χώρα Ὀνίας*. The people of Alexandria, and other Grecians, hearing the Jews often talk of going up *εἰς τὴν Ὀνίαν*, wilfully mistook it for *Ὀν*; and from hence propagated the story, as if they had it from the Jews' own mouths, that they went up to the temple of an ass.

* See above, p. 9.

† De Idololatr. l. iii. c. 75. p. 565.

‡ Miscell. Sacr. l. iii. c. 8.

Without examining into the probability of this conjecture, I proceed to Mr. Baxter's; and, to prepare the way for your reception of it, be pleased to reflect on the opposition between the Jews and Egyptians in their religious customs. It is remarkable (as Origen * observes) that the ceremonial law appointed those beasts in particular to be unclean, by which the Egyptians and other nations used to make their divinations, and allowed the Jews the free use of most others. On the other hand, the Egyptians increased the opposition, and would not suffer the Jews to slay those creatures which they themselves worshiped †; and on this account their sacrifices are said in Scripture to be "an abomination to the Egyptians." Now Plutarch tells us, that an ass and a hog were the usual victims of the Egyptians to their god Typhon, who was said to be the father of Hierosolymus and Judæus. The Jews then (says Mr. Baxter) might perhaps purposely avoid putting those two creatures to death, in opposition to the Egyptians, who so frequently sacrificed them, and from hence might occasion the story of their paying divine worship to them. I will only add, that as they were forbidden by their law the use of swine's flesh, so were they commanded to redeem every firstling of an ass with a lamb ‡. Their observance of these precepts, Selden § thinks might occasion the report. But the difficulty is, why their abstinence from swine's flesh should be more notorious than that from several other creatures, especially since the Egyptians ||, and many other nations, in like manner usually abstained from it. Mr. Baxter's solution will hardly account for this notoriety, if what Dr. Prideaux ¶ observes be true, that the ancient Egyptians made use of no bloody sacrifices at all; and though in Herodotus's time they offered some animals, yet but very few, before the Ptolemies brought in the Grecian way of worship among them **.

As

* Cont. Cels. l. iv. p. 225.

† See Bochart, Hieroz. Par. I. l. ii.

c. 34, 35. Prid. Connect. Part II. Book I. p. 11. Ed. Fol.

‡ Exod. xiii. 13. Numb. xxxiv. 18.

§ De Synedr. l. ii. cap. 1.

|| See Jenkin's Truth of the Christian Rel. c. xv. sect. 2.

¶ Connect. vol. II. l. i. p. m. ii.

** "I don't like Will Baxter's interpretation of the passage in Martial, though I had not thought of those reasons you give for rejecting it. But, notwithstanding that, you acted rightly not to omit it in the account of the book. You had no thoughts of defending all Baxter's notions; but to shew what nostrums and how much variety there was in it, and how agreeable an entertainment it might be for a man of

"let-

As to the letters at the end of this book, the first of them to Mr. Llwyd begins with an observation concerning the Irish anciently using the letter *C* for *P*, as among the Ionians *K* for *Π*, so Πέμπτε *quinque*, ἵππε *equus*, Ἐπὶ δὲ *quando*. Πείρω *quero*, Κῶς for Πῶς. [See Gloss. p. 136. and 156.] From hence he takes occasion to mention a new notion of his own concerning the origin of letters, which he supposes to have received their several forms from particular creatures from whence their sounds were borrowed. Thus *A* wide, says he, is the voice of a bull, called by the Syrians Ἀλφα, i. e. Αἰλ ἄππα; in Phrygian Ὑης ἄτης; in Latin *Liber Pater*, who is called in the hymns Ταυροδόκος. The figure therefore of this letter first represented a bull's head, to which the Hebrew *Aleph* is not much unlike. *Baita* is *Litera ovina*, &c. He observes, the ancient alphabets are but different hands of one and the same character, and therefore refers for the shape of each letter to that alphabet which best suits the name of it. His observing that the Greeks corruptly said *Tsanpi* for *Tsanti*, or *Tsadde*, gives me an occasion of submitting to your judgement a correction of those writers, who (and I think there are none who do not) suppose that the character which the Greeks put for 900 was compounded of the letters σίγμα (which the *Dorians* called σάν) and πῖ, and that therefore it had its name Ἐπίσημον σάνπι. But since both the other supplemental characters in the Greek alphabet are put for Hebrew ones, is it not

“ letters. The true sense of *per Anchialum* was undoubtedly first owing to Jos. Scaliger, “ *חַי ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ*. *Vivit Deus* was the Jewish oath: whatever has been done since, has been, “ I believe, upon that plan; and they that have come nearest the sound of *Anchial*, “ think they have succeeded best: Mr. Farnaby's *am, chi, ala, si vivit Deus*, seems to be “ as good as any of them. Mr. Chappellow thought the true sense of this place so “ considerable a discovery, that he gave us notice of it in his Proposals for the new “ *Spencer de Legg*. &c. I don't know what he there says of it; but I think Scaliger “ deserves all the honour of the discovery. He first shewed that *Anchiale* (utbs), which “ honest Brodæus embraced, was nonsense. To talk as well as live in a manner peculiar to himself, was a privilege Will Baxter always claimed: it is now too late either “ to correct it, or complain of it. It was great pity that his executor did not bury him “ in his beaver. That exact editor of his works has let the world know that the original W. Baxter could never be without it: there must be something odd in a layman's head, that would always be under such hat.—And I can't imagine who Cadmus “ the Carian was, unless he was his hatter.—Will Baxter perhaps discovered this third “ gentleman in some corner, where I shall never find him.” *Mr. Clarke to Mr. B. Jan. 31, 1726-7.*—See some severe strictures on Baxter's etymological reveries by Dr. Davies, in the “ *Origines Divinianæ*, 1754;” reprinted in “ *The Repository*, a select “ collection of fugitive pieces of Wit and Humour, in prose and verse, by the most “ eminent hands, 1777.” J. N.

probable this was so likewise, especially when no reason can be assigned why Sigma and Pi, either joined or separately, should signify DCCC? In whatever form therefore this character was first expressed, little doubt, I think, is to be made but that it was called Ἐπίσημον; i. e. *Signum*, τὸ Τσάδδς or Τσάη; as it expressed the same number among the Greeks which the final Tsadde did among the Hebrews; and perhaps received its shape from a small variation of that letter inverted, as the Ἐπίσημον Βάυ came probably from a reversion of the Hebrew Vau.

The second Letter is no more than a congratulatory epistle to Mr. Llwyd, on his publishing his *Archæologia Britannica*.

In the third, to a person of quality, he observes, that before the invention of letters they used to count by the heads of nails, and for a great while afterwards kept memorandums of years that way. Livy and Festus mention the custom, and the officer appointed *pangendo clavo*. Hence likewise (p. 11) *ACCENSI numerati a κελύω, pungo*. Without the knowledge of this, says he, how unintelligible is Ecclef. xii. 11!

The fourth letter to Mr. Gardiner is concerning the ancients writing *per notas*.

The author's Life * is rather a short account of his family than of himself. The name *Baxter* he derives from the Saxon Bæceþen, a *Baker*; for which reason he writes himself, from a word of the same signification in Welsh, *Popidius*. He begins with John Baxter under Hen. VI. Ed. IV. and Hen. VII. who received an addition to his arms for his strict adhering to the York faction. He mentions, by the way, the original of the Welsh proverb, "Howel is equal to Heylin;" and the reason why among the burgessees of Shrewsbury the right of burgeship descends to all their posterity. He introduces an old composition, under Henry VII. between the vicars of St. Chadde and John Baxter in com. Salop. By all that appears, the father of this John Baxter had left to the vicars, for certain *obits* in St. Chadde's for ever, an annuity of eight shillings. The son contests the vicar's right to it. The arbitrators compromise the matter, and award that the vicars should enjoy the annuity left them, but should pay to the said John Baxter 4 s. yearly out of it, during his natural life. I mention this story, because I cannot see any reason for that reflection with which

* See some particulars of him in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 46. J.N.

the author prefaces it, " unde licet æstimare & egregiam vicariorum " Sancti Ceaddæ impudentiam & gentis nostræ ἐπιείκειαν, ne dicam ἐνθουσιασµόν." I wish he had shewn a little more of this family-disposition in the exalted character he gives his great-uncle the famous Richard Baxter. " Vir ex- " temporanea dicendi facultate incredibili, zelo plane Apostolico (quem " scurræ nostrorum temporum *cantum* dicunt) morum etiam simplicitate " nimis Britannica, contemptuque rerum humanarum incognito suo " seculo.—Non ferens provincialis fui temporis sacerdotum inscitiam " atque impuros mores sponte quadam indolis suæ ad Calvinianos, Puri- " tatis eo tempore damnatos deflexit, etsi ab episcopo tunc temporis " Brennogeniensi in sacerdotem Anglicanum evectus." If in this passage you think him guided by too much heat, in the deference he pays to his own dreams * and to the heathen † divinations ‡, you'll condemn him of too much superstition. But you may easily indulge the old man in his dreaming faculty, if you don't find him guilty of it waking; you may share with him in his knowledge of the Oneirocriticks, in explaining the heathen mythology, as well as with the learned Daubuz in unfolding the Revelations.

Upon the whole, whatever imperfections may be found in this work, the Glossary must be confessed to be a specimen of a noble undertaking, which, if it had met with the encouragement it deserved §, would have remained a lasting repository of all sorts of antiquities. However, unfinished as it is, all thanks are due to the learned editor, who has rendered the

* Vitæ, p. penult.

† P. 267.

‡ " Antequam stantes reputat paludes
" Imbrium divina avis imminuentum,
" Oscinem corvum prece fuscitabo
" Solis ab ortu."

Hor. Carm. III. xxvii.

Aruspices non fuisse ex IV Sacerdotiorum Collegiis censent adversus Gutherium Gist. Cuperus, lib. iv. Obs. c. 13. & Norisius Cenotaph. Pisan. Diff. II. c. v.

§ Huic operi ut hic addatur necesse est. Plura enim D. BAXTERUS super hac materia chartæ non commisit. Totum Alphabetum percurrere in animo habuisse probe novi, id quod manifestum est vel ex vocibus quamplurimis ad quas Lectorem subinde refert. Quod vero non ultra processerit, Bibliopolarum vassitiei tribuendum est, qui GLOSSARIUM ANTIQUITATUM BRITANNICARUM ab hoc autore prelo paratum ipsisque imprimendum oblatum improbarunt. Intempestivam operis tanto labore eliminati, nunc quovis pretio comparandi rejectionem summa cum indignatione (cum par erat) ferens autor manum de tabula subduxit non sine immani literato orbi detrimento. MOSES WILLIAMS.

The first edition of the Gloss. Antiq. Brit. was published by subscription: only 350 copies were printed; and more than 250 were subscribed for. J. N.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

work as useful as possible, by adding an Index of all the words occasionally explained in it, as was done (I suppose by the same hand) in the former Glossary; I should first have said, who has preserved these remains from oblivion, to his own and the author's honour, and to the disgrace of those who, by rejecting his former Glossary, discouraged him from completing this. I am, Sir, with very great respect, yours, &c.

W.B.

INDEX of Authors corrected and illustrated by Mr. BAXTER,
in his GLOSSARIUM ANTIQUITATUM ROMANARUM.

Artemidorus corrected	137	Martial illustrated	108, 214
Athenagoras Apoll. corrected	242	Matt. xxiii. 27. illustrated	276
Bochart censured	59	Orpheus in Argon. censured	24-5
Baptista Bello censured	141	Ovid in Fastis censured	217
Camden censured	144	— — — — illustrated	121
Dacerius censured	32, 396	Perfius illustrated	68, 168
Donatus on Terence censured	240	Petronius corrected	260
Dionysius Halicarn. censured	266	Placiades Fulgentius explained	167
Eustathius censured	238	Plautus illustrated	96, 381
— — corrected	281	Plutarch censured	110, 220, 352
Festus censured	217, 219, 304, 309	— — corrected	131, 254
— — corrected	17, 78, 79, 80, 99, 140,	Paulus, Festi Epitomator, censured	377
143, 158, 197, 218, 227, 300, 337,		Salmasius censured	240, 265
352, 353, 361, 366, 381, 395		Sanctius censured	34
— — explained	240	Scalig. on Festus censured	87, 168, 271, 395
Gen. xlix. 11. illustrated	291	Septuaginta Interpr. corrected	61
Gloss. Vet. corrected	142, 274, 374, 397	— — — — censured	333
Herodian censured	302	Servius on Virgil censured	378
Hesychius corrected	37, 74, 266	Sigonius censured	391
Homer illustrated	160	Stephanus corrected	37
Horace explained	185	Strabo censured	325
Hyginus corrected	291	Suetonius illustrated	364
Isidorus's Glossary censured	304	Terence explained	296
— — — corrected	53, 142	Tzetzes on Lycophron censured	201
Juvenal illustrated	127, 216, 355	Varro censured	110, 274
Livy, lib. vii. 3. explained	122	— — corrected	243, 251, 354
Lucan explained	184	Virgil illustrated	190, 240, 285, 364
Luke xxiv. 4. illustrated	9	Vitruvius corrected	390
Macrobius censured	31	Vossius (Gerard) censured	373

ADDI-

A D D I T I O N A L R E M A R K S,
F R O M M R . B O W Y E R ' S M S S .

P. 402, &c. Bellarmini, & Caninii & Chevalerii interpretationem literarum nominum addidi ex Hermannii Hugonis libro de prima scribendi origine, c. vi. "Significationes alias longe adfert Euseb. lib. ix. & x. "de Præp. Evang. & ex eo D. Hieron. Comm. ad Threnos & Epistola "ad Paulam; quos aberrasse quidem demonstrat egregie Goropius, Hiero-
"glyph. l. i. sed ipse multo certè miserabilius lapsus, cum totius alpha-
"beti Hébraici literis omnibus, miram quandam orationem ad Spir.
"Sanctum docet contineri; secutus, ut opinor, Martini Gilberti commen-
"tum, qui Hebraicum alphabetum in septem sententias literis Hebraicis
"significatas disperfit; de quibus nihil habeo dicere simplicius, quam
"quod—*Turpe est difficiles habere nugas.*" ibid.

Ⲁ *Aleph*. Ita Plut. in Sympos. p. ... Caninius in Inst. Ling. Syr. & Jos. Scalig. in Eusebii notis. Ac Bellarm. in Gram. Hebræa *Aleph*, q. *Aluph*, i. e. Princeps, dict. putat.

Ⲁ *Beth*, *Domus*. Chevalerius, Caninius, Bellarminus.

Ⲁ *Gimel*, q. *Gamal*, i. e. *Camelus* à gibbo. Cheval. Canin. Bellarm.
Græci Γάμμα, παρὰ τὸ ἄμῶν, quod fit similis falci.

Ⲁ *Daleth*, q. *Doletb*, Pôrta, à similitudine. Cheval. Canin. Bellarm.

Ⲁ *He*, nomen à sono fictum, inquit Bellarm. Caninius Vermem punici interpr.

Ⲁ *Vau*, i. e. *Uncinus*, à forma.

Ⲁ *Zaijn*, q. *Zen*, *Arma*, exprimit enim clavam.

Ⲁ *Cheth*. Sic Canin. à sono inq. Bellarm.

Ⲁ *Tetha*. Ita Canin. *Involucrum*.

Ⲁ *Ioda*. Sic Canin. sed Bellarm. & Chevalerius quasi *Jad*, i. e. *spatium*, quod ob exilitatem suam vacuum relinquit.

Ⲁ *Cappha*. Sic Bellarm. a כפפ incurvare. Canin. *Palmam* interp.

Ⲁ *Lamda*. Ita cæteri.

Ⲁ *Mem*, *Macula*, Canin. A sono, Bellarm.

Ⲁ *Nun*. Sic Canin. A sono, Bellarm.

Ⲁ *Samech*, *Basis*, Canin. continuum & in se ductum, ait Bellarm.

Ⲁ *Aijn*,

- y *Aijn*, Fons. Canin. Oculus, Bellarm.
 פ *Pe*. Ita cæteri.
 צ *Tsaddi*, or *Tsanpi*, **Cel-spear**, Alii *Venabulum* & *Hamus*.
 ק *Quopha*. Sic Canin. Alii a *Cuph*, *circulus*.
 ר *Resch*, q. *Resh*, caput.
 ש *Shin*. Sic alii.
 ת *Tau*, *Signum* five *Terminus*, quia claudit alphabetum.

Eupolemus (ut refert Eusebius, de Præpar. Evang. l. ix. c. 26), Mosem sapientissimum fuisse virum prodidit & literas Judæis primum tradidisse, & a Judæis Phœnices, Græcos autem a Phœnicibus accepisse.

Europæa vocabula in America, p. 6.

SHORT REMARKS ON BAXTER'S GLOSSARIUM ANTIQ. BRITANN.

- P. 6 & 138, in *Folc* valdè errat Baxter.
P. 7, Q. Senecio & Palma Coff. sub Domit.

Legimus in Fastis Consul. A. D. 99. { *A. Cornel. Palma I.*
C. Sossius Senecio II.

Nonius vero Senecio nondum mihi occurrit.

- P. 19, *Pen & Caput & Finis* vel extremitas rei cuiuspiam. Sic *Ἀρχή*,
 Αἶτ. Apost. x. 11.

P. 41. *Billericay* in *Cæſſeria*. Unde nomen ductum inter doctos non convenit. An *Villa-ericeti*, an *Villa-regia*, an *Villa-kaesaris*. Suet. in Aug. c. 60. *Reges amici atque socii & singuli in suo quique regno CÆSAREAS urbes condiderunt.*

Ptolemæi Geogr.	p. iii.
Antonini Itinerar.	p. iii. auctorem ejus Itinerar. fuisse
Ravennas Monachus,	p. iii. Bassianum cenſet Galæus.
Numeri in Notitia,	} p. 2
Præpoſitus numeri,	
Peutingiana Tabula,	p. 5
Scoti 7 ^{to} ſæc. vix noti in Valentia,	p. 95, 97
U ric,	p. 157
Imperii Notitia,	p. 190
Piſti,	p. 195, 218

NOTÆ breves, per Virum Reverendum GUL. STUKELEY *, S. R. S.

Ad PONTEM. Propè **Bridgeford**, in comitatu Nottinghamiensi, super Viam Fossam (ut vulgò dicitur) ubi rudera antiqua, & Antonini milliaria, locum quasi digito commonstrant.

AQUAE. **Aukboz** ugh ad ripam amnis Troventionis & Abontri æstuarii, in comitatu Lincolnensi, ubi castrum Romanum adhuc manet.

Inferè BENAVERA, **Weldon**, Caput Aufonæ.

CALEVA ATREBATUM. **Farnham**, vel **Langham** quod juxta est, ubi immanes antiquitatum reliquiæ effossæ.

CANTENNIS. Rectius CAUSENNIS, apud **Daunton** magnam, ubi pavimenta tessellata quotidie eruuntur.

CROCOLANUM. Juxta **Collingham** apud **Brough**, ad viam regiam **Fosse** vocatam, in agro Nottinghamiensi, ut rudera antiquitatis, nummi Romani, & Antonini milliaria ostendunt.

DANNAVANTRIA. Omnia immeritò, restet BENAVERA . . . Caput Aufonæ amnis ad **Weldon**.

DUROBRIVAE. Apud **Chesterton** ad australem Ninæ fluvii ripam, ubi **Hermenstreet** fluvium transit, hic enim ingentia castri five oppidi rudera profundissimâ fossâ muniti.

DUROCOBRIVIS. **Berghamsted** omninò, ubi Antonini milliaria ex omni parte conveniunt.

DUROLEVUM. Rectius DUROLENUM, **Charin** juxta **Lenham**.

DUROLICUM. Rectius DUROLITUM, **Rumford**, i. e. Trajectus Romanus.

DUROTUOBRIGA. Immeritò cuncta, rectius enim scribitur PUNTUOBICE, quod apud **Debises** statuendum est †.

DUROVERNUM. Insert the English name **Canterbury**.

CAESAROMAGUS. Proculdubio apud **Chelmsford**.

EBURACUM. Put the English name **York**.

* These observations were inserted in the second edition of the British Antiquities. As they are not in the *first* edition, it was thought proper to transcribe them here.

J. N.

† On this etymology, see Dr. Davies' "Origines Divisianæ, Lond. 1754, 8vo." reprinted by Dilly, in "The Repository," vol. II. p. 217. J. N.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

ELTABON. The English name *Northampton*.

ETOCETUM. *Chesterfield wall*, propè *Lichfield*, ubi magna antiquæ urbis rudera ad viam *Watlinstreet*.

IBELNIUM. Rectè IBERNIUM, *Were* in *Durotrigibus*.

p. 137. *Icanhoe*, place the present name *Boston*.

ISCALIS. The English name *Alchester*.

LACTORODUM. Apud *Old Stratford* juxta *Stony Stratford*, ut nemini dubium.

LEUCOMAGUS. *Great Bedwin*.

LINDUM COLONIA. The English name *Lincoln*.

MARGIDUNUM. Juxta *Willughby on the Wolds* ad viam *Fosse*.

NAINA. English word *Neen*.

REGENTIUM. *Kingwood*.

TRIPONTIUM. Ad *Dobehridge*.

TUNNOCENUM. Scribo ITUNOCENUM, sc. *Itunæ fluvii ostium*, ad *Boulness*.

The Traditions of the Clergy NOT destructive of Religion.

BEING REMARKS ON
MR. BOWMAN'S VISITATION SERMON*.

Exposing that Gentleman's Deficiency in Latin and Greek,
in Ecclesiastical History, and true Reasoning.

BY A GENTLEMAN OF CAMBRIDGE.

" Now I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the TRA-

" DITIONS, as I delivered them to you." 1 Cor. xi. 2.

" Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the TRADITIONS which ye have been

" taught, whether by word, or our epistle." 2 Thess. ii. 15.

WITH humble submission to our learned Preacher, I cannot but think he opens his Sermon too much like an Empirick in Divinity, in endeavouring to gain the esteem of the populace by depreciating that of his own order. The upstart retailer of Phyfick never fails to tell you, that the rest of the Faculty only make fools of others to enrich themselves; that they pick your pockets, even at the expence of your constitution: " But I, says he, am come purely to undeceive you; and were I " as sure of losing an estate, as by my success I am likely of getting one, " would still persevere in this glorious attempt."

In like manner our preacher introduces the weakness of the people, and the knavery of the priests, in his second paragraph: " Priestcraft has generally been reputed the parent of Superstition; and as it is the undoubted interest, so has it been the great design, of Priests of all Religions to inculcate this profitable delusion." The dangers to which

* See an account of this Sermon, and some particulars of its answerers, in the " Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," under the year 1731.

Priestcraft (as he calls it) exposes our civil constitution, the reader will see urged in the sequel of the Sermon *, and the exalted character of a disinterested preacher in the Preface to it; where, if the author has rejected the commission of an apostle, he has gloriously asserted to himself the spirit of one: "For the sake of truth I am content to face an inquisition, " or to starve in a dungeon; to be destitute, afflicted, tormented; to " wander about in goat-skins and sheep-skins; to be flayed with scourges, " or broken on racks."

I beg leave to carry on the comparison between the Mountebank and Divine one step farther, because I intend afterwards to follow the reasoning of the latter without interruption. The itinerant Physician (the Divine, I confess, is too well fixed to deserve that epithet), before he comes to the end of his speech, too often betrays his ignorance in the language of his faculty. A hard word misapplied, or wrong translated, lays him open to the scoff perhaps of some sauntering school-boy. This unluckily proves to be Mr. Bowman's case. He happens to have one Greek citation in his Sermon: *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. Μηδεις χωρις τς επιςκοπς τι πρως- σιτω των ανηκοντων εις την εκκλησιαν †, i. e. "Let no one do any thing be- " longing to the Church without the consent of the Bishop." Mr. B. translates it thus, "Let no one meddle with any thing, though ever so " convenient for the Church, without the Bishop." How he comes to render των ανηκοντων εις την εκκλησιαν, though ever so convenient, &c. is the secret I am now going to account for.

Upon peeping into the Latin translation, he finds it, "Nullus sine " Episcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ CONVENIUNT in Ecclesiam." Puzzled at the Latin, and ignorant of the Greek, he first tries the sentence thus: "Let no one meddle with any thing that is convenient for the " Church." But, being a great reasoner, he soon perceived the nonsense of what he thought the literal interpretation of a prohibition against meddling with any thing CONVENIENT to another. Well, a sanguine writer requires a sanguine translator: he throws in two small words, and out comes the sentence wonderfully emphatical: "Let no one meddle with " any thing, THOUGH EVER so convenient," &c. Poor gentleman! I cannot but smile to see the great *Enquirer into the nature of a Christian Church*

† Ign. Ep. ad Smyrn. c. viii.

thus puzzled to construe a sentence plain in Latin, and still plainer in Greek. Let me advise him, before he proceeds farther in his studies about Church-affairs, to undergo a little longer School-discipline.

The following citation from St. Cyprian * gives us too evident proofs that his former master did not do him justice: "*Actum est de Episcopatus* * Ep. ad Corn. 59.
"*vigore, & de Ecclesie gubernanda SUBLIME & divinâ potestate.*" I was always taught at school, that adjectives that make *is* and *e* in the Nominative, make *i* only in the Ablative. Accordingly, I find it *sublimi* in the Oxford edition; I suppose it is so in all others. I should have imputed this mistake to the Printer; but, after five † impressions, printed, as I understand, under the † This was corrected in the sixth edition. J. N.
nose of the Author, I leave the Reader to judge which of the two are culpable.

When I reflect upon the ignorance the Author has here betrayed in the only two specimens he has given us of his learning, and remember the Apostolical colours he puts on in the Preface, it reminds me of a story, which, I think, is attributed to Erasmus; who, hearing an insignificant Preacher describing the Apostles as simple illiterate men, in a style that shewed too much his own simplicity, broke out into this exclamation, *En virum vere Apostolicum!*

From this Author's learning, let us proceed to his reasoning. The design of his discourse is, "to shew wherein the Clergy of this nation oppose
"their vain and human Traditions to the divine Word of God. And first
"with relation to their mission." Under this head, he goes so far hand
in hand with all the Divines of our Church, that it is pity he should leave
good company with so much warmth at last. He allows, that "some
"mission is absolutely necessary ||:" that "the Apostles, after our Sa- || P. 8.
"viour's death, by authority committed to them, constituted an order of
"men, to govern and take care of the Church, and to ordain inferior
"ministers in every place †:" that "this order has been continued down † P. 9.
"in a long uninterrupted succession to the present time, and in all proba-
"bility may be continued down till time shall be no more:" Lastly, that
"episcopacy is an institution laudable and excellent in itself, and ad-
"mirably adapted for the conservation of peace, decency, and order."
What would any of us wish for more? Oh, the young gentleman will
shew you, that, how high soever he lets Episcopacy soar, he holds it, like
his

his kite, by a string, and will level it for you presently. For (it seems) to conclude from these specious premisses, that this ordinance "is to be observed even when circumstances are such, that it is the worst and most detrimental ordinance the Church can have, is an argument only worthy of the *Hickes's* * and *Leslies* † of the age." A sudden fall indeed!

Does

* Dr. George Hickes, born June 20, 1642, was entered of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1659. After the Restoration, he removed to Magdalen College, and thence to Magdalen Hall; and at length, in 1664, was chosen fellow of Lincoln College. He was made chaplain to the duke of Lauderdale in 1676; who took him next year into Scotland, where he received the degree of D. D. in a manner particularly honourable to him. He was promoted to a prebend of Worcester in March, 1679-80; made chaplain to the King in 1681; and dean of Worcester in August 1683. At the Revolution, refusing with many others to take the oaths, he fell under suspension in August 1689, and was deprived in February following. He continued in possession, however, till May; when, reading in the Gazette that his deanry was granted to Mr. William Talbot (afterwards successively bishop of Oxford, Salisbury, and Durham), he immediately drew up, in his own hand-writing, a claim of right to it, directed to all the members of that church, and in 1691 affixed it over the entrance into the choir. The earl of Nottingham, then secretary of state, called this "Dr. Hickes's Manifesto against Government." From this time he was under the necessity of absconding till May 18, 1699, when lord Somers obtained an act of council for a *Noli prosequi*. He was in the mean time consecrated, Feb. 4, 1693-4, among the Nonjurors, suffragan bishop of Thetford. Some years before he died, he was grievously tormented with the stone; and at length his constitution, though naturally very strong, gave way to that distemper, Dec. 15, 1715.—He was a man of universal learning, and particularly skilful in the old Northern languages and antiquities ‡; and has given us some writings || in this way, which will be valued when all his other works (consisting principally of controversial pieces* on politicks and religion) are forgotten. He was also deeply read in the primitive Fathers of the Church, whom he considered as the best expositors of Scripture. J. N.

† Dr. Charles Leslie, a famous Nonjuring Divine, second son of John Leslie, bishop of Clogher. At the Revolution, he was chancellor of the cathedral of Connor; but left that and his other ecclesiastical preferments to follow king James's fortunes, and after his death his son's, and made several visits to the courts of St. Germain and Bar le Duc; which, with his writings, having rendered him obnoxious to the government, in the

‡ See his recommendation of Mr. Elstob to the lord treasurer Harley, in the "Anecdotes," p. 48.

|| 1. "Institutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mæso-Gothicæ. Grammatica Islandica Runolphi Jonæ. Catalogus librorum Septentrionalium. Accedit Edwardi Bernardi Etymologicum Britannicum. Oxon. 1689." 4to.

2. "Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis libri duo: quorum primus G. Hicessii S. T. P. Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium thesaurum grammatico-criticum et archæologicum, ejusdem de antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis utilitate dissertationem epistolarem, et Andræ Fountaine equitis auri numismata Saxonica et Danico-Saxonica, complectitur: alter continet Humfredi Wanleii librorum veterum Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ bibliothecis extant, catalogum historico-criticum, necnon multorum veterum codicum Septentrionalium alibi extantium notitiam, cum totius operis sex indicibus. Oxon. 1705." 2 vols. folio.

3. A letter in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 302, p. 2076, intitled, "Epistola viri Reverendi D. G. Hicessii S. T. P. ad D. Hans Sloane, M. D. et S. R. Secr. de varia lectione inscriptionis quæ in statua Tagis exaratur per quatuor alphabetâ Hetrusca."

year

Does this Author insinuate that circumstances *are now* such that they have been, or that they may be such? If he disputes only about a possibility, it is a little unjust to fall so hard upon two gentlemen who cannot now appear for themselves, on account of a case that in all probability will never appear against them. For surely, if Episcopacy is "admirably adapted" "for the conservation of Peace," and has been found by experience to agree with all forms of governments from the first institution of a Church, we may still hope it will never deserve this character of being the "worst" "and most detrimental ordinance" that can be.

We deny not but animosities and tumults have arisen among Bishops; but we say, they were owing to the faults of the men, not of the institution. And we have reason to think so, because all forms of government are subject to them. Dr. Maurice * has shewn, that, whatever calamities have befallen Episcopal Churches, the Dissenting ones have been equally liable to the same. This Author knows that it has been often urged, that the prudential reasons for which our Saviour or his Apostles instituted Episcopacy will always subsist, and plead for the necessity of its perpetuity. But, it seems, the perpetuity of it is frequently established upon a wrong foundation. For "from this Apostolical institution our Clergy, desirous" "to persuade the world that they have something in them of so divine a" "nature as in an especial manner distinguishes them from the rest of" "mankind, draw this pleasant inference in favour of themselves, viz. That" "Episcopal ordination is essential to the Church of Christ; that without" "it the pure word of God cannot be preached, nor the sacraments duly" "administered, and consequently that there are no true Churches upon" "earth but those of England and Rome †."

† P. 9.

year 1713 he found himself under a necessity of leaving the kingdom, and retiring to the Pretender's court; where he was allowed to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the church of England. He went with the Chevalier into Italy, and about a year before his death returned to England; where having prepared for the press a collection of his Theological works (of which a large impression was printed by Mr. Bowyer, in two volumes, folio, 1721) he went into the North of Ireland, his native country; and died, soon after his arrival, April 13, 1722. He defended the Bishop of Exeter against Mr. Hoadly, in "The best Answer that ever was made," &c. and was author of "The Rehearfals," and many other political tracts. J. N.

* Answer to Mr. Baxter's Church History, p. 367, &c.

From

From this last consequence one more *inference* will be drawn, not so *pleasant* as some others to this Author, viz. that the Enquirer into the nature of a Christian Church knows less of the history of it than he would have the world imagine. I will prove it in the words of an Author, whom he has made free with by name, but whom he likewise is less acquainted with than he would make us believe he is. The passage being somewhat remarkable, I will give it at length*. “The whole Christian world, as it always has been, so at this present is, episcopal, except a few Dissenters, who, in less than two hundred years last past, have arisen like a wart upon the face of the Western Church: for little more proportion do our Dissenters here, the Hugonots in France, the Presbyterians in Holland, Geneva, and thereabouts, bear to the whole body of the Latin Church, which is all Episcopal. But if you compare them with the Catholic Church all over the world, which is all Episcopal, they will not appear so big as a mole. 2. If our Dissenters think it much that the Church of Rome should be reckoned in the list against them, we will be content to leave them out: nay more, if we should give them all those Churches which own the supremacy of Rome to be joined with them (as they are the nearest to them), it will be so far from casting the balance on their side, that the other Episcopal Churches will by far out-number them both. Let us then to these Dissenters against Episcopacy add the Churches of Italy and Spain entire, with the popish part of Germany, France, Poland, and Hungary (I think they have no more to reckon upon). Against these we produce the vast empire of Russia (which is greater in extent than all these Popish countries before-named), England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and all the Lutheran Churches in Germany, which will out-number both the Papists and Presbyterians before mentioned. And this comparison is only made as to the Latin Church: but then we have all the rest of the Christian world wholly on the Episcopal side, against both the supremacy of Rome and parity of the Presbyterians; the whole Greek Church, the Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, Jacobites, the Christians of St. Thomas and St. John in the East Indies, and other Oriental Churches.

* Leslie's Discourse, shewing who they are that are now qualified to administer baptism, &c. § iv.

“Then in Africa, the Cophties in Egypt and great empire of the Abyssins
 “in Ethiopia. These are all Episcopal, and never owned the supremacy
 “of Rome, and over-reckon, out of sight, all that disown episcopacy,
 “and all that own the supremacy of Rome with them.”

As to our want of Christian charity*, for those who do not enjoy the* P. 10.
 benefit of an episcopal ministry, it has been often answered, that we *judge*
them not; to their own Master they must stand or fall. We doubt not but
 a merciful God will make allowances for cases of necessity, and even invin-
 cible prejudices. These are proofs of our Charity, “which believeth all
 “things, hopeth all things.” But Charity does not, cannot, make me
 disbelieve my own title to an estate, because my neighbour cannot produce
 as good an one; nor can I think a good title *less* requisite, because *he*
 wants it.

The author proceeds to confute this *pleasant inference*, that Episcopal
 ordination is essential to the Church, because it is an Apostolical institu-
 tion. He argues thus: if it is essential because an Apostolical institution,
 then it must be so, because it is an Apostolical institution designed to be
positive and perpetual†. But this is what he denies. So that you see the† P. 11.
 dispute at last turns upon *principles*, not upon *inferences*, which this gen-
 tleman is so desirous of being *pleasant* with; for all allow that there were
 some Apostolical institutions which were only temporary. That Episco-
 pacy was not designed to be perpetual, the author argues, because “a God
 “full of mercy and compassion cannot but make every thing that con-
 “cerns the everlasting happiness of our souls clear, obvious, and indisputable.
 “But that this [*thing!*] concerning Episcopal ordination is not so, I leave its
 “bigoted patrons to judge. The present state of the Church of Scot-
 “land, of the Reformed Churches abroad, and of the modern Dissenters
 “in England, is an incontestable evidence of this.”

This is Des Cartes’ proof of his own existence somewhat inverted: “I
 “doubt; therefore I am.” But this author says, “The truth of a pro-
 “position is called in question; therefore it is not true.” If we must
 disbelieve all religious principles till mankind are agreed in them, we
 have nothing to do but to turn Atheists.

As Charity before obliged us to think that mankind *had not* erred in
 any of the essentials of Religion, so now from God’s *mercy* we are to con-

clude that they *cannot* err. "He cannot but make every thing that concerns the everlasting happiness of our souls clear, obvious, and *INDISPUTABLE*." Objects appear plain, according to the different texture of men's eyes. The necessity of Infant Baptism is not clearly enough revealed to the Anabaptists, of neither Sacraments to the Quakers; and Revelation in general is disbelieved by those gentlemen who have furnished our author with this argument. Will he therefore arraign God's mercy? or will he conclude, as his teachers have done, that because there are disputes about the sense of a Revelation; therefore God has made none? One of these are the inevitable consequences of his assertion. I, for my part, tremble at these truths, which appear in so *amiable a light* to others.

But I am surprized to think this gentleman should not see the weakness of this whole argument from his own concessions. He allows Episcopacy to be an Apostolical institution, because it appears to him "evident from
 * See p. 9. "Scripture" to be so*. Now this very point not one in six hundred of
 & 12. *the Reformed Churches abroad, or the modern Dissenters in England*, will allow him, most of whom maintain that no Bishop is described in Scripture but Antichrist. Now where are the effects of our author's great Charity, I am sorry I must add, God's Mercy; neither of which, we see, have wrought between him and his brethren a coalition?

There is nothing more in the Author's argument, unless he expects I should answer his appeal to the most *bigoted patrons* of Episcopacy, and determine whether the perpetuity of it is clearly expressed in Scripture. I answer, that, though it is not expressed, it is sufficiently implied in it. And I think our Author's concessions go a great way to prove it so. If some kind of *mission* is absolutely necessary, it is highly probable our Saviour or his Apostles appointed one: if Episcopacy in particular is
 † Ch. Gov. clearly described in Scripture, as Bishop Potter † has excellently proved,
 c. iii. and this gentleman does not deny; if no good reason can be produced why it should not be perpetual, as this gentleman has not produced one; if those who were contemporary with the Apostles have mentioned it as designed to be perpetual; and the Christian Church in all places for fifteen hundred years has thought herself obliged to adhere to it; this to me is argument sufficient for the necessity of its continuance. However, I beg
 leave

leave to confirm this concurrent proof in the words of the present Archbishop of Tuam*. He lays down this rule †; “That *the positive laws and*
 “*institutions of our Saviour Jesus Christ are always to be interpreted according*
 “*to the universal and received practice of the Apostles.* Nor is this any
 “more than what for ever takes place in all kingdoms, commonwealths,
 “and communities, throughout the world. Let us suppose, for example,
 “that a case arises upon a statute of the land (as many needs must) that
 “the *express letter of the law* does not reach to, and therefore alone can-
 “not determine: if, in such a case as this, it sufficiently appears that,
 “immediately from and after the making of that law, the *universal and*
 “*allowed practice*, and that *in pursuance of the law itself*, has constantly
 “been in such a certain manner; this *same practice* shall be reckoned as an
 “authentic interpretation, or rather as a *part* of the law, and equally
 “obligatory with the *letter* of it. And this with all the reason that may
 “be: for, whenever a law is made (especially by a legislator that is wise
 “and good), it is always to be supposed, that they with whom the exe-
 “cution of this law is first intrusted (and who therefore are to be an
 “example to those that are to come after) have sufficient instruction and
 “information given them concerning the full import and design of what
 “is enacted; and if they in any thing relating to that law should act
 “otherwise than was intended by the law itself, it is not to be imagined
 “but the law-maker would immediately interpose, and not suffer his in-
 “tention in making the law to be from the very beginning so abused or
 “perverted. Thus, I say, the matter stands with relation to all worldly
 “communities; and that the same rule will even much more strongly
 “hold in the Christian Church, will, I think, easily be granted, if we
 “consider that the Apostles not only were, as judges and magistrates in a
 “Civil state, entrusted with the execution of the laws and institutions of
 “our blessed Saviour; but also had herein such constant, certain, and
 “even infallible assistance from the Holy Ghost, who *guided them into*
 “*all truth* ‡, *taught them all things, and brought all things to their remem-*
 “*brance, whatsoever Christ had said unto them* ||, as put them beyond all

† John
 xvi. 13.
 || Ch. lxiiv.
 26.

* Dr. Edward Synge, author of many valuable religious treatises. J. N.

† Divine Authority of Church Government, &c. in a sermon preached at the consecration of Dr. Peter Browne, p. 26.

“possibility of error; to which even the best magistrates, and most learned judges, in worldly communities, are often subject.”

The learned Author proceeds to confirm this proof, by observing that in many other instances we can only learn the intention of the Apostles from the practice of the primitive Church. Thus there is no express command for abrogating the Jewish Sabbath, and setting apart the Christian Sunday instead of it: for the Laity, at least for the women’s partaking of the Eucharist. Dr. Hickes * has likewise observed these and other particulars. But I would not trouble this gentleman too much with invidious names.

* Christian
Priesthood,
p. 7.

Another reason alledged, why Episcopacy was not designed for a perpetual ordinance, is, because, “from the supposed perpetuity of it, a consequence will naturally result, which will overturn the foundation of all Civil governments; the destruction of which, we are sure, the Apostles could never design: for, as it implies an entire independence of the state, and is a discretionary act of the Bishop, independent too himself (for a divine institution is not cognizable by the Civil power), it follows that the government can exact no legal security for the behaviour of the clergy, but what they themselves are pleased to give †.”

† P. 13.

The Author here designed, I suppose, to represent a confusion between the Church and the State, and the words most elegantly echo to the sense. The institution of Episcopacy is said to be a discretionary act of a Bishop, who is said to be *independent* in his person; and the person is said to be *independent*, because the institution of his office “is not cognizable by the Civil Power.” The consequence the Author draws from hence, that the government can impose “no oaths, subscriptions, nor declarations,” is confuted by every day’s experience. The objection, I suppose, that the Author aimed at is, that Bishops having in themselves an inherent power of ordaining, they may carry on, if they please, a succession of their own order in opposition to the state. Allow this objection all the force imaginable, it makes no more against the perpetuity of Episcopacy than of Presbytery, or any other mission whatsoever, or even of Christianity itself. Fix a Church under what form of government you please, the sincere members of it will think themselves obliged to continue that Church, though the State should use its utmost endeavours to destroy it. In ordinary

many cases the Church may, for prudential reasons, restrain herself from exercising many of her inherent powers: or (if this gentleman will insist upon my so speaking) the Supreme Magistrate has a *right* to impose such a restraint. Thus in England the power of nominating Bishops, of ratifying canons, &c. belongs to the King. But no one can be so absurd as to think that the Church (be it what or where you will, any religious society whatsoever) would not exercise these powers independently of the Prince, when she found he made use of them to her destruction. Disputes may have arisen about the limits within which she is ordinarily restrained, or *ought* to be so; and men have differed about the circumstances that oblige her to break through them, and to act according to her original independency: but still, I say, all allow independency is at last the Church's essential prerogative; and I therefore urge, that this argument against the perpetuity of Episcopacy, drawn from a possible inconvenience to the State, may as well be urged against the perpetuity of any Church, any Religion, even of Christianity in general: "No civil deprivation [*no restraint*] can stop its mouth, its character extends over all *its members*, and to all nations, and submits [*to be confined*] by no authority upon earth."

"Another reason why Episcopal ordination is supposed an essential call to the ministry is, that it conveys to those upon whom it is conferred some necessary requisite for the work of the ministry." I pass over the absurdity of reckoning ordination a *call*. The author's answer to this is, "That he knows no other requisite for the work of the Ministry, than piety and learning." I thought he had allowed, "That some kind of mission was absolutely necessary*." Yes, he will tell me, "for the* P. S. sake of order, and to avoid confusion." On whatever account it is allowed, I know not how to reconcile the difference between *absolutely necessary* which it is granted to be in one place, and a *necessary requisite*, which it is denied to be in the other.

To proceed: This gentleman, I cannot but observe, is a mighty *prudential* interpreter. If he can but discover the reason of an institution, it presently removes the divinity of it: he seems to invert the poet's maxim, and reads in his manuscript,

"Nullum Numen *adeſt*, ſi ſit PRUDENTIA."

It

† Heb. v.
4, 5.

It is sufficient for me that we are told in express terms, in Scripture †, *That no man taketh this honour* of being an officer in God's Church *to himself*; but only he can claim it, *who is called and commissioned by God, as was Aaron*. Nay, that even our Lord, who was God as well as Man, *glorified not himself to be made an High-priest, but he who said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. Accordingly we find in the Gospels, that he lived privately, and assumed no part of that office, which he came into the world to execute, till he had first been solemnly anointed to it by the descent of the Holy Ghost *. I should think, after so great an example, our Author might allow some other requisite for the work of the ministry, besides piety and learning. He plumes himself, no doubt, upon his imagined possession of both these qualifications, and he reasonably thinks there is only wanting the will of the State to make the vicar of *Dewsbury* equal to any Spiritual Vicar in Christendom. You shall presently see him display his gifts: "The first disposes us to be serious, devout, and conscientious, in the discharge of our duty; the second stores our minds with useful knowledge, furnishes us with materials to dictate, with elocution to persuade, and with examples to propose.—But, my brethren, does Episcopal ordination confer either of these?" Allow him *materials to dictate* in the Church (according to his own beautiful expression), he needs no authority for that purpose. But, as large as this gentleman's principles are, I don't know any Church that would unite with him upon them. The Quakers, to whom he comes the nearest upon this head, though they would allow his *piety* a necessary requisite for *the work of the ministry* (as he and they both call it), yet would reject his *learning*. Mr. Henley †, who sets up for a Church himself, and is the next most likely to join him, though he is charmed with "materials to dictate, elocution

* See Potter on Church Government, p. 216, & 136.

† John Henley, son of the vicar of Melton Mowbray, in Leicestershire, was born Aug. 3, 1692. From the free-school in that town, he was removed to that of Oakham, where he became a proficient in the graces of poetry. At the age of 17, he was entered of St. John's College, Cambridge; and, after taking the degree of bachelor of arts, became master of Melton school in 1715; M. A. in 1716; was ordained deacon by bishop Wake, and priest by bishop Gibson, and began his "Universal Grammar" in 1719. Resigning the school, he came to London, strongly recommended by the most considerable persons in his native country; had a benefice given him by the earl of Macclesfield, was appointed chaplain to lord Molesworth, had a lecture in the city, was an assistant to Dr. Burscough, afterward bishop of Limerick, and became

"cution to persuade," &c. yet insists not on *piety* without some terms of abatement. I must leave our Author then to stand alone, unless he is pleased to join with those gentlemen from whom he has borrowed some hints in the prosecution of this argument. With the Reader's leave, I will once more return to it.

The Author was to shew that no *necessary requisite*, &c. was conveyed by ordination. How does he do this? Why, by alleging that it conveys no "extraordinary helps and assistances *." Has the Church of England, or * P. 16. any one of her members, ever said or thought it did? Was his design then to dress up her principles in odious colours, only to make her contemptible to her enemies? Well, but how does he prove that it does not convey even *extraordinary assistances*? Because the Clergy find themselves "men of like passions with their lay-brethren, subject to all the frailties and infirmities of human nature." But, if this Author would look into his good friend Dr. Hickes's Sermon, called "The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised," he will there see that even supernatural gifts did not, in the

became a popular preacher. He published, among other pieces, a translation of Pliny's Epistles, 2 vols. 8vo, 1714; of several works of Vertot; of Montfaucon's Italian Travels, fol. 1725, &c. These particulars are taken from his "Oratory Transactions," which were published under the disguised name of Welfede.—Mr. Henley preached on Sundays upon theological matters, and on Wednesdays upon all other sciences. Each auditor paid one shilling. This wonderful person struck medals, which he dispersed as tickets to his subscribers; a star rising to the meridian, with this motto, AD SUMMA; and below, INVENIAM VIAM, AUT FACIAM. He was author of a weekly paper called "The Hyp Doctor," for which he had a hundred pounds a year given him. See notes, on the Dunciad, III. 199, where is a fuller account of him. He died Oct. 14, 1756.—Henley used, every Saturday, to print an advertisement in The Daily Advertiser, containing an account of the subjects * he intended to discourse on the ensuing evening, at his Oratory near Lincoln's Inn-Fields, with a sort of motto before it, which was generally a sneer at some public transaction of the preceding week: and Dr. Crofell †, one of George the Second's chaplains, having preached a sermon at St. James's from these words, "Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established, in righteousness;" it gave so much displeasure, that the doctor was struck out of the list of chaplains; and the next Saturday the following parody of the Doctor's text appeared as a motto to Henley's advertisement:

"Away with the wicked before the king,
 "And away with the wicked behind him;
 "His throne it will bless
 "With righteousness,
 "And we shall know where to find him." J. N.

* His Library, including his Discourses in MS. was sold at Essex-House by Mr. Paterfon in 1759: and several more of Mr. Henley's Discourses were sold in two different auctions by Mr. Paterfon in 1779.

† Not Dr. Cobden, as printed by mistake in the "Supplement to Swift."

• 1 Cor.
vii. 4.

Apostolical age, exempt the possessors of them from human passions or frailties, but often made them more liable to both, by laying them under temptations to pride, envy, contention, and the like; that wicked instruments often had them in great abundance; and that therefore “discerning “ of spirits *,” as it was necessary for the Primitive Church, so is expressly said to be one of the gifts granted to it.

Lastly, If the Author intends to prove that ordination conveys no ordinary grace, such as is requisite *for an ordinary, though important work*, I may venture to say he has proved nothing to the contrary; for he only argues, as the Quakers and Infidels do, against both Sacraments, from the effects not being always visible. But the wit is applicable, if not the argument; and that receives a double sting from the character of the speaker. Hear then how—*Truths, not DIVINE! come mended from his tongue.* “Does “ piety or learning,” says he, “follow the imposition of hands? Does “ either ignorance or immorality flee at the Bishop’s approach?” No; and much less, I suppose, at an Archdeacon’s visitation!

† Book V.
§ 77.

But, because I am desirous not only of silencing this gentleman, but convincing him, I will answer all the cavils he or his shop of eloquence can furnish out upon this head, in the words of the *judicious* Author of Ecclesiastical Polity †; a title, which I wish this writer may merit by the work he is engaged in of a like nature.

“A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving orders is our using “ those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, *Receive the “ Holy Ghost.* The Holy Ghost, they say, we cannot give, and therefore “ we *foolishly* bid them receive it.—The Holy Ghost may be used to signify “ not the person alone, but the gift of the Holy Ghost; and we know “ that spiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to “ speak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diseases without art, and such like; but also that the very AUTHORITY and POWER “ which is given men in the Church to be Ministers of holy things, “ this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the Holy “ Ghost is author; and therefore he which giveth this power may say, “ without absurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, such power as the “ Spirit of Christ hath endued his Church withal, such power as neither “ Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæsar, on earth can give.—Our Saviour, “ after his resurrection from the dead, gave his Apostles their commission, “ saying,

“ saying, *All power is given me in heaven and in earth: go therefore and*
 “ *teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son,*
 “ *and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have*
 “ *commanded you** In sum, *As my Father sent me, so send I you.* Where-
 “ unto St. John doth add farther, that *having thus spoken, he breathed on*
 “ *them and said, Receive the Holy Ghost†.* By which words he must of
 “ likelihood understand some gift of the Spirit, which was presently at
 “ that time bestowed upon them, as both the speech of actual delivery in
 “ saying *Receive*, and the visible sign thereof, his breathing, did shew.
 “ Absurd it were to imagine our Saviour did, both to the ear and also to
 “ the eye, express a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing.
 “ It resteth then, that we search what special grace they did at that time
 “ receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, most apparent it
 “ is, that as then they received it not, but the promise thereof was to be
 “ shortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power
 “ are therefore set down with signification of the time to come, *Behold, I*
 “ *will send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry you in the*
 “ *city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.*
 “ Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was some other effect of the Spirit, the
 “ Holy Ghost in some other kind, which our Saviour did then bestow.
 “ What other likelier than that which himself doth mention, as it should
 “ seem of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to de-
 “ clare that the Holy Ghost, which he then gave, was a holy and ghostly
 “ AUTHORITY, authority over the souls of men?”

By this time, I hope, the Author will allow he received some other
 effects of the Holy Ghost at his ordination than what he had before it,
 how strongly soever he was moved to undertake the holy function. What
 has been urged will be a sufficient answer to the Author's interpretation of
 Scripture, which I imagine to be much below a Geneva comment, though
 I cannot fully find out his meaning. “ Nor do I apprehend,” says he,
 “ that the promise of our Lord to his Apostles, *Lo I am with you always to*
 “ *the end of the world*, implies any EXTRAORDINARY assistances to be
 “ given to the ministers of the Gospel, or any particular call to the
 “ Ministry; but only, that wherever two or three are gathered together
 “ in our Saviour's name, there is he in the midst of them‡.” So far are ‡ P. 16.

the present Ministers of the Gospel from interpreting this text as conveying any *extraordinary assistances*, that they don't think those which the Apostles enjoyed are implied in it; and for this plain reason, because whatever the Apostles received by virtue of this promise was to continue *even to the end of the world*. If, by a *particular Call*, this Author means a particular *commission*, it is then indeed urged, that as the Apostles received one in the former verse, so here there is a promise of the perpetuity of it. He allows * the Apostles had a commission, and that it was conveyed to others; for they constituted an order of men, and this order of men were constituted to ordain others: upon what text he founds this commission, I leave him to determine. When he says there is no more implied by the former text than the latter, he should have given us his interpretation of it; for, if he will submit to that which is generally received, great part of his Sermon is totally overthrown.

* P. 9.

We come now to the authority of the Fathers, who always speak of Episcopacy as of a *divine ordinance of perpetual obligation*. But they, alas! are old fellows; and an Author, that knows any thing of mankind, will immediately baffle an army of such evidences. "Is it not natural for all people to like their own constitution best? And why might they not err, out of too furious a zeal, as some of us have done?" I am glad this Author can think of some to keep them in countenance. I would fain flatter myself he means our Dissenting Brethren; against whom, if he will give me leave to offer these arguments, I may venture to say they are at least equally applicable: for may we not thus argue, When people have thrown off the encroachments of any power, they often run to the opposite extreme, and are afraid of the very shadow of it? And when a form of government is once settled, it is natural for all the members of it to like it best. I would mention *too furious a zeal*, but I am sensible that is an invidious topick. The *pleasing temptations of honour and grandeur* I should think more than counterbalanced by the dangers to which the Episcopal office exposed the Primitive Fathers. An office, attended with such severe perquisites as theirs, required all our Author's Apostolical spirit to hold it.

"But what," after all, "if the sayings of the Fathers should imply
 † P. 13. "no such thing as the perpetual duration of Episcopacy †?" I answer,
 They

They all of them speak of a Bishop as essential to the being of a Church, and the principle of unity under Christ. Passages of this nature are so numerous, that this Author, when he grows somewhat cooler, cannot miss of them.

He concludes with telling us, that what he has offered is “ supported and confirmed by the known Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and by our own Oaths and Subscriptions, who have acknowledged the King’s Majesty supreme.” As *supreme as he is*, he has declared he has not the Power of *ministering either God’s Word, or the Sacraments*. And yet this Author has advanced doctrines from whence he might easily claim it. I leave him the hopes of enjoying a great share of his blessing.

Upon the whole, as *awakening* a preacher as Mr. Bowman would make us believe he is by his Preface, I think I have shewn he sometimes *nods* emphatically.

VERSES OCCASIONED BY MR. BOWMAN'S SERMON.

I.

An Epigram in the Grub-street Journal, N° 82.

In durance vile when pious WOOLSTON lies,
And Death waits near to close learn'd TINDAL's eyes;
The Priest's hard fortune, and the Layman's fate,
Seem to preface Religion's sinking state.

But thou, O BOWMAN, wilt the loss supply
Of both; and whilst thou liv'st, she cannot die.
Oh! may'st thou not, like Those, remain so long
Unpay'd, unhonour'd, 'midst the vulgar throng!
To thy due station may'st thou rise much quicker;
And cease to lye OF DEWSBURY THE VICAR!

II.

*A Fable, at the end of the first Letter, in answer to Mr. BOWMAN's Sermon,
in N° 85.*

A Peacock once there was (but when, or where,
My Author tells me not, nor do I care),
Which, screaming loud, with inharmonious sound
Often disturb'd the neighbourhood around;
And still, at time of prayers, as best of all,
Perch'd on the Church, or Parsonage-house, would squawl.

For harshest note preferr'd, as some suppose,
The noisy Peacock nuptial JUNO chose.
But VENUS' Bird, not her's, was our loud Prater;
A Female-lover, but a marriage-hater.
In youth his Queen he serv'd: now age had shed
The glorious honours of his tail and head.
With these, though faded, a pert Peacock younger
Adorns his crest, and forms his train the longer.

Then

Then cocking struts the self-conceited Prig,
Saucy, and quaint, like *Independent Whig*.
But, as his plumes were loosely stuck together,
Still as he stalk'd along he dropp'd a feather.

A bold young Daw, these second, third-hand plumes
Picks up; and both his air and voice assumes.
Then, mixing with his tribe, the saucy Jack
Inveighs against them all, because they're black.
Him loud haranguing, in his full career,
A Brother interrupted with a sneer:
"Hadst thou, in borrow'd finery array'd,
'Mongst birds of other kind thy parts display'd;
Thus oddly dight, thou might'st have made them wonder,
Who could not know thy head and tail afunder.
Thy learned speech, without or head or tail,
They might have lik'd, well pleas'd to hear thee rail.
For us, with all this insolence defy'd,
Who know thy malice, ignorance, and pride;
With scorn thy stol'n, old fripery we view:
To us thy *Impudence* alone is new."

III.

The Conclusion of the second Letter, &c. in N^o 87.

"Though far be it from me (as I am exceeding zealous for good breeding), to call Mr. BOWMAN any names, yet I cannot forbear subjoining a few verses, which I remember to have heard several years since; and that upon a pamphlet, the subject of which was very nearly a-kin to *this*. Others had gone about to prove that the *Church* has no power at all; and the Writer of this Pamphlet, resolving to go beyond them, would shew that the *State* likewise has none in *matters of Religion*. The lines are these:

No right or power on earth, thou say'st, is given,
To punish vice, and guard the laws of heaven.
This villain doctrine, and the sacred page,
Wrested by thee, provoke our pious rage.

Wretch!

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

Wretch! What, we cry, could move thee to declare
 Against mankind and God this monstrous war?
 But when we view thy ignorant impudence,
 Thy aukward, dull, unletter'd want of sense;
 Thy idiot reasonings, and thy blundering vein,
 Our anger ceases, all is calm again:
 With pity we regard the worthless tool,
 And spare the ROGUE because we scorn the FOOL.

IV.

An Epigram in N° 89.

High Church, rage on, and threat the last excision:
 Content I am to face an Inquisition*;
 To starve in Dungeon, destitute, afflicted*;
 And, though tormented, still to truth addicted;
 To wander round the world, not worth a groat,
 Disguis'd in skins of sheep, and skins of goat*.
 Boldly I'll still assert the truths I've spoken,
 Though flay'd with scourges, or on racks I'm braken*.
 Thus moderate, furious, Low-church Vicar cry'd;
 And High-church Curate, smiling, soft reply'd:
 Does this proceed from zeal, or ostentation?
 Hast thou not got a private Dispensation†?

* Expressions used in Mr. Bowman's Preface to his Sermon.

† "A Dispensation is preparing to pass the seals, to empower the rev. Mr. Will. Bowman to hold the living of Dewsbury (to which his Majesty has been graciously pleased lately to present him), with his other of Aldborough, both in the county and diocese of York." *St. James's Evening Post*, Sept. 2, 1731.

VERSES ON MR. BOWMAN.

79

V.

A Dialogue between Mr. MAEVIUS and Mr. BOWMAN: occasioned by the Preface of the latter to his Defence of the Miracle of cursing the Fig-tree. From N° 91.

M. Why sleeps your learn'd *Defence* still kept in store,
The learn'd *Defence* you promis'd o'er and o'er?

B. Objections all I have maturely weigh'd;
And find, that *nought worth answering is said*:
The whole *confutes itself*.

M. You make me wonder ::
Thousands declare your *Sermon*'s all a blunder.

B. Let them rail on: their judgement I despise:
It reasonable seems to all the wise.
Of mankind, all the wise discerning part
Censure their conduct, and applaud my art.

M. Of these *wise men* what number may there be?

B. All that believe, or write, or speak, like me..

VI.

Verses occasioned by the sudden stop in the sale of Mr. BOWMAN's Sermon, and the publication of his Defence of the Miracle, &c.. From N° 93..

When *Yorkshire Sermon* lately took its flight,
Like paper-lantern at the tail of kite;
Non-cons and Cons, with pleasure or dismay,
Saw the new meteor gild th' aerial way.
But to the weakest eyes it brightest shin'd;
And fixed seem'd, though toss'd with every wind.
A while it blaz'd, then sudden down it fell;
Its light extinguisht with a nauseous smell.
The gazers mark'd its fall; and, searching round,
Nought but a blasted * *barren Fig-tree* found.

* Mr. Bowman had advertised several times, that he would publish *A Defence of the Miracle on the Fig-tree*, with a *Preface in Defence of himself* for preaching his late *Sermon*: but when the pamphlet appeared, the *Preface* contained, instead of such *Defence of himself*, only two or three excuses for not publishing it..

BELLUS

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

BELLUS HOMO ET ACADEMICUS*,

RECITARUNT IN

THEATRO SHELDONIANO AD COMITIA
OXONIENSIA MDCCXXXIII,LODOVICUS LANGTON, } Collegii Div. Magd. Commensales.
ET THOMAS BABER, }

BELLUS.

USQUE adeò infano juvat indulgere labori?
Quin, age, mitte logos cassos, nugasque scholarum;
Exue Philosophum, tetricamque exponito frontem.

ACADEMICUS.

Hem, mihin' hæc? Studiis quis garrulus obstrepat Hospes?
O faciem agnosco—Charissime Cottile, salve.
Sed cute tam nitidâ, incessuque habituque decorus
Tam lepidò, talos à vertice Bellus ad imos,
Unde redis?

BELL.

Lustravi orbis, dulcissime rerum,
Omne latus, mores hominum speculatus & urbes,
Quà Tagus auricomâs effert super æthera turres
Et Cycladas rapido Ganges interluit æstu;
Nec, bene si novi me, callet acutior ullus
Flumina terrarumque situs.

ACADEMICUS.

Fortasse, puellis

Judicibus, quæ ficta placent miracula rerum:

* See the History of this Dialogue, which was written by Mr. Hasledine, in the "Anecdotes," under the year 1733. As I have not been able to recover Mr. Bowyer's poetical version, the original is here preserved. There is a prose translation of the beginning of it, printed in 1735, in a pamphlet called "The Oxford Act, A. D. 1733;" and a slight attempt to imitate a part of it (enjoined by Mr. Bowyer as an evening's task on the writer of this note in 1761) may be seen in Gent. Mag. 1779, p. 464. J. N.

Parciùs ista Togæ tamen obtrudenda memento.

BELLUS.

Sin plaudant mihi cirrati, laudetque lepores
Turba puellaris pulli gregis, invida fanna
Vellicet, atque istud nasutum scomma sophorum :
Hoc juvat & melli est.

ACADEMICUS.

Sed, dic age, Quid tibi visa
Gallia, quid Latium potius memorabile pandit,
Artis amans nutrixque ? Quid æra & marmora censes,
Heroum monumenta, triumphalesque columnas,
Picturas, pluteosque antiquæ laudis & artis ?

BELLUS.

Scilicet armigeris vacat explorare vetusta
Rudera, deciduasque artes ! Ea cura fatigat
Quos non res angusta vetat, non tutor iniquus,
Pelliculam curare, meri somnique benignos.
Multa Italûm fateor non inconcinna videbam,
Quæ nitida artisque ostentant simulacra recentis.
Sed recolo indignans curtæ quæ frivola mercis,
Dimidias statuas, & prisca numismata, jactant :
Effigiem ante alias, oculis nasoque carentem,
Si memini bene, CÆSAREAM —
Delicias Domini, quam verò, ærugine putri
Squalentem, peream si forcipe sesquipedali
Attigerim.

ACADEMICUS.

Et quæ tanta Italos tibi causa videndi,
Cui veneranda vetustatis miracula sordent ?

BELLUS.

Ridiculæ potiùs nugæ, sed non adèd omnis
Effusus labor est, nec me mea cura fefellit.
Quæ sola in votis fuerant, juvenesque politos,
Invitare solent delectamenta, canoris
Fabellis Italûm larvatorumque chorëis
Intereram.

M

ACA-

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

ACADEMICUS.

Egregiusque adeò pro judice morum
Formarum spectator adest!

BELLUS.

Ibi membra movere

Mollius, invidetque quod HANDELI concentus,
Edidici, varia argutæ modulamina vocis.
Sed me præ reliquis dulci novitate tenebat
Gallia, gnara dapum, & cultûs fœcunda politi.
O mores lepidos, lusus, cœnasque Deorum!
Suaviter hîc talis, cyathis, choreisque vacanti,
O quàm blanda mihi, quàm mellea defluit ætas!
Concinno hinc tunicam sectus de more, repexi
Hinc refluas de fronte comas, hinc totus ad unguem
Factus homo, nymphas inter molli eliquo voce
Verficulum fôrs dimidium, argutumve leporem.
Muneris & totum est vestri, ornatissima tellus,
Quòd placeam, & certum est me perplacuisse puellis;
Quòd me depereant, quas expugnare decenni
Obsidio vobis haud concessere camœnæ,
Haud logicæ technæ, nodosæ haud illius artes—
Quis fuit? O teneo nomen—Py—Pythagoræ.

ACADEMICUS.

Pulchrum operæ pretium! post tædia longa viarum
Exhaustosque maris casus, multâ induis arte
Quicquid ridendum est, aptus conviva puellis;
Pollicitus meliora tuis: non iste Solonem
Impulit aut Ciceronem animus, veneranda sophorum
Lumina, natales mutare, alioque calentes
Sole sequi terras; exculto hinc Roma superbit
Eloquio pollens; hinc exornantur Athenæ
Moribus; hinc vitæ præcepta haurire nepotum
Sæcla scient ventura.

BELLUS.

Satis fortassis Athenis
Arridere isti poterant, rigidove popello

Romu-

Romulidum, nec nostri adeo sum fautor ineptus
 Ut non hoc fatear; sed dispereat male totus
 Grex veterum, redeant omnes licet, horridus ordo,
 Futile nescio quid ructans, nugasque sonoras,
 Emoriar si, natus ego melioribus annis,
 Tantilli digitos inter pulvisculi haberem.
 Barbatos pueros, quos rusticus audiat iste,
 Quem non expoliit Parisinae lima palaestrae,
 Exemplar morum!

ACADEMICUS.

Vitiis imitabile quantis?

Ingeniosum adeo pubem elimare sequacem,
 Ut praeter rutilas, fragmenta exilia, nugas
 Nil superet! Bene me finxit Natura pufilli
 Exiguique animi, vanam averfantis opellam
 Stultitiae ingenuae. Sin garrulitate procaci,
 Ridiculè lepido incessu, pannisque venustis,
 Captarem plausus inhiantisque ora popelli,
 En mihi, mutato caelo quod tu petis, hic est:
 Est ubicunque salit refilitque in fune trementi
 Schœnobates; seu gesticulans manibus pedibusque
 Lascivit variè puparum mobile lignum,
 Non sua verba loquens. Quin partâ laude fruaris
 Egregius fatuus; potius me sub lare parvo
 Occlusum, & studiis florentem nobilis otî,
 Purè tranquillet fallentis semita vitæ.

BELLUS.

Non equidem invideo; at juvenum deliria miror,
 Parca utcunque animis Natura indulserit ignem,
 Quos non alloquio sociisque carere culullis
 Pœnitet, assiduisque super pallefcere chartis,
 Indicto ventri bello, nisi dente fatigant
 Unguem avido arrosum, miseros extundere versus
 Solliciti.—Et quorsum hæc molimina? nempe senescit
 Grex miser in curis, statuâ taciturnior ipsâ,

Ludibrium populi, fallit, fine laude latefcens,
Indocilis rerum, nifi quas angufta repandit
Clauftra laris proprii.

ACADEMICUS.

At generofos parce procaci
Scommate non æquus cenfor perfringere mores.
Non magis his aliena malis, aut purior ufquam
Vita agitur; ftudiis curæ eft ante omnia mentem
Excolere ingenuis; fed non ita totus in hoc fum,
Quin vacet alternæ ad libitum indulgere quieti,
Seu placeat fylvas inter reptare falubres,
Seu modicos inter cyathos humefcere, mulcenfque
Innocuo lufu, aut lepido fermone fodales
Ducere folicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.
Nec refert quantilla tenent nos tefta; latefcens
Tutiùs hîc lare fub parvo præcurro viarum
Tædia longarum, pelagique pericula paffos;
Dum mihi depictos pandit revolubilis orbis
Terrasque tractusque maris, difjunctaque longè
Saxa per & montes me raptat amabilis error.
Hîc quoque, quod fruftra eft alienis quærere terris,
Aërias tentare domos, cœlique meatus
Obfervare fequaci animo datur, indice chartâ.
Quid fi Naturæ cæcos penetrare recessus,
Et rerum caufas libet indagare latentes?
Quicquid jactat Arabs, Italufve, aut decolor Indus,
Herbarumque virens, & gemmarum lucidus ordo,
Reptiliumque, aviumque, infuetaque monftra ferarum,
Hîc uno intuitu, innocuoque timore videntur.

O fortunatos nimium, fua fi bona nôrint,
Purior irriguis queis Ifis perluit undis,
OXONIDAS, quos nulla fuas terra invidet artes,
Queis totos, cæcis non fponte exuta latebris,
Expandit Natura finus; victusque labore
Ingenioque, **ASHMOLE**, tuo in compendia mundus

Mira

Mira redit, patiturque angusto in limite claudi.
 Hispalis, Escuriæque, suis sacra mœnia Musis,
 Et Vaticani fileat miracula Roma :
 BODLEIANA domus caput altiùs inserit astris,
 Dives opum variarum, aliumque Helicon repandit,
 Palantes fœcians Musas, quâ scrinia libris
 Evolvens fœta omnigenis studiofa juvenus
 Colloquio potitur veterum, & commercia linguæ
 Multiplicis colit, in terris peregrina paternis
 Undique componens, quæ mox depromere possit.

Sic crudas Bombyx telas induta superbit ;
 At citò, deductum fuerit cùm textile filum,
 In flores abit & fructus, sylvasque virentes ;
 Aut Musâ potior, fidos enarrat amores,
 Fœmineâ in miras variabilis arte figuras.

PAPERS OCCASIONED BY THE REPUBLICATION
OF ROBERT STEPHENS'S THESAURUS*.

N° I.

From the Grub-street Journal, N° 170. March 29, 1732.

I Wonder that you, Mr. Bavius, who are critic and fault-finder general, should miss those folks that threaten us with a new edition of ROB. STEPHENS'S *Thesaurus*, &c. I doubt they are your friends and acquaintance, and that you are partial on that account: otherwise you could not have failed to animadvert upon them. Their epistle to the *Studioſi*, &c. is an affected, obscure, bouncing, puerile piece, and very bad Latin. I'll just touch five or fix places, out of at least twenty that deserve censure: afterwards I'll look into the Specimen a little.

Jam diutius pauciſſimorum hominum eſſe cæpit, & non ſine ingenti literarum diſpendio, nummo immani quantum! vœnivit. What is *jam diutius cæpit*? *Jam diutius* for *jam pridem*, I ſuppoſe, and *cæpit* for *cæperit*? And then *nummo immani quantum!* one might take for a medal of an enormous ſize. But if it is defenſible, why ſo ſtiff and poetical? Why not thus: *grandi*, or *immani pretio venire jam pridem cæperit*? *Cum vœnivit*, wrong tenſe; and then *pauciſſimorum hominum eſſe*, and *ingenti literarum diſpendio*; who would have uſed ſuch expreſſions? What is *ingens literarum diſpendium*? *Nos viciſſim*, what does he mean by *viciſſim*? Who ever ſaid *demereri literas*. *Curæ perficiundæ & explicandæ—curam perficere & explicare*, I don't underſtand.—*Citra renatas literas* for *poſt renatas*—*Culturam magis debitam referrent*, is falſe Latin. *Culturam juſtius*, or *potiori jure referrent acceptam*, would have been right. *Sequiore ætatem vel accurando vel ſufficiendo*; and in the next page, *hiulca ſuffecimus*. To me now *hiulca ſuffecimus*, is, we have put *hiulca*, where there were none before. But ſuppoſe *ſufficere* ſhould be found in ſome author or other in his ſenſe, he is ſtill to blame. *Accedere operi ſubeundo* is bad. *Eveniret STEPHANUM ipſum in STEPHANO inveſtigando deſatigarier* is ambiguous: and *eveniret deſatigari* is not good Latin, I think.—*Loca impeditiora expedivimus*; *inania reſecavimus*; *hiulca SUFFECIMUS*; *vitioſa deſecavimus*; *falſa correximus*; *luxata & conturbata in juſtum*

* See the Memoirs of Dr. Taylor, in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 63. J. N.
ordinem

ordinem redeimus. Was there ever such a bully and drawcanfir? Rare stuff this! to be sent all over Europe too!

But let us see how he has performed. The Specimen affords ample room for criticism. Mind this great restorer and corrector. STEPHENS, in the word *Damnifus*, for *hereditas damnosa*, quotes *Jul. ianus*. Our editors, not knowing what to make of this monster, and yet resolving to alter, have put it *Jul. janus*, with a long *j*. Can any thing be more jocular? not to know that it was the Civilian JULIANUS, so often cited in the *Pandect*.

Damnare, says STEPHENS, *genitivo aliquando jungitur, aliquando ablativo*. So it is in the new: but when they come to the *ablativo*, it is struck out, and the citations put in another place.

Instead of STEPHENS's *Capite ob rem aliquam damnari*, they have put *Capite aliquem damnare*, and then left it amongst the passives.—*Crimine* follows *damnare*, with a quotation in the passive, *crimine damnaretur*.—*Damnari ad aliquem*, with a citation *damnavit*. If they don't take more care, their edition will be no better than waste paper.

In a quotation from SENECA (under DAMNO still) they have left out the whole word *Creditor*, and made nonsense of it. Under the words, *Tributis damnare*, they have added *vulgo contemnuntur*; of which let them tell me the meaning. There is, *Id est non prius auditum, nunc loquimur*; for thus, *id est, non prius auditum, ut nunc loquimur*.

Pray mind this: when *damnare*, says STEPHENS, *jungitur genitivo, subintelligitur fere ablativus CRIMINE, SCELERE, aut simile*. They have altered *simile* into *simili*, for want of construing what no school-boy would have missed: *ablativus CRIMINE* or *SCELERE, aut simile*, or some other word of the like import, *subintelligitur*.

Let us observe how inaccurate they are. The first sentence of the Specimen, *Dubium esse potest Latinos e Græcia eam traduxisse*: better, *dubium quin traduxerint*. And then, *asserit SCALIGER*: which SCALIGER, and where does he say so?

Take my word for it, Mr. Bavius, these people are no more fit to meddle with STEPHENS's *Thesaurus* than I am fit to be at the head of an army: I mean, to add to him, or to correct him. For as to republishing him, with that real improvement of adding books, and verses, and chapters, and with paper and letter so beautiful as the Specimen, it will be of great service

service to do it. Indeed they are not learned enough to mix themselves with old ROBERT.

They leave passages of PLINY quite unintelligible, which, if they had read HARDUIN's edition, would have been altered for the better; and at the same time they bring silly stuff out of little modern theologues; and tell us, in very classical Latin, that *Dæmon Diis contradistinguitur*.

Not to have read HARDUIN's *Notes* carefully, as well as the GRONOVIIUS's and HEINSIUS's, and BENTLEY's, and other fine critics, is a crime in these editors, though it is pardonable enough in you or me.

CALLIOPIUS.

Though I do not like the undeserved titles given me at the beginning of the preceding letter, nor the manner of drawing it up in general; yet, to avoid the imputation of partiality, I have published it *verbatim* as it came to my hands. Having compared it with the Specimen, I do not find that the writer has at all misrepresented the editors, except in one place. They do not join *cura* with *perficiunda* and *explicanda*, but only with the former, the latter being joined to *varietatis: quos gravissima improbiissimaque cura perficiunda, quos incredibilis rerum varietatis explicanda non tædebat*. The editors will, no doubt, write a vindication of their performance: which will oblige CALLIOPIUS either to retract, or to reinforce, what he has here advanced against it. As I am not at all concern'd in this dispute, I can assure the combatants on either side, that they shall have a clear stage in this paper.

BAVIUS.

N° II.

From the Grub-street Journal, N° 172. Thursday, April 12, 1733.

THERE are two things which I wish had been mentioned by CALLIOPIUS, who wrote to you lately about the new edition of ROB. STEPHENS's *Thesaurus*. One is, that people are desirous to know the editor or editors before they subscribe. The other, what they mean by their *accessione decies mille verborum insigniter locupletavimus*. *Insigniter* indeed! But let them know, that if they add five, or even two thousand, they must put in unclassical and barbarous, and even Arabic and technical words. Now, if that's their design, they act contrary to STE-

PHENS's

PHENS's mind; who, if he was now alive, would reject such words. I believe there may be added about two hundred and fifty; not above three hundred, I venture to say, which STEPHENS would have admitted; and those three hundred can never be got together, without reading in that view all the Latin authors with infinite industry, as well as the greatest nicety and critical accuracy imaginable. As it is plain and certain that many scores of words (not many thousands) may be added to the Dictionary of STEPHENS; so it is as plain that several ought to be taken away, that have risen, like mushrooms, out of the corrupt readings of Mss. or the senseless conjectures of bold critics. Some other time I will give four or five instances of both sorts.

Yours, B. T.

III.

From The Weekly Miscellany, N° 19, April 21, 1733.

IT was with no small surprize that the editors of ROBERT STEPHENS'S *Latin Thesaurus* (whose endeavours at least deserved a civil treatment) found themselves attacked, in a rude and opprobrious manner, by a writer in a late *Grub-street* Journal. One would have imagined that the labours of two whole months might have produced something extraordinary besides ill-manners, or what might reasonably have been expected from the rancour of some disappointed booksellers. As this is probably the first essay of his critical capacity, he is desired to believe that the editors of *Stephens* are capable of giving him this one piece of advice, which may be of service to him hereafter; namely, that bitter language is not essential to the character of an examiner, and that it may be possible for criticism to subsist with common decency.

Whatever that angry gentleman has been pleased to offer to our discredit, the sober and judicious part of the world will, we question not, be convinced that the least defensible step we have taken is that we are at present engaged in, the giving such a face of credit to such an heap of invectives, and the making it considerable by a serious reply. Nor could we imagine our subscribers would have construed our silence into a neglect of our own credit or their satisfaction. And we lay hold on this opportunity

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nity to inform the world, once for all, that controversialists of this size and complection shall never have weight enough to draw us from our main design into weekly rencounters: and that this is sincerely the last regard that shall be paid to objections that may appear in a manner so unbecoming scholars. We may with decency think it hard, that we should be obliged to wager our reputations in Journals against those who have just honour and courage enough to be ill-natured in the dark; or that our time should lie at the mercy of the weak and discontented, who shall call upon us to explain what it is not our fault they cannot comprehend. The objections of gentlemen and scholars shall be considered with the utmost respect; and all discoveries that may tend to the improvement of the work shall be looked upon as so many signal obligations. Their own good sense and good breeding will suggest to them a way of communicating at least as decent and edifying as that our objector has been pleased to make use of.

To consider him, for once, as such. *Jam diutius capit* is, it seems, faulty. *Capit* is a single precise act, and *diutius* implies Continuance, and must therefore be altered into *jampridem*. Our examiner has undertaken more business than he is aware of, if he alters such expressions as these wherever he finds them. So that when *Ter. Adelph.* has it, *Haud diu huc commigrarunt*, we must read *nuper*. But this is not all. A gentleman, who has the honour to be of the same name with our examiner, has set his hand to the Vulgate Reading (for such we take to be the meaning of *Calliopiùs recensui*), and it is still retained in all the editions of *Terence*, to the no small reproach of that author and critic.

Here is the first cast of our examiner's criticism. Let us now turn our view to his wit; where *Nummo immani* is the subject of his drollery. It is pity so ingenious a writer should want materials: we'll help him to some more. *Æs grande* will furnish him with jokes for his life-time. He can scarce dip into an author but he will find it. *Grandis Pecunia* is a common expression in that very poetical writer *Tully*. See his *Orat. pro Rab. Posth. contra Verr. & Ep. ad Fam.* Nay more: *Et illa fuit pecunia immanis, hæc parvula. Pro Rosc. Com. Qui regna, qui prædia Tetrarchis, qui immanes pecunias paucis dederunt. Ad Attic.* All which, before our Examiner wrote his animadversions, were understood of *Denarii* and *Sestertii*, the current coin of the Romans,

Romans, as we unfortunately took it for granted that our *Nummus immanis* would be construed into pounds, shillings, and pence.

Cum vanivit is *wrong tense*. We are not sure of his meaning; but, by his alteration of *capit* into *caperit*, imagine he would have it *vaniverit*. If there be a difference of time, between *vanivit* and *vaniverit* (which we own we cannot see), it is clear that our examiner has laid hold on the worst; for if any alteration is necessary, it should be into *vaneat*, as that edition has continued to be sold from its publication to the present year. If the conjunction *cum* led him to alter, will he be so desperate as to affirm that *cum* must necessarily challenge that construction? *Cic. ad Attic. Biennium cum ille Callidemides assiduo cursu cubitum nullum processerit*. True and classical! But so is this of the same author: *Ep. ad Fam. Jam biennium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti*. *Id. in Orat. Jam anni quadraginta sunt, cum hoc accidit*. Or, to speak at a yet greater distance, *Numa magnus vir habendus est, cum illam sapientiam—duobus prope seculis ante cognovit, quam eam Græci natam esse senserunt*. *Id. 2. de Orat.*

His question, *who ever said demereri literas?* is unfairly stated. It should have been, *who ever said either demereri literas, or demereri literarum amantissimos?* Even his own reading might have furnished him with instances where a Verb is found in company with two Accusative Cases, which is strictly applicable only to one of them. But not to insist upon that, which is a sufficient answer to his question, the very expression *demereri literas* is as good and as justifiable: justifiable indeed upon the same principles as *de literis bene mereri*, *de Rep. bene mereri*. *Civitatem demereri* is used by Tully and Livy. But if our Examiner will still persist, that to deserve well of the commonwealth of Learning is an idea which has escaped his understanding, we may possibly own the charge; but can't see why the editors of Stephens should be called upon to answer for it.

The assertion, that *culturam debitam referre* is false Latin, is a pretty round one, and not so easily maintained as he may possibly imagine. The phrase *acceptum*, or, to speak more properly, *in acceptum referre*, every one knows was in allusion to the Roman method of book-keeping, their *Tabulæ Accepti & Expensi*. Now if, instead of these forms, they had made use of our stated method of *debtor* and *creditor*, which amounts to the same thing, it had been just as true and exact to have said, that *acceptum referre* would

have been false Latin, as it is now to affirm that *debitum referre* is. False Latin is a violation of common and received Syntax: and we maintain that an author may, with equal propriety, say *referre inter debita*, as *referre inter accepta*; in *tabulam debitorum*, as in *tabulam acceptorum*.

How happens it that *accedere operi subeundo* is bad? We presume he has no quarrel with the *case*; and that *operi* or *ad opus* may be used indifferently. Then where is the difference between *accedere operi subeundo*, or *ad opus subeundum*, and that of *Brut. ad Cic. Accedere ad remp. liberandam*?

We cannot conceive upon what he grounds his next charge of ambiguity, and must leave it with the candid reader, with whom also we shall trust the objection of bad Latin in the next instance. It would be fruitless to produce an authority for the notion we have used *sufficere* in, because our adversary declares against any authority that may be brought. There are a few more passages objected to, which we shall copy, and leave them to answer for themselves. *Paucissimorum hominum esse—Ingenti literarum dispendio—Cum R. S. Thesauris paucissimorum hominum esse capit: nos vicissim—*And that very difficult one, *citra renatas literas*, by which we mean since the restoration of learning. Having shewn how credible our Examiner is in that part of his assertion, that this Introductory Discourse is very bad Latin, we return him his string of epithets to enrich his next controversy; or, which is equally indifferent to us, to be affixed to this performance upon the credit of his word, and the authority of his judgement.

His first objection to the work itself is, that of *Julianus*; which contains two assertions: 1. That, as the word occurred in the *Lyons* edition, we did not understand it. 2. That we altered it. We are sorry a false print in *Stephens* should escape us; but that we altered it, is something for which good-manners wants a name; the very copy being still luckily preserved to confront his assertion. And to affirm that we did not understand it, must depend upon the probability of this proposition, that a number of persons concerned in a work, where *Julianus* is quoted in almost every sheet, could not understand it, when they met with it incorrectly printed.

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His next charge is so very inconsiderable, that we don't know how to reply to it. After having informed the reader that *damnare* has two constructions, a genitive case and ablative, and producing distinct instances of each, it would be injurious to suppose, that any one would not be apprised of an ablative case, when he saw it quoted; and if the citations are differently ranged from the former edition, it was in regard to that alphabetical order which *Stephens* had a view to, but sometimes overlooked. It were an objection-indeed, if those citations, where the ablative is governed, were put in a wrong place; that is, crowded with the genitives.

But our Objector rises upon us, and denounces *anathemas* and *waste paper*. *Capite ob rem aliquam damnari*, *Stephens*. The editors, *capite aliquem damnare*, without *ob rem aliquam*; and, what is worse, left it among the passives. Whether we are wrong in striking out those words, the quotation from *Tully*, referred to in *Stephens*, and one which we have added, will abundantly shew: *Cic. 1. Tuscul. 30. Sed plurimi contra nituntur, animosque quasi capite damnatos morte mutant. Auth. ad Herenn. 4. 33. At eum vos jurati capite damnastis.* That we have left it among the passives, is an objection we cannot comprehend; since neither *Stephens* nor we have made so unnecessary a distinction in any one single article, as if *Capite damnare* was not the same case and construction as *Capite damnari*.

How *creditor* comes to be omitted, we are at a loss to account for. It is weak to suppose we should quarrel with it; as it is false to say the place is nonsense without it. However, to oblige him for his discovery, it shall meet with amends in the Errata; which our Examiner is desired to look upon, as a place best suited to the size of his criticism.

He desires to know the meaning of *vulgo contemnuntur*. *Stephens*; to support the use of *tributis damnare*, has cited *Tacitus*; where he follows the authority of *Rhenanus* for his reading; a reading, which, though much preferable to the common one, and approved by the best critics, has not yet found a place in the text of the author. For all the copies to this day exhibit *tributis contemnuntur*, and not *condemnantur*, as the quotation supposes it to be.

After having followed the Examiner through so many questions, we beg leave to put one to him; which is, What so great a censor of inaccuracy could possibly mean by so accurate a paragraph as his last? *Not to have read*

read Harduin's *Notes* carefully, as well as the Gronovius's, &c. How does he supply this ellipsis, as well as to have read them, or, as well as not to have read them? His great encomium upon Harduin makes it probable he means the former; his known candour inclines us to the latter: and if that be his real sentiment, he is desired to look upon the last controverted passage, where Gronovius is expressly referred to.

Our distance from the press may, we hope, be a sufficient excuse as to any objections against *ut & simile*; which, if he questions, we refer him to the Printer for satisfaction.

Dubium, with an infinitive Mood, is another quarrel. Tully has it both ways. *Ep. ad Lent. Si exploratum tibi sit posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; si dubium, non esse conandum. Orat. pro Cec. An in coacta multitudine dubium vobis fuit, utrum vis aliqua videretur necne.*

He desires to know, which *Scaliger* we mean, and where? We answer, *Joseph Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Eusebius's Chronical Canons*; and hope he is satisfied.

And now let the Unprejudiced judge between us, and describe to himself what must be the natural temper of that man's mind, who (supposing the faults he has suggested to be as gross as his own fancy or wish could frame them) durst not confess, what we may with modesty insist on, the many valuable improvements which every-where occur; improvements full as considerable as citing book and verse, or printing upon a good paper and letter.

Cambridge, *Yours, &c.*
Apr. 10, 1733.

P. S. Since the date of the above-written, a gentleman, whom we should be proud to call our correspondent, has raised an objection with an air of candour and learning; to speak of it in the lowest degree, far superior to that of *Calliopi*. We reply, that his objection might lay against us, if we had proposed a Classical Dictionary, in the strictest acceptation. But that is more than was intended by *Stephens* himself. The editions which were published in his life-time are some of them full of words purely technical; for such we must account the terms of Civil Law, for which he was obliged to *Budæus* by his own confession, and his Medicinal Terms from the physicians of a later date; and surely those very technical expressions,

expressions, which he has borrowed from *Cæl. Rhodigin.* (who barbarously latinized the terms of *Greek Antiquities*, and which are to be found in no *Latin* author extant) can never be reconciled to the idea of a Dictionary truly classical. We are bound therefore to insist upon it, that we are acting agreeably to *Stephens's mind*: nay, as far as appears by his last edition, we must have acted contrary to his mind, if we had acted in any other manner. We thought to oblige the world, if our Dictionary could become in a manner universal, without the imputation of barbarism, which we have industriously avoided. And any one that considers the number of words which the ecclesiastical writers alone will furnish us with, besides those which may be still supplied from the Classics (many more we are sure than this gentleman imagines), will not think we have exaggerated in mentioning 10,000.

That gentleman farther observes, that some words ought to be removed that have risen from the corrupt reading of Mss. We impute it to his haste, or inadvertency, that he did not acknowledge one remarkable instance of that sort, which we have given in our Specimen. *Stephens* exhibits both *Dactylothea* and *Dactyliotheca*. The former is supported by a sorry Ms. of *Martial*, and to be found no-where else, nor can possibly be admitted there; for had all the Mss. exhibited *Dactyliotheca*, the metre had rejected it. A *Trochee* in *Iambic* measure is a monster the world never saw, and *Stephens* stands justly corrected for his admitting, upon the authority of one Ms. a word which we have so good reason to reject.

We agree, with the ingenious gentleman, there may be, and are, many more such; and though our undertaking has bound us to be very circumspect in our own application, we shall accept, with the utmost gratitude, such discoveries, or any other notices that may be of use.

The knowledge of the editors names or persons, we cannot apprehend to be very material. The value of the work does not depend upon so trifling a circumstance; and we should be very sorry if the success of it must. However, any notice or assistance is sure to find us, if directed to *Mr. Harding*, bookseller, in *St. Martin's-Lane, Westminster*.

N^o IV.

From The Grub-street Journal, N^o 175. May 3, 1733.

THE old saw, Mr. Bavius, *et non potuisse refelli*, may justly be applied to my Letter about *Rob. Stephens's Thesaurus*. They have not got off, I think, in one article; not so well as might be expected in such ticklish matters as these. I only add, *judicet lector eruditus*, the common critical phrase. They say *their endeavours deserved at least a civil treatment*. I say, *endeavours* without abilities do not. In good truth, it is impossible to shew people that they do *labi, errare, nescire*, without being thought *uncivil*. But I can be *civil*, when I have a mind to it, by their own confession; for I assure them, that the same person was author of both those Letters; the one in your 170th, the other in your 172d Journals: they were both designed to do good. If the editors go on, I have done some good; for they will take more care upon this admonition: if they drop the edition, and I am any way the cause, I have done a great deal.

Yours,

CALLIOPIUS.

N^o V.

From The Present State of the Republick of Letters, Vol. XV.

THE old impressions of this great and valuable work, particularly that of Lions 1573, being exceeding scarce, the publick is highly obliged to those learned gentlemen who have furnished us with a new edition, larger and more accurate than any of the preceding ones. We have the more reason to glory in the success of this noble and magnificent undertaking, which does honour to our age and nation, as several attempts of this nature have been heretofore made and unhappily miscarried; particularly by *Charles* and *Henry Stephens*, by our own celebrated countryman *Milton*, by the society of *Baliol College* in *Oxford*, and by *Dr. Kuster* the excellent editor of *Suidas* and *Aristophanes*.

This stately performance, after a very eloquent dedication to his present Majesty, is introduced by a large epistolary preface, inscribed to the most
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ingenious Dr. *John Hollings*; containing a distinct and exact account of the most considerable *Latin* Dictionaries which have appeared since the restoration of learning, together with some memoirs of the compilers of them. Our readers will be pleased to see them as they stand in succession, and observe their principal characters; and the rather, as this is a piece of literary history, which has hitherto lain almost altogether uncultivated.

The first book of this kind that is mentioned is the *CATHOLICON* * of *John Balbus*, frequently stiled *Joannes de Janua*, or *Januensis*, from his country, being a *Genoesse*. It was one of the first fruits of the press after the invention of the typographical art, being imprinted at *Mentz* in the year 1460. This original impression consisted of 372 leaves, without either signatures or numeration of the pages, neither of which were then in use. The character was rude in comparison of later types, but extremely polite if we consider the time of its appearance, in the very infancy of printing; when we have far greater cause to admire so vast and disproportioned a production of it, than to animadvert upon its imperfections. Each side was divided into two equal columns, either of which contained precisely sixty-six lines, with a margin and interval sufficiently spacious; the paper large and strong, but otherwise not beautiful. The Author of this ancient Lexicon bestowed many years in compiling of it, and finished it, as he tells us himself at the conclusion of his manuscript, on the *nones* of *March* 1286. He was a man well versed in the liberal arts and sciences; of the order of preaching Friars, and remarkable for his extraordinary sanctity.

There cannot indeed a great deal be said in commendation of this work, nor must the erudition of it be placed in competition with those of a more modern date; but, with respect to the age it was wrote in, it has not merited the contempt which *Erasmus* and some others have thrown on it. It led the way to those which afterwards outran it; and it should be remembered in its favour, that invention is at once a more difficult and a nobler instance of genius than improvement. It was for a long while the sole fountain from whence the schools derived their knowledge in the *Latin* tongue; so that it is not to be wondered at, if a great many of the *Literati* exercised themselves in enlarging and embellishing it, and succeed-

* On this very curious book, see "The Origin of Printing," p. 87. J. N.

ing *Glossographers* imagined they ought to be entirely submitted to, and even applauded, wherever they could alledge the authority of the *Catholic* in behalf of their opinions.

The pious Collector of it shewed a peculiar regard to such words as occurred in the sacred Scriptures, or especially related to them, and was careful to the utmost of his ability to discover, and even exhaust, the sense of them; an example of this we have under *INTERPRES*, where he has not only denoted the general meaning of it, but illustrated it by a short history of the several translations of the Old Testament out of the *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and out of either into *Latin*. “First by the *Seventy*, next by “*Aquila* *, a third and fourth by *Theodotion* † and *Symmachus*; a fifth that “was anonymous, and called the *Vulgar Interpretation*; besides a sixth “and a seventh that were found by *Origen*, the last of which was of the “*Psalms* only; and both which with immense labour and diligence he “collated with all the preceding ones ‡. The versions out of *Greek* into “*Latin* were almost innumerable, as *St. Augustin* observes; for in the “*Western primitive Church*, almost every man that got a *Greek Bible* into “his hands, and was ever so little versed in that language, turned it into

* After the Christian Religion was settled, as the Christians supported themselves by the authority of the *LXX.* so some of the *Jews* resolved to make a new translation of the books of the Bible, which, as they pretended, should be more conformable to the *Hebrew* text than that of the *Seventy* was. *Aquila*, a *Jew*, was the first who thought of this design, and after put it into execution, in the reign of *Adrian*, by turning the *Hebrew* text *verbatim* into *Greek*. *Du Pin*, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. I. p. 37.

† A disciple of *Tatian*, who after turned *Marcionite*, and at last a *Jew*, and flourished in the time of the emperor *Commodus*: he made another *Greek* version of the whole Bible, in which, as he does not confine himself so closely to the letter as *Aquila* did, so neither does he depart so far from it as *Symmachus*, author of the third version, who lived in the days of the emperor *Severus*. He had formerly been a *Jew*, and at last went over to the sect of the *Ebionites*. His version is more lax, and he only concerns himself to render the sense, without servilely adhering to the words. *Ibid.*

‡ The *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* of *Origen* were composed of these versions. In the *Hexapla* they were joined to the *Hebrew* text written two ways; that is to say, in *Greek* and in *Hebrew* characters; and this composed the two first columns of the work: in the third column stood *Aquila's* translation, which was joined to the *Hebrew* text, as following the *Hebrew* more religiously than any of the rest. The version of the *Septuagint* was placed between that of *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and so these three versions composed three columns: the two other versions were ranked in the two last columns; and the seventh, which was of the book of *Psalms*, in the ninth column.—In the *Tetrapla*, that was made after the *Hexapla*, *Origen* has retrenched the fifth and sixth versions, as also the two columns of the *Hebrew* text, so that it is only composed of the versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*. *Ibid.*

“ his

“ his own. St. *Jerom*, who was skilled in all the three tongues, was the
 “ only translator of the Scriptures from the *Hebrew* into the *Latin* imme-
 “ diately : his translation is very justly esteemed, not only for the elegance
 “ and perspicuity of it, but likewise for its strictness and fidelity.”

Our Author was beholden to *Papias* for what he has said here in the explanation of this word ; from whom, as well as *Hugutius*, he owns himself to have transcribed a great many articles.

All that I shall say farther of the *Catholicon* is, that although the edition of 1460 has neither *Faustus's Colophon*, nor the mark of a *Calf's Horn* in the paper, which *Naudæus* and some others have fancied to be a certain criterion for distinguishing the books which he printed, yet there is not the least reason to doubt its being the work of that incomparable artist. Nor is there any foundation for *Tritbemius's* opinion, which the reputation of his great knowledge in antiquity has imposed on many, of an edition of it antienter than this we are speaking of, printed upon wooden blocks, before fusile separate types, which this is undeniably done on, were invented. The blocks for this pretended original impression * must be some years preparing ; and it is not to be imagined that, amidst the plenty of manuscripts then extant, the copies done off them could be so quickly disposed of, as to encourage or require the undertaking another almost immediately after the first was wrought off ; for that must here be the case, considering there is an interval but of ten years, at the most, between the date of our edition and the very first offspring of the press. There cannot be a more improbable supposition ; and indeed this prodigy of *Tritbemius's* has never yet been found in the most copious libraries, or occurred to the most industrious enquiries of the learned. But though the editions of this work did not succeed one another so swiftly in the primordial dawn of typography as this critick and his followers contend for, yet, in truth, it passed through several before the conclusion of that age, which was of all others the most propitious to learning. As, for instance, in the year 1483, there was an impression of it finished at *Venice*, corrected and amended by the care and at the expence of *Herman Liechtenstein*. Four years after, *viz.* in 1487, another was completed by the same person, and in the same

* A smaller *Catholicon*, which was merely a Vocabulary for the use of Schools, was printed with wooden types by GEINSFLEICH. See *Origin of Printing*, p. 85, 86. J. N.

city. The fourth edition of it was likewise at *Venice*, Anno 1495, under the revifal of *Boneti Locatelli*. At the beginning of the fifth century, *Petrus Ægidius*, a man of great eminence in the canon and civil laws, very much enlarged it, and printed it at *Lyons* in 1506, a second time in 1514, and laftly in 1520.

Our Editors, having occafion (as we have feen in their account of the *Catbolicon*) to make mention of *Papias* and *Hugutius*, as writers to whom the compiler of it has professed himfelf greatly indebted, have given us a brief history of them as authors, and fettled the times in which they flourished. It not being poffible for us to go thorough the fubject now, we fhall clofe this article for the prefent with an abftract of it.

Papias was by nation a *Lombard*. We know not when he was born, but he was undoubtedly more ancient than *Joannes Januensis*, as appears by this latter's copying from him. It is furprifing that any one fhould degrade him fo low as the age of the *Catbolicon*; and even *Tritemius*, *Platina*, *Cornel. a Beughem*, and *Jac. Phil. Bergamensis*, are mistaken, in imagining him to be but one hundred years earlier: he was two at the leaft, as we are affured by *Caspar Barthius* in his *Adversaria*, who therein agrees with the *Chronicon Albericum* MS. where it is noted, that in the year 1053, being the 13th of the emperor *Henry*, the fon of *Conrad*, *Papias* fet forth his book, intituled, *ELEMENTARIUM DOCTRINÆ ERUDIMENTUM*.

He was a man admirably verfed in prophane literature, as celebrated a grammarian as any of his time, a complete mafter in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and perfectly acquainted with the Scriptures and the works of the Fathers. He wrote a great many things both on divine and human fubjects. *Tritemius* had feen only three, viz. *De Ordine Dicendi*, *De Lingue Latine Vocabulis*, and *Epistolæ ad diverfos*. The fecond is that he is moft known by. *Scaliger* indeed undervalues it extremely; he treats it as ignominiously as *Erasmus* does the *Catbolicon*, and calls it *futile opus*; but others extol it as much, and fet it out for a rich repository of learning: *Barthius* in particular expatiates in the praifes of it. Perhaps it will be fpeaking the truth of it to fay, that it was enriched with the fpoils of all that had preceded it. It had feveral impreffions; one at *Milan* in 1476, and four following ones at *Venice*, Annis 1485, 1487, 1491, and 1496.

Hugutius, whom the *Catholicon* transcribed also, was a *Pisan* by birth, and bishop of *Ferrara*. A man of conspicuous figure about the year 1196. I suppose the first preferment the Pope conferred on him was the coadjutorship of a monastery, in the library of which he met with *Papias*, and out of him in a great measure composed his *Glossary*, or *Book of Derivations*. *Boccatius* gives him a good character in his *GENEALOGY* of the Gods. Whether he wrote the *Treatise of Animals* that is usually ascribed to him is uncertain, as there were others of his name contemporary with him famous for learning; particularly one, promoted to the Purple *Anno* 1191, who was reckoned the greatest civilian and canonist of that age. His *Vocabulary* has never been printed, and the manuscript copies of it lie hid only in a few collections. He has recorded his own name and country in the Preface of it, after the odd manner of those times. "If any one asks (says he) who was the author or doer of this work, it may be answered, God. If it be demanded who was the instrument in performing of it, it may be replied, *Hugutius of Pisa*." He died about the year 1212.

Our Editors apologize for insisting upon these things so largely. The *Latin* tongue had afterwards other guests patrons to glory in than those they have now mentioned; but it is the established fate of literature to grow up to maturity by slow degrees, from the most inconsiderable originals: and they wonder very justly at the ungrateful severity of *Erasmus*, and some other philologists, towards these primitive nurses, who first took care of the language in the very infancy of its revivification. If it received from them a stronger nourishment, and under their tutelage advanced to perfection, that cannot excuse their deriding or calumniating those who administered their best assistance at its new birth, and preserved it from perishing till it was provided with more able guardians.

N^o VI.

From The Present State of the Republick of Letters, Vol. XVI.

TO that weak and abject state of the *Latin* tongue, which our former article on this subject was employed in giving an account of, we may refer *Joannes de Garlandia* an *Englishman*, who lived in the reign of *Harold the Dane*, and made some considerable figure about the year 1040. He shone, not only in the character of a grammarian, but likewise of a chymist, a mathematician, and divine. His *Synonyma* and *Equivoca*, or book of *synonymous* and *equivocal Terms*, passed through the Press at *Cologne* so soon as 1490: and was again printed at *London*, in *quarto*, by *Richard Pynson* 1496. This edition, as I judge by the title of it, was improved, not only by *Galsfridus's* Exposition on the *Synonyma*, but by digesting the *Equivoca* into an alphabetical order; which circumstance seems to have been otherwise in the original.

It may suffice (to keep up the Series) barely to mention here a few others of the same inferior class with the foregoing writers. Such as, *Simon de Janua*, author of a physical Lexicon; *Marchesinus* of *Reggio*, also near *Modena*, of the order of *Minor Friars*, who composed a Dictionary of the words used in the Scripture and Liturgies: it was, I presume, something of the same nature with *Pasor's* Lexicon of the New Testament which we have now: its first appearance in print was at *Mentz* 1470. *Nic. Jensen* printed it next at *Venice*, in *quarto*, 1479. It had other editions elsewhere. I pass over *Gemma Gemmarum*, with other Vocabularies of like value; but *Nestor Dionysius* of *Novaria*, a *Minorite*, must not be entirely omitted: he flourished just upon the turn of Learning's fortune, when Letters began to shine, and one might sensibly discern their progress towards that meridian splendor they soon after arose to. He awoke, as it were, just time enough to discover and laugh at the blind dreams of those that preceded him, though at the same time he appeared to such as followed him not very sprightly or clear-sighted himself. His Dictionary was first published in 1488. It was reprinted at *Paris* 1496; and at *Venice* that same year, by *Phil. Pinzins*; and afterwards in 1502 and 1507; and revised by *Johan. Tacuinus*.

Our

Our Editors are at length come to a more auspicious period, when the *Roman* language had happily recovered its pristine lustre. They have now such men to celebrate as *Erasmus*, *Valla*, *Longolius*, and *Linacer*, with many others of like fame and ability; who were accurate grammarians, elegant translators of the most valuable *Greek* authors, and masters of all the purity and beauty of the *Latin* tongue. But their immediate concern is with those only who have distinguished themselves in the Republick of Letters under the character of *Lexicographers*.

The first taken notice of by them is *Johannes Tortellius*, a native of *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*: he was a favourite with two Popes. He was subdean and chamberlain to *Eugenius* the IVth, and afterwards the chief confidant of *Nicholas* the Vth, his library-keeper, and an intimate companion of his studies. He was highly esteemed for his great knowledge and acquaintance with the *Greek* and *Latin* literature, and equally beloved for the engaging qualifications of a sweet disposition and venerable behaviour. *Laurentius Valla*, who was himself a most excellent grammarian, had an entire friendship for him, and paid such a deference to his opinion and judgment, that he dedicated to him his books *De Latina Elegantia*. He was universally commended for his grammatical exactness in writing, as well as for the perfection of his stile. His Dictionary is divided into two parts; the first, which is very short, treats of the invention, number, figure, pronunciation, and joining of the letters of the alphabet. The second, which is much longer, contains an alphabetical catalogue of *Latin* words, chiefly derived from the *Greeks*; of which (says *Bayle*) he teaches, or endeavours to teach, the orthography. This work was first printed at *Tarvis*, 1477. Its second impression was at *Vicenza* 1480. It had three editions afterwards at *Venice*, in the years 1493, 1495, 1504; and another at *Vicenza* again 1508, &c. Besides this great undertaking, our author wrote several Epistles which were published. He likewise translated the Life of *Athanasius* by order of Pope *Eugenius*, and turned *Appian's* History into Latin, *verbatim*. *Vossius* thinks it was he, who, under the title of archpresbyter of *Arezza*, compiled the Memoirs of *St. Zenobius*.

With *Tortellius* our Editors join *Junianus Maius*, a *Neapolitan*; not merely because they were contemporary, but as they had nearly the same taste and bias in their studies. He wrote, besides Epistles and some other things,

things, *DE PRISCORUM VERBORUM PROPRIETATE*. *Trithemius* gives him a very advantageous character; he extols both his genius and his elocution; and celebrates his skill in philology, divinity, philosophy, and rhetoric. He was indefatigable in investigating and noting the peculiar force and significancy of certain words and phrases. His Dictionary, under the above-mentioned title, was inscribed to *Henry de Lunguard*, an archbishop, and confessor to *Ferdinand King of Naples*. He tells that Prelate, in the Preface of it, "That he may in that book see what the ancient
 " and modern grammarians have written of the power and virtue of
 " words, in separate pieces, collected and digested into a regular method.
 " He intimates as though the work were not originally begun by him,
 " but that he had found a plan and part of a superstructure raised by
 " some other hand, which, at a mighty expence of labour and contri-
 " vance, he had new-modelled and compleated: retrenching what he saw
 " superfluous in the first design, and enlarging it in other instances where
 " he perceived it to be scanty and deficient: making considerable additions
 " to it, not only from *Laurentius Valla* and *Tortellius*, but also from *Ser-
 " vius*, *Donatus*, *Porphyrion*, *Acron* (those approved commentators on *Ho-
 " race*, *Terence*, and *Virgil*); together with *Macrobius*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Strabo*,
 " *Nonius Marcellus*, &c. He complains of its being hastened out of his
 " hands by some people's eagerness, before he could methodize it so accu-
 " rately as he desired, or enrich it with that affluence of words which he
 " intended to collect from *Pliny*, *Vitruvius*, *Columella*, *Celsus*, and *Varro*." There were four impressions of this book in folio: the first at *Naples* 1475. The two following ones at *Tarvifa* in 1477 and 1480. The last again at *Naples*, 1490.

After *Maius* follows *Johannes Reuchlinus* or *Capnio*, a German, born of honest and genteel parents, on the 28th of *December* 1454. He was exceedingly well versed in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* tongues; and happily promoted the restoration of them in his own country. *Erasmus* styles him the Phoenix of those three languages. He was sent ambassador from the *Palatine Court* to *Rome*, where he closely attended the *Hebrew* lectures of *Abdias a Jew*, and the *Greek* ones of *Argyrophylus*. This latter observing his eager thirst after the *Grecian* literature, enquired whence he came, and being told he was of *Germany*, and not entirely ignorant of that learning which

which he was a professor of, he desired him to read and interpret a paragraph or two of *Thucydides*; which when *Reuchlin* immediately did, pronouncing it aright, and translating it not only justly but elegantly, *Argyropylus* cried out in a kind of transport and amaze, *Our banishment has transported Greece over the Alpine mountains*. This excellent person had the felicity to be loved by princes, and applauded by all the *literati*: his talents for negotiating their most arduous affairs with expedition and success recommended him to the former, and the praises of the latter were a tribute he deserved for his unwearied endeavours to promote their fame and interest.

He was the author of a *Latin Dictionary*, which some have highly commended; but, to speak impartially, as that tongue was not quite refined and reduced to its sterling purity at the time he compiled it, he admitted a great many foreign and even barbarous terms to creep in, that have much debased and undervalued it: for which reason, as well as because the succeeding age produced much better performances of the same kind, this has for a long while been of little or no value, and almost entirely forgotten: *Reuchlin* was but very young when it came out of his hands, and he presented it to the learned world as the *primitia* of his studies. *Melchior Adam* (in his *Life*) suggests as if he undertook it at the instance of the younger *Amerbachs* *, about the time of their setting-up for themselves: that is not improbable; there were none readier to excite or employ men of letters than those illustrious brothers. But our editors think him mistaken in supposing it was first printed by them in *folio* at *Basil*; they are positive it was by their father, a man of incomparable learning and virtue †. There were prefixed to it some small grammatical and orthographical pieces, *viz.* a little tract of *Guarinus Veronensis* of the true writing of

* See Mr. *De Miffy's* very curious Anecdote of *Bruno* and *Basil Amerbach's* Polyglott Pfalter, in "The Origin of Printing," p. 126. J. N.

† Some perhaps will wonder at these epithets, who only reflect on their unsuitableness to the artists of our age and country, but those they are applied to here were really deserving of them. We must no more rate the *Amerbachs* right to these titles by that of Printers now, than we would judge of the rank and dignity of *Raphael* or *Michael Angelo*, of *Leonard de Vinci* or *Titian*, by the merit and figure of the *English* Painters. *Sola nobilitat Virtus*, though generally a very improper motto, where it is most commonly placed, is yet true enough to make a maxim, and might very properly have been engraven on the monument of these learned and noble Typographers.

diphthongs: a dialogue on the art of pointing: a discourse of accent, &c. Indeed the whole book is much in the same way and character with these *Prolegomena*. The Printer of it tells us in the Preface, "That all the terms relating to *Divinity*, and both *canon* and *civil* law, are clearly explained in it: that great regard has been had to the *orthography* of them: that the *diphthongs* are rightly expressed; and the *proper syllables* duly accented." I don't find it had ever any more than one impression.

Nicolaus Perottus succeeds *Reuchlin*. He was of a noble family, and became archbishop of *Siponto*. He was a person of extraordinary ingenuity and great reading; and not undeservedly accounted, after *Tortellius*, the chief restorer and support of the *Roman* tongue. He studied the *Greek* learning at *Rome* with indefatigable industry, under the munificent patronage of cardinal *Bessarion*, a true *Mæcenas* of literature. While he was a very young man he translated *Polybius* so elegantly into *Latin*, that the interpreters of that time never mentioned him but with the highest encomiums. It is true, there were some few who were emulous of his reputation, and endeavoured to diminish it; but their very detraction involved in it the most delicate compliment: they pretended, the Version he published was not his own, but a very ancient one he had some-how surreptitiously obtained, and, concealing the true author, unjustly assumed to himself the honour of it: but how glorious to him was the ground of their defamation! It was no other than this, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*, had been severally translated by the most excellent modern hands, who had strove to surpass one another in their performances; but this of *Polybius*, it seems, so far transcended them all in purity of diction, in equality and sweetness of style, that it could not be the product of any inferior to the *Augustan* age. All the writers that take any notice of him have agreed in extolling his singular abilities in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, the idioms of which he could so entirely transmute one into another, that he erased all mark of their primitive character. The beauty of his *Polybius* likewise is universally acknowledged, but the fidelity of it is not so unquestionable: we must confess, he is accused by *Casaubon* and *Huetius* of taking very unjustifiable liberties with that writer, and deviating vastly from his original in a multitude of instances. Be that as it will; the world was highly obliged to him for his curious and useful collection of the

the purest and most genuine *Latin*. His large and elaborate Commentaries on *Martial*, which he intituled CORNUCOPIA, were of unspeakable service to young scholars, for whose benefit he wrote them: he has therein laid open the treasures of the *Latin* tongue; explained the nature and genius of it; shewn the peculiar signification of its words, and crowned all with so copious an Index of them, that it might well serve for a Lexicon of that language, as it really did for a long while after.

Perottus entered upon this work at the importunate request of *Pomponius Fortunatus*; but having finished it he laid it by, nor would he allow it to be printed during his life, on account of the obscenity and filthiness of several passages of the author he illustrated. But having lent the manuscript to many who had requested the favour of consulting it, some ungrateful plagiarist had stole its principal beauties, and decked a meaner offspring of his own with them after the decease of their true parent. This obliged the friends of *Perottus*, who were concerned for the honour of his memory, to publish this posthumous piece, that the learned might no longer attribute to others what they were indebted only to him for.

Our Editors have not ascertained the date of the first edition of it: it was some time between 1482 and 1486, and not in 1470 as *Du Cange* supposed. In less than ten years, viz. 1492, it was printed again in *folio* at *Venice*. Its next impression was by *Aldus Manutius*, in 1499. The year following there came forth an edition of it at *Paris*, printed by *Gering* and *Rembolt*. This was indeed a most beautiful one, and very carefully corrected by *Joannes Pompeius Cornianus*. But the noblest of all was that of *Aldus*, at *Venice*, 1513. This, besides the most diligent emendations, was enriched by the addition of *Varro*, *Festus*, and *Nonius Marcellus*; which last was in this edition of it exceedingly improved and enlarged by *J. Jucundus*, a man of infinite erudition, whom *Scaliger* respected as his master, and was used to stile a library of all the ancient and modern arts and sciences. After this the most learned *Valentin. Curio* published an accurate edition of our author and his associates, *Varro*, &c. at *Basil*, Annis 1526 and 1532. Besides all these, the *Cornucopia* had several other impressions, viz. in 1504. At *Paris*, in 1506. In 1521 at *Basil*; and again in 1536. In short, all the *literati* of that age admired and commended these Commentaries of the renowned *Perotti*.

The business of *Lexicons* was about this time indeed so mightily in vogue, that, as our Editors observe, some of the greatest rank and capacity in philology and criticism thought it no diminution of their dignity to employ themselves in amending, enriching, and embellishing the labours of others in that way; and this they did with a care and application equal to any they bestowed on the most valued authors of antiquity. Not one of the moderns had more respect paid him of this sort than our *Perotti*; first of all, by *Ludovicus Odaxius*; then by *Polydore Vergil*, who was at the pains of collating the first impression of the *Cornucopia* with an authentick copy in the duke of *Urbino's* library, by which he minutely corrected all the *Errata* of it: after him, as we have seen, the modelling, augmenting, and adorning it, was undertaken by no meaner hands than those of *Cornianus*, the most excellent *Aldus*, and that rich treasury of knowledge *Valentinus Curio*. It would be superfluous to add here the testimonies of *Gesner*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Trithemius*, and others, in honour of this noble work: *Paulus Jovius* supposed its intrinsic merit and serviceableness would render it immortal; and our Editors remark he judged rightly, as it has been taken into the composition of every subsequent Dictionary.

After this exalted character of *Perotti*, it is some displeasure to descend to that of *Calepin*, who follows him in the list of Lexicographers. *Ambrosius Calepinus* was a native of *Calepio* near *Bergamo*, and of the order of *Augustan* Friars. He lived to a great age, and died at *Bergamo*, Anno 1510, where some say he was born, and where he lies buried in the *Augustan* Church, without any monument to distinguish him. He left the world no legacy but his Dictionary; which has, indeed, more by good fortune than any merit, sufficiently aggrandized his memory. *Erasmus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Borrichius*, *Scioppus*, *Hieronimus Magius*, and other very competent judges, all concur with our Editors in speaking very contemptibly of him. They represent him as not ashamed of transcribing from *Perotti* what *Perotti* was ashamed to publish: as incapable of supplying the deficiencies of those authors, whose labours he only injudiciously heaped together: as a person altogether ignorant of *Greek*, and scarce tinctured with human learning. They characterise his Dictionary as meanly, and load it with the most disgraceful epithets. It is jejune and sterile; barbarous and fulsome; dry, inaccurate; and throughout erroneous: and after all the amendments and improve-

improvements of better hands than the first compiler's, it remains an insipid performance, and worse than any that preceded it.

But, after all this accumulation of disgrace, our ingenious Editor has picked up a single testimony in *Calepin's* favour; but seems to wonder how it could drop from the pen of the celebrated *Jacobus Philippus*, after he had read that writer's dedication of his Dictionary to the senate and people of *Bergama*, and his poetical address to the work itself, at the beginning of it. *Philippus* says of him, "that he was of a sweet disposition and "behaviour." And as for his book, he calls it "a great and valuable "collection of the lucubrations of innumerable learned men, gathered "with prodigious labour and industry, and sorted with the nicest accuracy "and judgement." He is pleased likewise to stile the Epistle the author prefixed to it a very learned and elegant thing. Perhaps *Philippus* would have passed a less favourable judgement on *Calepin's* performance, if he had not been his countryman; of the same age and order with himself, and at the same time his most dear and intimate companion.

It is surprizing that a work so mean and despicable should surmount such an universal contempt, pass through such a number of editions, and employ the pains of so many learned men to revise, enlarge, and adorn it, as this of *Calepin* did. It grew under every posthumous impresson; and such vast additions were made to it by a variety of hands, after the author's decease, that, though it still retained his name, it soon became a quite different thing from what he left it. There were but two editions of it in his life-time. The first was at *Reggio* in *Lombardy*, in 1502, in *folio*, upon a very fine letter. It is become extremely scarce. Our Editors have seen it (which is what few can boast of), and have inserted in their Preface the *ALLOCUTIO AD LIBRUM* which is prefixed to it, and which does not appear in any of the following editions. As that has nothing but its rarity to recommend it, I chuse to omit it here; and observe, that the pages in this first edition were not numbered, but we know they amounted to fifty-five signatures, of four sheets each. The second edition was printed at *Venice* in 1509, by *Liechtenstein*: neither *Gesner* nor the diligent and inquisitive *Borrichius*, who saw this, had ever light upon the former one. Our Editors have set down the dates of eighteen editions more that this Dictionary has passed through since the death of *Calepin*; and suppose several others might be discovered, if it were worth an enquiry.

Amongst

Amongst the many contributors to the fame, as much as to the materials of this Lexicon, one of the most eminent was *Johannes Passeratius*, Regius Professor in the university of *Paris*. Our Editors have collected a great many encomiums on him, celebrating the politeness of his genius, the purity of his stile, and the elegance of his writings: the most accomplished wits of his own time were even ambitious of praising him; always excepting the ill-natured *Scaliger*, who treats him opprobriously. He was certainly a man of the justest taste, and of a nice discernment, but too difficult to please, very seldom approving the works of others. He was so delicate in this respect, that he could not bear the apprehension of his bones being loaded (as he termed it), even after his death, with inelegant epitaphs and eulogiums. This sentiment is finely expressed in the following one, composed by himself upon the very brink of the grave, and designed, as I suppose, to be inscribed on his sepulchre:

*Hic situs in parva Janus Passeratius urna
Ausonii Doctor Regius eloquii;
Discipuli memores tumulo date ferta magistri,
Ut vario florum munere vernet humus.
Hoc culta officio mea molliter ossa quiescent,
Sint modo carminibus non onerata malis.*

He died at *Paris*, 1602, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the church of the *Dominicans*, under a monument erected to his memory by *Jo. Jac. Memmius*, who styles him his dearest preceptor. This was probably some near relation of the most noble *Henricus Memmius*, who had always been *Passeratius's* bountiful patron, and at whose recommendation he was promoted to be Regius Professor of Eloquence in the university of *Paris*. Our Editors have quoted the inscription on his tomb, but are not entirely satisfied with the stile of it. His death was universally lamented; the *literati* covered his hearse with their panegyricks: the truth is, in that age they were very liberal of them; they spoke of nobody indifferently; if they did not utterly degrade a man, they were sure to extol him above measure; there was rather too much of the *Gascon* in their compliments. Our *Passeratius* was no less than the last of the Roman writers; the chief of all the grammarians and rhetoricians of his age; the principal pillar of the *PARISIAN academy*; the glory of polite learning; the

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Phoenix of Eloquence, and another Varro. The additions to *Calepin's* Dictionary generally ascribed to him were so superficial and indigested, so unworthy of, and so unsuitable to, the account here given of his great abilities and erudition, that our Editors most readily assent to the opinion of very competent judges, that he had really no hand in that Lexicon at all; and that the imputing a share of it to him was only a trick and knavish device of the booksellers who had the copy-right, to enhance the reputation of their book, and promote the sale of it. This memorable writer, however, left several genuine pieces behind him that justify his character. There are some beautiful poems of his extant in the third tome of the *Delitiæ Gallicæ*; but his most valuable work is a treatise of *the Exchange and Affinity of Letters*; printed at *Paris* 1606, in octavo.

Our learned Editors observe very justly, that it would be endless to write particularly of all *Calepin's* benefactors: of *Jac. Montanus, Paul Manutius, Laur. Chiffetius, Lud. de la Cerda, Conrad. Gesnerus, Budeus, Ascensius, &c.* all which were one way or other concerned in new-moulding or enlarging his Dictionary: for what we have now under that name is a great superstructure raised indeed by their hands, in which he had very little concern besides that of laying the foundation. But though they excuse themselves the task of pointing out these gentlemen's merit, they have allowed *Gesner* the liberty of setting forth his own, and commending himself. And he tells us, "that he had corrected the impression of *Calepin* set forth at *Basil* in 1544, in innumerable places; that he had transplanted into it the four thousand words, which the last *Venetian* edition had been enriched with from the most approved authors: and which had been reckoned the chief ornaments of it; and had taken a peculiar care of what related to the Prosody; revising the whole for that purpose, and nicely distinguishing the quantities of the syllables in all the principal terms. That he had selected the proper names, which till then had been promiscuously dispersed throughout the work, and ranged them in a separate alphabet; adding to them as many others as he could find in the latest poetical dictionaries."

The next Lexicographer in order is *Marius Nizolius*, author of *Thesaurum Ciceronianum*, or, "Observations on Cicero, alphabetically digested, wherein the true rules of the Latin Tongue are delivered, and the several ways

“ways of distinguishing and diversifying the words of it clearly demonstrated
 “by examples drawn from the writings of that famous Orator.” Printed at
Basil, 1530; afterwards at *Venice*, 1535, folio; and again there, 1541; with the addition of several words collected from *Cicero* after *Nizolius* by *Zanchius*. *Hervagius* published it again in 1548, with very great improvements by *Caelius Secundus Curio*; and a second time at *Francfort*, 1568. It had after these so many editions, that it would be tiresome to enumerate them. Our Editors have marked that of *Lyons*, 1608, folio, and that of *Geneva*, 1612, 4to, as the most correct and copious. At length this work, which at first sprung from *Cicero* alone, and was confined to him only, became more universal, and grew up to be in all respects a complete Lexicon. The finishing hand was set to it by *M. Ludovicus Lucius*, Professor in the university of *Basil*, who, in the year 1613, published it there in two volumes in folio, under the title of “*Latinae Linguae Thesaurum bipartitum*, “&c. or, *A Treatise of the Latin Tongue, in two parts: the first consisting of* “*Nizolius’s Collections from Cicero only: the second, extracted from several* “*other Authors, containing and copiously explaining the terms made use of by* “*the most approved orators, historians, lawyers, physicians, and poets;* “*with rules for expressing them grammatically.*” Much of this latter part was undoubtedly borrowed from *Stephens*.

To return to *Nizolius*; our Editors observe, that, whether through his own modesty or ill-fortune, it happens that we have hardly any memoirs of him, and that very few particulars relating to him have been handed down to posterity. It appears indeed that he was happy in the friendship of some very considerable persons, whose bounty relieved the domestick poverty he seems by his own expressions to have laboured under.

Our Editors take notice of a book of his, “*De veris principiis & vera* “*ratione philosophandi, &c.* printed at *Parma*, 1553.” He likewise translated *Galen’s* Explanation of the obsolete words in *Hippocrates*, which was published with the works of *Galen* 1550. The *Thesaurum Ciceronianum* was his master-piece; but even that is now in no esteem with the Learned, who think it never was answerable to the time and pains he professes to have expended in the composing of it.

The last of all those that precede the immortal *Stephens* in the rank of Lexicographers is *Basilius Zanchius* of *Bergamo*. He has a title to this character,

character, both as he contributed to *Nizolius's* Observations on *Cicero*, and as he added a great collection of words to *Calepin*, gathered from some of the best and purest authors. He was a canon of the order of *Lateran*, and resided for almost the whole of his life at *Rome*, beloved and honoured by the *literati* of that city, which at that time were more than ordinarily numerous and eminent. He wrote Observations on all the books of Scripture, which were printed in 8vo at *Cologne* 1602; and Questions on the four books of *Kings* and two of *Chronicles*, which he extracted chiefly from the works of *Theodoret*: likewise a Treasury of *Latin* Epithets, and some sacred Poems very much esteemed, especially the *Hortus Sophiæ*, in heroic verse, inscribed to cardinal *Bembo*. He was made keeper of the *Vatican Library*; filled that post with dignity and applause; and died at *Rome* in 1560.

* * The Critics, from whom I have extracted this curious account of the early Lexicographers, promised a continuation of it. As that promise was never performed, I shall supply the deficiency with an account of *R. Stephens* and his family, and bring down the history of Lexicons by an abstract from the Preface of Mr. *Ainsworth*. J. N.

Nº VII.

ABRIDGEMENT OF MAITTAIRE'S
"VITÆ STEPHANORUM."

From THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, 1762, 8vo.

THE name of STEPHENS is greatly revered in the Republic of Letters, and with good reason; since to this family it is indebted for the most correct and beautiful impressions of the best authors, the ancient *Greek* ones particularly.

Henry Stephens, the first distinguished person of his name, was a *Frenchman*, and one of the best printers of his time. He died in the year 1520, and left three sons behind him, who carried the art of printing to perfection; and were, two of them at least, very extraordinary men, exclusively of their professional merit.

Robert, his second son, was born at *Paris* in 1503; and applied so severely to letters in his youth, that he acquired a perfect knowledge in

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the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* tongues. His father dying, as we have said, in 1520, his mother was married the year after to *Simon de Colines*, in *Latin Colinaeus*; who by this means came into the possession of *Henry Stephens's* printing-house, carried on the business till his death in 1547, and is well known for the neatness and beauty of his *Italic* character. In 1522, when he was nineteen years of age, he was charged with the management of his father-in-law's press; and the same year came out, under his inspection, a New Testament in *Latin*, which gave such offence to the *Paris* Divines, that they threatened to have it burned, and him banished. He appears to have married, and to have set-up for himself, soon after; for there are books of his printing dated so early as 1526. He married *Perrete*, the daughter of *Badius*, a printer; who was a learned woman, and understood *Latin* well. She had, indeed, more occasion for this accomplishment than wives usually have: for *Robert Stephens* had always in his house ten or twelve correctors of his press, who, being learned men of different nations, spoke nothing but *Latin*; from whence there was a necessity that his domestics should know something of the language. He resolved from the beginning to print nothing but good books: he only used the *Roman* characters at first, but afterwards employed the *Italic*. His mark was a tree branched, and a man looking upon it, with these words, *noli altum sapere*, to which he sometimes added *sed time*. In some of his first editions, he did not use figures and catch-words, as thinking them of little importance. In 1539, *Francis I.* named him his printer; and ordered a new set of letters to be founded, and ancient manuscripts to be sought after, for him. The aversion which the doctors of the *Sorbonne* had conceived against him, on account of the *Latin* New Testament in 1522, revived in 1532, when he printed his great *Latin* Bible: *Francis* protected him; but this king dying in 1547, he saw plainly that there was no more good to be done at *Paris*; and therefore, after sustaining the efforts of his enemies till 1552, he withdrew from thence to *Geneva*. It has been pretended by some that *Robert Stephens* carried with him not only the types of the royal press, but also the matrices, or moulds, those types were cast in: but this cannot be true, not only because no mention was made of any such thing for above sixty years after, but because none of the *Stephens's* afterwards ever used these types: and if *Robert* was burned in effigy at *Paris*, as *Beza* in

in his *Icones* relates, it was not for this, but for his embracing Calvinism at *Geneva*, of which he was suspected before he left *Paris*. He lived in intimacy at *Geneva* with *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Rivet*, and others, whose works he printed, and died there the 7th of *September* 1559. This eminent artist was so exact and solicitous after perfection, that, in a noble contempt of gain, he used to expose his proofs to public view, with offer of a reward to those who should discover any faults: so that it is no wonder his impressions should be as correct as beautiful. He was, like the rest of his family, not only a printer, but a writer: his *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* is a work of immense learning, as well as labour; and he published also in 1552, when he went to *Geneva*, a *Latin* piece, in answer to the *Paris* divines, who had abused his *Latin* editions of the Old and New Testament, which shews his parts as well as learning. He left his substance, which was very considerable, to such of his children as should come to *Geneva*, exclusively of the rest. He had a daughter who understood *Latin* well, which she had learned by hearing it talked in her father's family; and three sons, *Henry*, *Robert*, and *Francis*. But, before we take any notice of these, we must say a word or two of his brothers, *Francis* and *Charles*.

Francis, older than himself, we know no more of, than that he worked jointly with his father-in-law *Colinaeus*, after *Robert* had left him; and that he died at *Paris* about the year 1550. *Charles*, his younger brother, though more considerable than *Francis*, was yet inferior to himself both as a printer and a scholar: nevertheless, *Charles* wrote and printed many useful and valuable works. He was born about the year 1504, and became so perfectly skilled in *Greek* and *Latin* literature, that *Lazarus de Baif* took him for preceptor to his son *Antony*, and afterwards carried him with him into *Germany*. He studied physic, and took a doctor's degree at *Paris*; but this did not hinder him from following the profession of his father, and being printer to the king. In the mean time, he was more of an author than a printer; having written upwards of thirty works upon various subjects. He died at *Paris* in 1564, leaving behind him a very learned daughter.

Henry, *Robert*, and *Francis*, the sons of *Robert*, make the third generation of the *Stephens's*, and were all printers. It is necessary to be somewhat particular about *Henry*. He was born at *Paris* in 1528; and, being

most carefully educated by his father, became the most learned of all his learned family. He was particularly skilled in the *Greek* language, which he conceived a fondness for from his infancy, studied afterwards under *Turnebus* and the best masters, and became at length so perfect in, as to pass for the best *Grecian* in *Europe*, after the death of *Budeus*. He had also a strong passion for poetry, while he was yet a child, which he cultivated all his life; and gave in his tenderest years so many proofs of uncommon abilities, that he has always been ranked among the *celebres enfans*. He had a violent propensity to astrology in the younger part of his life, and procured a master in that way; but soon perceived the vanity of it, and laid it aside. It seems to have been about the year 1546, when his father took him into business: yet, before he could think of fixing, he resolved to travel into foreign countries, to examine libraries, and to connect himself with learned men. He went into *Italy* in 1547, and staid there two years; and returned to *Paris* in 1549, when he subjoined some *Greek* verses, made in his youth, to a folio edition of the New Testament in *Greek*, which his father had just finished. In 1550, he went over to *England*; and in 1551 to *Flanders*, where he learned the *Spanish* tongue of the *Spaniards*, who then possessed those countries, as he had before learned the *Italian* in *Italy*. On his return to *Paris*, he found his father preparing to leave *France*: we do not know whether he accompanied him to *Geneva*; but, if he did, it is certain that he returned immediately after to *Paris*, and set up a printing-house. In 1554, he went to *Rome*, visiting his father at *Geneva* as he went, and the year after to *Naples*; and returned to *Paris*, by the way of *Venice*, in 1556. This was upon business committed to him by the government. Then he sat down to printing in good earnest, and never left off till he had given the world the most beautiful and correct editions of all the ancient *Greek* and other valuable writers. He called himself at first printer of *Paris*; but, in 1558, took the title of printer to *Ulric Fugger*, a very rich *German*, who allowed him a considerable pension. He was at *Geneva* in 1558, to see his father, who died the year after; and he married in 1560. *Henry III.* of *France* was very fond of *Stephens*, sent him to *Switzerland* in search of manuscripts, and gave him a pension. He took him to court, and made him great promises: but the troubles, which accompanied the latter part of this king's reign, not only occasioned *Stephens*

phens to be disappointed, but made his situation in *France* so dangerous, that he thought it but prudent to remove, as his father had done before him, to *Geneva*. Notwithstanding all his excellent labours, and the infinite obligations due to him from the public, he is said to have become poor in his old age; the cause of which is thus related by several authors. *Stephens* had been at vast expence, as well as labour, in compiling and printing his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*: so much, in short, that, without proper reimbursements from the public, he and his family must be inevitably ruined. These reimbursements, however, were never made; for his servant, *John Scapula*, extracted from this treasure what he thought would be most necessary, and of greatest use, to the generality of students, and published a *Lexicon* in 4to, under his own name, which has since been enlarged and printed often in folio. By this act of treachery he destroyed the sale, though he could not destroy the credit, of the *Thesaurus*; and, though he ruined his master, left him the glory of a work, which was then pronounced by *Scaliger*, and has ever been judged by all learned men, most excellent *. He died in 1598, leaving a son *Paul* and two daughters;

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* I am in this place tempted to subjoin an anonymous letter to the latest Editors of the *Thesaurus*:

" Clarissimis ROB. STEPHANI Thesauri Editoribus, Salutem.

" Quis sim, sciri paulum interest; non certè meâ, qui innotescere non percipio; minimè omnium, vestrà, Viri Clarissimi, quibus notissimis quid ex usu fuerit, nòsse ignobilem? Quid autem velim, breviter expediam. Non potui me continere, quin vobis, quas gratias nemo literatus non fatebitur se debere, ego quoque, particula quantulacunque literariæ Reipublicæ perexigua, agerem: & gratularer, quod opus illud grande, consilio laudabili susceptum, magnâ laboris pertinaciâ continuatum, ad exitum tandem omnium votis responsurum pervenerit. Ex quo Romanus sermo defuit esse vernaculus, illius linguæ cultores, qui puram dictionis elegantiam studuerunt (& pauci admodum potuerunt, & etiamnum possunt) assequi, coacti sunt cum mortuis versari, frequentemque cum authorum veterum scriptis familiaritatem inire, & eorum imitationi paulatim assuescere. Cùm autem id pensum requireret multum operæ imaginamque memoriæ vim; Dictionariorum usus introductus est, ut illam minueret, hanc sublevaret. Non longè ab Artis Typographicæ initiis, primum *Lexicon* prodit in lucem. Deinceps, literis incrementum capientibus, exorti sunt qui hanc studiorum generi excolendo, manus feliciter admoverunt. Verùm omnibus palmam præripuit ROBERTUS STEPHANUS: qui, postquam in perficiendo operis instituti, quod anno 1532 proposuerat, tentamine decennium exegisset, anno 1543 orbem literatum *Thesaurus* suo donavit: in quem Latine linguæ opes undecunque conquisitas recondidit; novoque ordinis artificio tam commodè disposuit, ut, cùm nihil utilius posset excogitari, multi postea in *Lexicis* contexendis eandem rationem servare voluerint.

" Actum

one of which, named *Florence*, had espoused the learned *Isaac Casaubon* in April 1586. He was the most learned printer that had then been, or perhaps ever will be: all his *Greek* authors are most correctly printed; and the *Latin* versions, which he gave to some of them, are, as *Casaubon* and *Huetius* have said, very faithful. The chief authors of antiquity, printed by him, are *Anacreon*, *Æschylus*, *Maximus Tyrius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pindar*, *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, *Sophocles*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Plutarch*, *Plato*, *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Æschines*, *Lyfias*, *Callimachus*, *Theocritus*, *Herodian*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Dion. Cassius*, *Isocrates*, *Appian*, *Xiphilin*, &c. He did not meddle so much with *Latin* authors, although he printed some of them; as *Horace* and *Virgil*, which he illustrated with notes and a commentary of his own; *Tully's* familiar epistles, and the epistles and panegyric of the younger *Pliny*. But he was not content with printing the works of others: he wrote also a great many things himself. His *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae* has been mentioned: another piece, which made him very famous, was his *Introduction à l'Apologie pour Herodote*. This ran through many editions, and is a very severe satire upon popery and its professors.

Paul Stephens, the son of *Henry*, though inferior to his father, was yet well skilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. His father was more solicitous about his being instructed in these, than in the art of printing. He carried on the business of a printer for some time at *Geneva*; but his press had greatly degenerated from the beauty of that at *Paris*, and he afterwards sold his types to *Chouet*, a printer. He died at *Geneva* in 1627, aged 60 years, leaving a son *Antony*, who was the last printer of the *Ste-*

“Actum agerem, si Roberti Stephani laudes post Thuanum prosequerem. Annis
 “deinde haud paucis elapsis, Thesaurum illius recudere & locupletare aggressi sunt
 “Lugdunenses; quos sua lucri spes minimè fefellit. Eorum editioni defuit neque laus
 “neque pretium. Si cui tamen libeat & vacet illam subacto judicio propius examinare,
 “erit nonnunquam, ubi in mentem veniat proverbium, *Thesaurus Carbones*. Id vos
 “non fugit, Viri Doctissimi. Quum enim in animo haberetis Roberti Stephani Thesau-
 “rum luci redonare, & (nequid in re tanti momenti desideraretur) necesse esset evol-
 “vere, quid alii præstiterint, præsertim Lugdunenses; tot in horum editione animad-
 “vertistis menda, ut in iis corrigendis poni oporteret operam, ferè qualem Hercules in
 “stabulo Augiæ repurgando insumpserat. Post editionem à Rob. Stephano finitam,
 “nihil prodiit ad usus literarios magis necessarium; nihil magis operosum attentiore
 “diligentiâ, nihil grandius elegantiore cultu, elaboratum est. Ille nunc Thesaurus
 “preciosissimus novam sèquæ dignam induit formam: & illius Author (si ad superos
 “daretur defunctis reditus) optaverit reviviscere; ut suum opus tanto cum honore, cum
 “tantâ bonæ frugis accessione, redivivum contemplandi voluptate frueretur. Valete,
 “1735, 5 Id. Aprilis.”—This letter I suspect to be *Maittaire's*. J. N.

phens's. Antony, quitting the religion of his father for that of his ancestors, quitted also Geneva, and returned to Paris, the place of their original. Here he was some time printer to the king; but, managing his affairs ill, he was obliged to give all up, and to have recourse to an hospital, where he died in extreme misery and blindness in 1674, aged eighty years. Such was the end of the illustrious family of *Stephens*, after it had flourished for five generations; and had done great honour to itself, by doing incredible service to the Republic of Letters.

N° VIII.

*A short Review * of the several DICTIONARIES that have been published, with a view to promote the Knowledge of the Latin and English Tongues; extracted from Mr. AINSWORTH'S Preface to the first Edition of his Latin Dictionary, 1736.*

Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, printed by Richard Pynson in the year mccccxcix, in folio, is the first book of this sort I have ever met with. This consisteth only of one part, which exhibiteth the English words before the Latin, being destitute both of the Latin and historical parts. But these defects were in part supplied by

Ortus

* I the rather choose to reprint this curious article, as it is omitted in all the later editions of Mr. Ainsworth's Dictionary. To preserve the chain of connexion, I shall annex the names of such Lexicographers as occur between the time of R. Stephens's publication and the first of those mentioned by Ainsworth.

Three editions of his *Thesaurus* were published by R. Stephens himself; in 1531, 1536, and 1543. Two others were undertaken whilst he was living: one of them in 1545 † by Theodosius Trebellius, intituled, *Promptuarium Linguae Latinae*; another in 1551 by Marius Nizolius; and a third, increased in bulk but not in value, by Philip Tinghyus, a native of Florence, in four volumes, Lugd. Bat. 1573.

Cælius Secundus Curio, an Italian, born in 1503, being persecuted for his religious sentiments, was driven to Basil, where he settled, was for more than two-and-twenty years a very celebrated orator, and died in 1569. He employed himself for a considerable time in correcting a work which came out in 1576, long after his death, under the title of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, sive Forum Romanum*, in three volumes, folio.

† The "Commentarii Latinae Linguae, 1545," by Stephen Doletus, an able French printer, 2 volumes in 4to, which are founded on the *Thesaurus*, may here be properly mentioned.

Beyond

Ortus vocabulorum, alphabetico ordine fere omnia, quæ in Catholico, Breviloquio, Cornucopia, Gemma vocabulorum, atque Medulla grammaticæ ponuntur, cum vernaculæ linguæ Anglicanæ expositione, continens, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year MDXXVI, in quarto. This is compiled in two distinct alphabetical parts, in the former of which the *Latin* words are placed before their explications in *English*, in the latter the *English* words are put before the *Latin*. The declensions and genders of *Latin* nouns, as well as the conjugations and preterperfect tenses of the verbs, are set down very particularly, both in the dictionary before mentioned, and in the *English* part of this work.

The *Vulgaria Roberti Whitintoni Lichfeldiensis* printed in MDXXV, *Vulgaria Stanbrigi* in MDXXIX, and *Vocabula magistri Stanbrigii* in MDXXXI, scarcely deserve to be mentioned in this place, being rather a sort of vocabularies than dictionaries of the *Latin* and *English* tongues.

Thomas Elyot also obliged our countrymen with the publication of a *Latin* and *English* dictionary, printed at London in the year MDXLII, in folio, with the title of *Bibliotheca Eliota*, which seemeth to be much more copious than any of the former. This author was born of a knightly family in Suffolk, received part of his education at Oxford, then travelled beyond the seas, and on his return was introduced to court. King Henry VIII. finding him to be a person of good parts, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, and employed him in certain embassies beyond the seas, particularly to Rome about the divorce of queen Katherine, and afterwards to the emperor Charles V, during which last his great friend and chony Sir Thomas More was beheaded. He died in March MDXLVI, and was buried at Carleton in the county of Cambridge. But the Editors of the late

Beyond these, I shall content myself with mentioning Marcus Frid. Windelinus, who published a *Medula Latinitatis*; John Fungerus Frisius, who compiled a *Dictionarium Latino-Germanicum*, which has passed through two or more editions; M. Martinus, J. Norwegus Hesus, and John Gerard Vessius; who are all commended by the Editors of R. Stephens, for their skill in etymology.

Robert Constantinus and Josephus Laurentius are also mentioned in very high terms, for their abilities in explaining the *Voces abstrusiores*; and G. Matthias Kænigius, for having collected, in his *Guzophylacium Latinitatis*, a great number of words which were to be met with in no preceding collection. Peter Dasypodius was compiler of a Dictionary in common use in Germany; Morell, Gaudinus, and Petrus Danetus, were the Lexicographers of France: those of our own country Mr. Ainsworth's Summary will faithfully explain. J. N.

edition

edition of *Stephens's Latin Thesaurus*, for what reason I know not, say that *Elyot* was *primus qui has literas inter nos professus est*. Præf. p. 20.

Thomas Cooper, being sensible of several defects in the dictionary published by Sir *Thomas Elyot*, took no small pains in improving it; for, besides giving a much fuller account of the different senses of the *Latin* words, he added 33000 words and phrases: the materials, for the most part, being taken from Robert *Stephens's Thesaurus*, and John *Frifius's Latin and German dictionary*, saith *Anthony Wood* in the second edition of his *Athenæ Oxonienses* in MDCCXXI. This work passed through several editions: the first was at London in MDLII, which still retained the name of *Elyot*; but it was afterwards reprinted with large improvements in MDLXV, with the title of *Thesaurus Linguae Romanæ & Britannicæ*, &c. and again in MDLXXVIII, as also in MDLXXXIV, which last is esteemed the best. It may not be amiss to observe, that both *Elyot's* and *Cooper's* dictionaries want the *English* part proper to assist younger scholars in translating *English* into *Latin*, though they have the historical and poetical part. This reverend author was born at Oxford, and afterwards elected into a fellowship of *Magdalen College* there. *Queen Elizabeth* had so great an esteem for him, on account of the service he had done to learning by the publication of this useful work, that she promoted him to the deanry of *Gloucester* in MDLXIX; to the bishoprick of *Lincoln* in MDLXX; and to that of *Winchester* in MDLXXXIV, where he ended his days 29 April MDXCIV.

Barret's Alvearie, or quadruple dictionary in *English, Latin, Greek, and French*, was printed at London in the year MDLXXX, in folio. The author of this work having been employed several years in the instruction of youth, and observing the *Latin* dictionaries of his times to be very defective in giving proper assistance to younger students, chiefly for translating *English* into *Latin*, made a large collection both of words and phrases out of the classic authors to supply their defects in this particular, with a design to publish them to the world; but, being prevented by death, this work was afterwards published by a friend of the author. As this hath gone through but one impression, so far as I can find, I need say no more of it, than that it seemeth to be a valuable performance for those times.

Thomas Thomafius, who was for some years printer to the university of Cambridge, and died 9 Aug. MDLXXXV, published also a *Latin and English*

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dictionary,

dictionary, in *quarto*; which met with so favourable a reception, that it underwent five impressions in the space of eight years, and bore in all fourteen impressions, say the editors of the last edition of *Stephens's Thesaurus*. I have not been able to procure a sight of the first edition of *Thomasius*, and therefore can neither determine the precise time of its first appearance in the world, nor ascertain the number of its parts when first published; but that some distinct parts were added to the following editions, will evidently appear by a recital of part of the title to the tenth edition thereof in MDCXV, printed by *Legat*, who succeeded him as printer to the said university: *Huic etiam (præter dictionarium historicum & poeticum, ad prophanas historias poetarumque fabulas intelligendas valde necessarium) novissime accessit utilissimus de ponderum, mensurarum, & monetarum veterum reductione ad ea quæ sunt Anglis jam in usu, tractatus. Decima editio superioribus cum Græcarum dictionum, tum earundem primitivorum adjectione, multo auctior. Cui demum adjectum est supplementum, auctore Ph. Hollando, med. doctore, nova aliquot dictionum millia complectens; una cum novo Anglo-Latino dictionario.* Hence we may observe, that how imperfect soever the former editions of this book were, yet this consisted of the three chief parts, into which most of the *Latin* and *English* dictionaries published since that time have been divided.

Philemon Holland, who made the said supplement to *Thomasius's* dictionary, was born at *Chelmsford* towards the latter end of the reign of king *Edward VI.* educated in *Trinity College, Cambridge*; was afterwards, for about twenty years, master of the free-school at *Coventry*, after that practised physic in the same county, and departed this life 9 Febr. MDCXXXVI. This supplement is printed distinctly from the other parts of that book, and called *Paralipomena*, as containing such *Latin* words as the doctor had gleaned from classic and other *Latin* authors, and were omitted by *Thomasius*.

John Rider, born at *Carrington* in *Cheshire*, educated in *Jesus College Oxford*, for some time minister of *St. Magdalen Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, then rector of *Winwick* in *Lancashire*, and promoted to the bishoprick of *Killaloe* in *Ireland* in the year MDCXII, where he continued to his death, which was in MDCXXXII, published a dictionary, *English* and *Latin*, and *Latin* and *English*, at *Oxford* in MDLXXXIX, in a large thick *quarto*. This,

faith *A. Wood*, was the first dictionary that had the English before the Latin, epitomizing the learnedest and choicest dictionaries that were then extant, and was beheld as the best that was then in use; but that part of it, which had the Latin before the English, was swallowed up by the greater attempts of Francis Holyoake. But that Mr. Wood was mistaken in this case, if he meaneth that *Rider's* dictionary was the first which consisted of an English and Latin part, as well as of the Latin and English, plainly appeareth by what is said before in my account of the *Promptorium*, as well as of the *Ortus vocabulorum*; though, so far as I can find, *Rider's* was the first Latin dictionary in which the English part was placed at the beginning of the book before the Latin part.

Francis Holyoake, who was born at Nether Whitacre in Warwickshire, educated in Queen's College at Oxford, afterwards kept a school in his own country, and was made rector of Southam there in MDCIV, took considerable pains in revising, correcting, and augmenting what *Rider* had published, especially with regard to the etymological part: this was first printed at London in MDCVI, in quarto, and was afterwards reprinted several times with enlargements. He died 12 Nov. MDCXXXII.

Thomas Holyoake, his son, who was born at Stony Thorp, near Southam before mentioned, educated in Queen's College Oxford, was rector of Whitnash in Warwickshire, and prebendary of the collegiate church of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, made very large additions to the dictionary published by his father, with a design to print them in a new edition; but dying 10 June MDCLXXV, the same was published by his son Charles, of the Inner Temple, London, in a large and well printed folio, in MDCLXXVII.

Nicolas Grey likewise made some additions to *Rider*, which were several times printed at London, faith *A. Wood*; but the same author owneth himself at a loss as to the time of its first publication, and addeth, that a second or third edition of Holyoake's coming out prevented, as it is said, the further publication of it. This gentleman was born in London, elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, from Westminster School, in the year MDCVI, and was afterwards the first master of the Charterhouse School in London; but, after some years, marrying, against the statutes of that house, the governors thereof discharged him from that employment, by presenting him to the benefice of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire. In January MDCXXIV he was ad-

mitted chief master of *Merchant-Tailors School* in *London*, and in *MDCXXXI* chief master of *Eton*, out of which he was expelled in the time of the Civil Wars; but being restored on the return of king *Charles II.* he died at *Eton* towards the close of the year *MDCLX*, and was buried in the chapel there.

Christopher Wase, fellow of *King's College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards superior beadle of law in *Oxford*, published likewise a *Latin* dictionary, the second edition of which was printed in *MDCLXXV*. This is a compendium of *Calepine*; but done with so much judgement, saith *Dr. Littleton* in his *Latin* preface to his dictionary, that one can hardly find any thing in it which savoureth of barbarism. However, it seemeth to be rather designed for the use of those who have made some proficiency in the *Latin* tongue, than for such as are only beginning to learn that language.

Francis Gouldman, who was educated in *Christ's College* in *Cambridge*, was for some time rector of *South Okendon* in *Essex*, and died in *MDCLXXXIX*, published also a *Latin* dictionary in quarto, in the year *MDCLXIV*, which was afterwards reprinted several times, and the *Cambridge* edition in *MDCLXXIV* much enlarged by *William Robertson* *. But *Gouldman's* design, according to the account of *Dr. Littleton*, his successor in this sort of learning, was rather to make new additions than to correct the former mistakes, or to throw out the many barbarous *Latin* words which had crept into the dictionaries then extant. For this reason,

Dr. Adam Littleton undertook to reform it; whose greatest aim, as he tells the *English* reader in his preface, was to carry the purity of the *Latin* tongue throughout, and not to take things or words upon trust, so as to transcribe others mistakes. This was first published in quarto at *London* in *MDCLXXVIII*, and hath met with such a general approbation, that the sixth edition thereof was published but a few months ago. He was a minister's son, of an ancient and genteel family at *Westcot* in *Worcestershire*, elected student of *Christ Church* in *Oxford* in *MDCXLVII*, was sometime an usher in *Westminster School*, and in *MDCLVIII* became second master of the same. After the Restoration he was chaplain to king *Charles II.* rector of *Chelsea*, and subdean of *Westminster*. He died in the beginning of *July*, *MDCXCIV*, and was buried in *Chelsea Church*.

* It was still further enlarged, in 1678, by *Dr. Scattergood*. J. N.

The *Cambridge* dictionary in *quarto*, printed in MDCXCIII, with the title of *Linguae Romanae dictionarium luculentum novum*, is an improvement of *Littleton*, made by several persons, whose names have been concealed from public knowledge. What plan the editors of this have proceeded upon may be learnt by their own preface; in which, after a grateful acknowledgement of the great assistance they had by the extraordinary pains of the reverend and learned Dr. *Littleton*, as to the *English Latin* part, they principally set forth, that they have inserted several whole *classes* of words, which had been either omitted before, or were very lately introduced into our language; and that they have been more exact, more distinct and full, in noting the various significations of verbs and nouns: that in the *Latin classic* they began their collection by a careful perusal of several authors, as *Lucretius*, *Terence*, *Caesar*, *Phaedrus*, *Gratius*, *Petronius*, &c. some of whom, they observed, had scarce been named, or if sometimes quoted, often to very little, and sometimes to very bad purposes, in dictionaries of the same volume with theirs; that the second edition of *Robert Stephens's Latin Thesaurus* lay always before them, and was constantly consulted by them; that they likewise used a manuscript collection in three large *folio's*, digested into an alphabetical order, made by Mr. *John Milton* out of all the best and purest *Roman* authors; and further, that the complete *indices* generally annexed to the *Dauphin* editions of most of the *Roman* writers had been very serviceable to them; that they had retrenched many far-fetched *etymons* in former dictionaries, had given a larger account of the construction of verbs, had rejected all words and phrases, whose authors were either not to be found, or, when found, appeared in so barbarous and uncouth a dress as made them very unfit company for *Tully*, *Caesar*, &c. And, finally, had distinguished the poetical *Latin* words by a *flower* † placed before them. Thus far they. Those who are desirous to have a more particular account of the difference between this dictionary and that published by Dr. *Littleton*, as to the *English* and *Latin* part, may satisfy their curiosity by the comparison of a few sheets of each; but it is very manifest that these editors have made very large and useful improvements in the letters L, M, N, O, and P, in the *Latin* classical part, and augmented or corrected what had been done by *Littleton* (though neither in so large nor careful a manner as under the aforesaid letters) in most of the other parts of the work. The improve-

improvements made under the aforesaid letters, as also a large part of their title, as well as the preface, have been inserted in the several editions of *Littleton* (except the last, which hath a new preface, and hath been otherwise somewhat altered) printed since the publication of this work at *Cambridge*; but the other parts of *Littleton* in general remain as they were when first published.

Elisba Coles published also a *Latin* and *English* dictionary in the year MDCLXXVII, designed chiefly for the use of scholars of a lower class. He hath indeed considerably enlarged the *English Latin* part, which containeth many more *English* words and phrases than any *Latin* dictionary published before his time. But not a few of those words are now intirely obsolete, many of them interpreted in a wrong sense, and worse translated into *Latin*. And the *Latin English* part is very defective, both with regard to the several senses of the *Latin* words, and the citation of the *Roman* writers proper to fix their authority. This work, however, being not half the price of Dr. *Littleton's*, hath gone through twelve impressions; the first whereof was printed in a small *quarto*, and all the following in *octavo*. The author of this work was born in *Northamptonshire*, entered into *Magdalen* College in *Oxford* in the year MDCLVIII, taught the languages to foreigners in the parish of *Covent Garden* in *London*, and was afterwards for some time an usher in *Merchant Taylors* School; after which, on some default, being obliged to quit that employment, he went into *Ireland*, where he continued till his death; but of the precise time thereof I have not been able to get any certain information.

1736.

R. AINSWORTH.

N° IX.

OF THE

DIFFERENT AGES RELATING TO THE PURITY OF THE LATIN TONGUE.

THOUGH the origin, growth, flourishing state, and decay of the *Latin* tongue, may, in my opinion, be most properly represented by the different ages of man, as infancy, youth, manhood, and old age: yet, since those periods of time have been more usually distinguished by metals
of

of greater or less fineness, as gold, silver, brass, and iron; I choose to keep to the method of digesting them prescribed by others, rather than seem too fond of my own opinion, by introducing a new method of my own.

The *golden age*, in this case, is generally computed from the time of the second *Punic* war to the latter end of the reign of *Augustus Caesar*, and comprehendeth the oldest authors in the *Latin* tongue now extant, excepting the fragments of *Livius Andronicus*. Though, for a considerable time after the commencement of this period, the language was but yet forming, and by gradual improvements afterwards arrived to its state of perfection under *Augustus*.

The *silver age* is reckoned to have commenced on the death of *Augustus*, and continued to the end of *Trajan's* reign.

The *brass* age began at the death of *Trajan*, and lasted till the time that *Rome* was taken by the *Goths*, about four hundred and ten years after the birth of *Christ*.

The *iron age* commenced from the sacking of *Rome* before mentioned, after which the *Latin* tongue was very much neglected, and multitudes of barbarous words and forms of expression introduced, to the great disparagement of that noble language.

How rude and unpolished this tongue was in its infant state appeareth from hence, that the hymns of the *Salar* priests, instituted by *Numa*, were scarcely understood by the priests themselves, who were contemporary with the flourishing times, as *Fabius* telleth us, *Inst. Orat.* i. 6. And the *decemviral* and *pontifical* laws had nothing of that beautiful diction which may be observed in the writings of the *Augustan* age.

Ennius the poet is also described by *Ovid*, *Trist.* ii. 424, as *ingenio maximus, arte rudis*. And *Cæcilius* is said by *Tully ad Att.* vii. 3, to be *malus Latinitatis auctor*.

But in after-times the *Romans* took great pains in polishing their native language; and even *Cæsar* himself, when otherwise engaged in business of great moment, writ a book relating to the speaking of *Latin* accurately, and declareth therein, *verborum delectum originem esse eloquentiæ*, *Cic. de Clar. orat.* 72. *Cæsar*, *Cicero* the father of the *Roman* eloquence, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Varro*, *Sallust*, and *Livy*, may justly be reckoned the greatest writers
in

in prose; and *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*, the greatest poets; who all lived in the golden age.

Celsus, *Paterculus*, *Columella*, *Curtius*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny* the historian, *Suetonius*, and some other prose writers, flourished in the silver age; and *Persius*, *Lucan*, *Silius Italicus*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Juvenal*, and *Martial*, among the poets; and the two *Seneca's* distinguished themselves by their writings on moral and other subjects.

Justin, *Ælius Spartianus*, with the other writers of the *Augustan* history; *Eutropius*, *Vegetius*, *Macrobius*, and *Aurelius Victor*, writers in prose; *Nemesianus*, *Ausonius*, *Prudentius*, and *Claudian*, poets; lived in the brazen age, and were a considerable ornament to it.

Though it is usual to judge of the diction of the *Roman* writers by the age they lived in, yet that this may admit of some exceptions is evident from hence, that *Vitruvius*, who writ even in the *Augustan* age, sinketh in some places far below the diction of his contemporaries; and the style of *Valerius Maximus*, the writers of the *Historie Augustæ*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Apuleius*, is much worse than of some others who lived in their times; and yet several lawyers, as *Æmilius*, *Papinian*, *Ulpian*, and others, writ in a good *Latin* style under *Alexander Severus*; and even *Lactantius*, a Christian, writ good *Latin* in the reign of *Constantine*, *Sulpitius Severus* in the time of *Honorius*, *Claudian* the poet in the time of *Severus*; yea and long after, under *Theodoric the Goth*, *Boethius*, a man of consular dignity, wrote in so pure a *Roman* style, that, if we were ignorant of the age he lived in, we should take him for a contemporary of *Cicero*.

In after-times the beauty of the *Latin* tongue declined very much, and many base words were introduced into the language, especially by the ecclesiastic and physical writers, the use of which ought to be carefully avoided by all persons studious of writing in a good *Latin* style. The surest way of obtaining which, is carefully to read, make observations upon, and imitate the purest *Latin* writers, especially those who come the nearest to *Cicero*, to whose valuable writings this language is very much indebted.

*** *The Reader, it is hoped, will not be displeased with seeing these PROPOSALS in the Middle of a Book; though certainly in no other Manner connected with Mr. BOWYER than by having been produced from his Press. The valuable Work, however, having never appeared, and the Proposals themselves being grown exceedingly scarce*, the Editor of this Volume has thought proper to preserve them as a Curiosity.*

P R O P O S A L S

F O R

Printing by Subscription, in one Volume in *Folio*,

C O L L E C T I O N S

F R O M T H E

MSS. of Dr. NATHANIEL JOHNSTON†,

R E L A T I N G T O

The ANTIQUITIES of the County of YORK.

* Dr. Ducarel has one copy of them, and Mr. Brooke another. J. N.

† See the History of these MSS. in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," under the article *Yorkshire* (in the Index). J. N.

I. In the Method intended to be observed in this Volume, the Publisher will begin the Work from the South, and South-West Parts of the County, adjoining to the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, which will take in the Wapontakes of *Strafford* and *Tickhill*, and *Osgodrofs*, &c. in the West Riding, and thence will proceed in due order through the whole.

II. This Volume containing great Variety of Draughts of Churches, Abbies and Monasteries, Monuments, Arms, Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, *Roman* and *Saxon* Fortifications, *Roman* Altars, and Inscriptions, Maps of the particular Wapontakes, with a general Map of the whole County, will make about 170 Sheets, to be printed on the same Paper and with the same Letter, as the Specimen annexed. [This was on a Genoa Demy, and in a Type one Size larger than these Conditions.]

III. The Copper Plates shall be engraven by the best Hands: Which by reason of their Number and Charge will make the Price of this Book to the Subscribers two Guineas, one to be paid in hand, and the other upon the Delivery of a Book in Sheets, which shall be published with all possible expedition.

IV. The Names of the Subscribers shall be printed, as Encouragers of the Work.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by the Editor, HENRY JOHNSTON, M.A. and Rector of *Whilton* in *Northamptonshire*; and WILLIAM BOWYER*, Printer, in *White Friars, London*.

Received the Day of 172 the Sum of Guinea in
Part for the first Volume of Dr. *Nath. Johnston's Antiquities of Yorkshire*.
And I promise to deliver the said Book in Sheets, when printed, upon
Payment of the like Sum. I say received by me

* It is probable that not a single subscription was received by Mr. Bowyer, as he was never paid for printing the Proposals. J. N.

A S T O N.

THE Town stands pleasantly, having an open Prospect to the West to *Chesterfield* in *Derbyshire*, and the Country adjoining. On the East is the Parish of *Todwick*; *Thorpe Salvaine*, South East; *Wales*, South; *Beighton*, West; and *Treton*, North-West.

The Hamletts within it are *Aghton* West, half of *Ulley*, North-West, and *Hardwich*. The Hall, or principal Mansion, stands on the East of the Town, adjoining to the Church. There have been three Parks, the old Park lying North, the new Park South-West; which is in three Parishes, viz. *Aston*, *Wales*, and *Treton*; but was disparked some years since. The Honourable *Conyers D'Arcie*, Esq; the second Earl of *Holderness*, hath made the third Park, East from the Hall, with a noble Visto through the Wood, so that *Todwick* Church may be seen.

In the Conqueror's Survey, the Town is reckoned among the Lands of *Doomsday-Hugh* Earl of *Chester******. It is writ *Eston*, being Eastward of *Beighton* Book. and *Aghton*. In it *Lepes* had a Manor of 2 Carucates and 2 Bovates geldable, and there were then 2 Carucates which *Richard Surdus* held, and it had in it 5 Villaines, and one Sockman, with 2 Carucates. There was then a Church, and a Presbyter, also a Wood fit for Pasture a League long, and half a League broad: In the time of King *Edward* it was worth 20s. and in the time of the Survey 8s.

THE next Account I can find of this Place, is, that it was the Possession of the Family *De Arches*, and held of *Thomas de Furnival*, and he of *14 E. 2. Galfrid Luterell*. The first that I find of this Family, that was Owner of it, was *Osbert de Arches*, who lived 20 H. 3. and if his Ancestors were also Owners of it (as it is probable) then this following Pedigree will elucidate the Proprietors.

GILBERT DE ARCHES, testis Chartæ Willielmi filii Bertrami Haget; ubi concedit Roberto le Vavasor dimid. caruc. in *Adyngham*, quond. *Gilb. de Arches*.

HENRICUS DE ARCHES frater Gilberti temp. H. 2. & 1^o Jobannis.

Dodsworth. 2. Collect.

PETRUS DE ARCHES

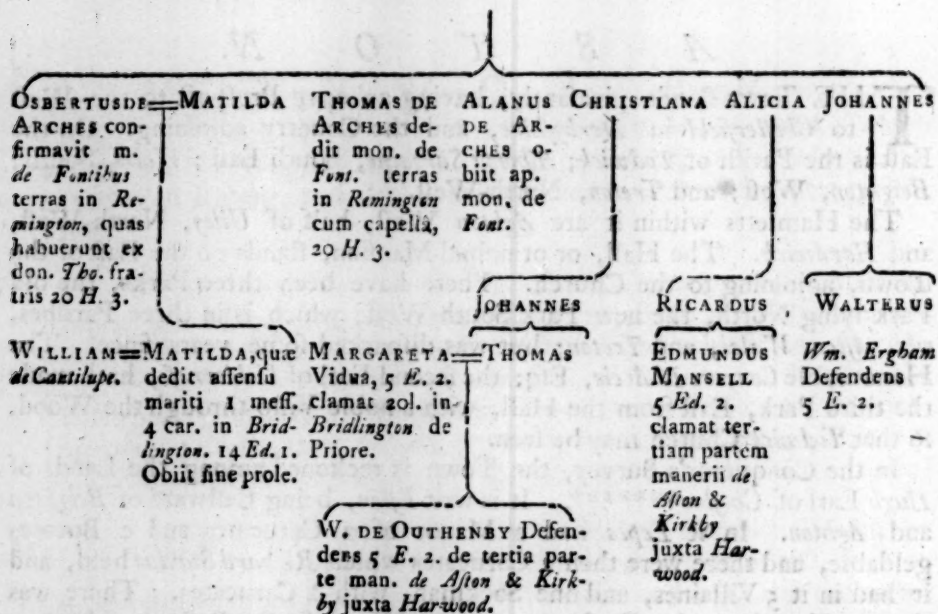
GULIELMUS filius Petri de Arches, testis cum W. Decano Ebor. & Rogero Barent.

HENRICUS.

ALANUS DE ARCHES fil. Willielmi dedit terras 4^o Jobannis monast. de *Fontibus*.

S 2

OSBERTUS



Regist. Wal. OSBERT de Arches is Patron of the Church of *Aston* 1253. 38 Pontificat. teri Grey. *Walteri Grey.*

Chart. 41 H. THE King grants to *Osbert de Arches* Free Warren in all his Demesne Lands in *Aston* and *Kirkby*.

2 Sca. 19 E. 1. 19 E. 1. I find a Writ *ad quod damnum*, if the King grant Licence, to *Tho. Baudewin* to give 2 Oxgangs in *Aston* to the Abby of *St. Maries* in *York*.

Quo War- WILLIAM de *Cantilupe* and *Emma* his Wife (perhaps *Matilda*), have an ranto 21 E. 1. Enquiry concerning their Liberties in *Aston*, *Kirby*, *Ravensthorp*, *Balby* and Rot. 24. *Kirkby* *Thribergh*, 21 E. 1.

14 E. 2. *Thomas de Aubie*, alias *Authenby* and *William Cantilupe*, held a Knight's Fee thereof of *Thomas Furnival*, and he of *Galfred Luterel*.

Coll. Dodf- 17 E. 2. *William Marshall* of *Hardwich* (in *Aston* Parish) gives to Sir worth. *Hardulph de Gasteneys*, i. e. *Wasteneys*, Knight, and *Sybilla* his Wife, all the E. 1. 521. Manor of *Aston* and *Tatwick*, i. e. *Todwick*, which he had in his seisin,

Teste Domino *Edmundo de Gasteneys mil. W. fil. Greg. de Tatwyke*. I suppose this must be in trust, except this *Sibyl* were relict of some of the coheirs, from which coheirs by purchase it came to *William Melton* Archbishop of *York*: for 6 E. 2. I found *Thomas Outhenby* releaseth to the said Archbishop all his right in the Manor of *Aston* in *Morthing*.

Of this *William Melton*, Archbishop, I shall first treat in general, and then more particularly. The Book of *Meaux Abby* gives a fair character of him, and Bishop *Goodwin* hath enlarged it out of other authors: I shall interweave both. The Book of *Meaux* thus. *Will. Greenfield* Archbishop of *York* died 1315. *William Melton*, Canon of the Church and Provost of *Beverley*, was consecrated by Pope *John XXII.* at *Avignon*, 1317.



M R. B O W Y E R ' S
L E T T E R

TO

R O G E R G A L E, E S Q U I R E ;

Concerning an INSCRIPTION found at BATH, August 1736;
and the Omission of the Letter N in several Latin Words.

S I R, March 4, 1738.

I Have herewith sent you my thoughts upon the Bath Inscription, and am much obliged to you for the honour you do me in giving them a reading. I have got them transcribed by no very skilful hand; on which account you will pardon any inaccuracies in the copy, though I know I have more reason to apologize for the imperfections of the original.

If what I have sent should occasion you again to turn over Schelius, De Castrametatione Romanorum, you'll perhaps with pleasure observe an emendation in Manilius; which it is twenty to one Dr. Bentley takes, and, if we may judge from the accusations against him, will scarcely own. I am, Sir, &c.

W. B.

L. VITELLIVS. MA

NIAL. L. F. ANCINVS

CIVES. HISP. CAVRIESIS

EQ. ALAE. VETTONVM. C. R *

ANN. XXXXVI. STIP. XXVI

H. S. E.

Lucius Vitellius Ma-

nialis, Lucii Filius, Ancinus,

Civis Hispanus Cauriensis †

Eques Alæ Vettonum Civis Rom.

Annorum 46 Stipendiorum 26

Hic situs est.

* The point between C and R occasioned my thinking that they denoted two distinct words; but as there is no such point in Mr. Ward and Mr. Bowyer's copy, I believe it is an error in this, and that CR signify *CURATOR*, as they read them. R. GALE.

† Caurium, hodie Coria in Castilia.

WHEN

WHEN we were favoured with Mr. Ward's reading of the Bath Inscription of Vitellius, at the Antiquarian Society, I presumed to suggest an Inscription in Reinesius to confirm his conjecture of *Alæ Vettonum CURATOR*, where the same officer, I said, was more determinately expressed. I said so, indeed, upon no less authority than the great name I cited; which having since found reasons to dissent from, I am obliged, both in justice to you and myself, to lay them before you.

The Inscription in Reinesius runs thus. Class II. 77.

L. AMEILIVS. L. F. LATINVS
AR. PRISCVS. EQVIT. ROM. CVI
JOVI CONSERVATORI CV
STODI. LVD. FECIT
TI. CLAVDIO. CAES. AVGVSTO. V
SERGIO. CORNELIO ORPHITO COS

Lucius Amelius Lucii filius Latinus
Arniensis Priscus Equitum Romanorum CVRATOR
Jovi Conservatori Custodi Ludos fecit
Tiberio Claudio Cæsar Augusto quantum
Sergio Cornelio Orphito, Consulibus.

This officer, he says, is otherwise called *Curio Equitum Romanorum in Legione*; and to prove it refers to Gruter, p. DXLIIX. 8.

DIS MANIBVS
M. JVNIO CVRIONE
EQ. R. LEG. XXII. VIC *
TVR. VERISSIMI. VIXIT, &c.

This Inscription at first view is ambiguous, since CVRIO may possibly be the name of a family, not of an office; and I think, from the reasons I shall presently offer, it must necessarily be so; and that Reinesius, by reading this Inscription wrong, is mistaken in his interpretation of both.

I don't say there was no such office as *Curio Equitum Romanorum*; though this, at best, is an uncertain proof of it: we need not go out of the Æmilian family for a better.—V. Gruter, CCCXLVIII. 1.

* Victoris Turmæ.

L. AEMILIO. L. F. PAP. ARCANO
 TRI. MIL. LEG. XI. GEM. E F. TRIB
 MIL. LEG. II. AVG. OMNIBVS. HO
 NORIBVS. IN. AMPLISSIMVM
 ORDINEM. AB. IM. CAES
 HADRIANO. AVG. IIII. VIR
 EQVITVM. ROMANORVM. CVRIONI
 QVAESTORI VRBANO, &c.

From comparing the Inscriptions on the two *Æmilii*, it is natural to supply the one from the other; to read therefore in the first *CVRIO Equitum Romanorum*, not with *Reinesius* *CVRATOR*, we shall soon find that this was a civil officer, not a military one; not, as *Reinesius* would have it, *Equitum Roman. IN LEGIONE*.

The proof of this depends upon some discoveries in the History of the Roman Army first made by *Schelius*, in his admirable Comment upon *Hyginus de Castramentatione Romanorum* *; which, though published six or seven years before the death of *Reinesius* †, it is probable, from this and other circumstances I shall hereafter mention, that great critic and antiquary had not the happiness of seeing. *Schelius* has been seconded by *Grævius* in his Preface to the first volume of his *Thesaurus*, from both whom I will just lay before you as much as may serve for our present purpose.

From *Romulus* to the time of *Marius*, the Roman horse consisted only of horse who were of the *Ordo Equestris*, called so in distinction to the Senatorian Order in the city, and the infantry in the field; where again we find them equally distinguished from the auxiliary horse, which with the auxiliary foot made up the *Alæ*. Thus *Livy*, lib. xl. c. 40. *Alarii Equites postquam tam memorabile facinus Equitum Romanorum videre*, &c. See also xxxv. 5. After the Social War, the allies of Italy being incorporated in the city jointly with the original citizens, made up the legionary foot, and jointly with the *Externi* made up the cavalry of the *Alæ*. The legions still consisted of citizens old and new; but the stated legionary horse were laid aside. We hear no more of *jussus Legionis Equitatus*; and it is not likely that the

* *Græv. Thef. tom. X. p. 1075.*

† 1660. *Reinesius* died 1667. *V. Fabric. Bibl. Lat.*

Equites Romani, who before made a distinct body in the army, should be indiscriminately reckoned among the *Alæ*, since the privilege of knighthood (if I may so term it) was not enlarged to other nations, though that of citizenship was. This farther appears from the regulation made by Augustus, who, as Herodian * observes, eased Italy from the burthen of war; from which time, though the Prætorian and City Cohorts were raised near home, the Legions were collected chiefly from the provinces: the former called by Otho, in Tacitus †, *Italiae alumnos & vere Romanum juventutem*; the latter by Hyginus, *Militia Provincialis fidelissima*; but these *Equites Prætoriani*, though a more honourable Militia than the *Alæ*, did not consist of Roman knights: these were still of a higher distinction; and instead of serving, as Pliny ‡ says, *in turnis Equorum*, were either dignified at home with civil offices, or else with posts of command in the army, which for that reason are stiled *Equestres Militiæ* by Suetonius §.

It must be owned there is some difficulty in accounting for those passages in antient inscriptions and historians that mention *Equites Legionis* in these latter times. Thus Tacitus, lib. i. 57. *Fabius Valens postero die cum Equitibus Legionis I. auxiliorumque coloniam Agrippinensem ingressus Imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit.* So again, lib. ii. *Dextra fronte prima Legio incescit cum duabus Vexillaribus Cohortibus & quingentis Equitibus: super hos e Prætorio auxilii que mille Equites.*—It is probable, that as the legions still consisted of citizens (*civitate donati*), any party of horse, that were citizens likewise, were on that account and relation stiled *Equites Legionis*, to give them somewhat of an honourable distinction from the Auxiliaries: but whatever they were, it is enough for my purpose that they were not the ancient legionary horse: their number here is different, as well as their quality; they are never stiled *Equites Romani*, that title being appropriated to the Roman knights only.—Allowing therefore Marcus Junius to be *Eques Romanus in Legione*, there could not be a body of that rank in the legion with a stated officer presiding over them. There was no *CVRIO Equitum Romanorum in Legione* here, as Reinesius imagined, who has consequently, as I said, mistaken the name of a family for that of an office; and, from this false proof, found out a military office in the other inscription, instead of a civil employment.

* Lib. ii. c. 11.

† Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 1.

‡ Hist. lib. i. 84.

§ Claud. c. xxv.

But

But to do further justice still to this Marcus Junius Curio, as I may now call him, I would observe, that as this is the only inscription in Gruter, perhaps the only instance in history, from the time of the emperors, of a Roman knight serving as a common trooper, I should much suspect that this has been ill copied, especially since it has other marks of incorrectness. The letter P for Præfectus, or a T included in the letter L for Tribunus, would restore our knight to one of the Equestres Militiæ due to him and his order.

To conclude then as I began: what I have offered is not to lessen the probability of Mr. Ward's ingenious reading of the Bath Inscription, but only to remove from it a false support. We have in one inscription in Gruter CVRATOR VETERANORVM, and CVR. MIL. in another, which are foundation enough for reading in our *Equitum alæ Vettonum CVRATOR*.

II. But Reinesius still suggests to us another reading, which may seem to deserve the more regard, as he supports it from an inscription found in the neighbourhood of this before us; and yet his interpretation of it has not, so far as I have seen, been taken notice of by any of our Antiquaries, though the inscription has passed through the hands of several. The abbreviation of CR. may as well signify *Centurio* as *Curator**; and what objection is there to it, since, according to this author, there was a Centurion of horse as well as of foot: this he endeavours to prove, against Hermanus Hugo, from various inscriptions, and from one which seems the most full to his purpose found at Bath, which I will lay before you from Mr. Horsley's copy.

DIS MANIBVS
M. VALERIVS. M
FIL. LATINVS CÆQ.
MLES. LEG. XX. AN
XXXI. STIPEND. XX
H. S. E.

Mr. Camden, who first published it, reads *Cohortis Equitum Miles Legionis viceffimæ*, which Dr. Musgrave † changes, I know not why, into

* Syntag. Inscrip. p. 16.

† Belg. Britan. p. 70.

Cohors Equitum Miles Legionis, &c. but as all the cohorts were denominated * either from their order in the legion, or, if they were independent of it, from the nation they consisted of, or from the person that collected them, all which are omitted here, both Mr. Camden's and Dr. Musgrave's readings must be rejected.

We come then to Reinesius, who will have it *Centurio Equitum Miles Legionis* †. Mr. Horsley reads it to the same purpose, only somewhat worse, *Centurio Eques Miles Legionis*; thus making a threefold inverted kind of gradation; the like to which, he says, appears in other inscriptions, but he has not produced one ‡.

However, another observation of Schelius will overthrow both these readings effectually. The Equestrian Cohorts, as he proves from Hyginus and Vegetius, consisted both of horse and foot, in one company of about 24 to 76, or 3 to 1; a proportion that is observed in the Acts of the Apostles, where the *Tribunus Militum* orders two Centurions to make ready 200 soldiers to go to Cæsarea, and horsemen threescore and ten: it is no wonder, then, these companies retained the name of Cohorts, since they consisted of foot chiefly; or that, as they were divided into *Centuriæ*, they were commanded by a Centurion: though therefore we have frequent instances of a *Centurio Cohortis Equestris*, they are of no authority to prove, as Reinesius supposes, that there was a *Centurio Equitum*.

The inscription on Valerius Latinus had remained still in the dark, had not the preface to Mr. Horsley's book struck out a better conjecture than any hitherto produced, by reading the united letters *CE Decurio Equitum*.

The point of honour indeed remains still inverted, as well as the letter D; and one would have more naturally expected *Miles Legionis xx Decurio Equitum*, as in Gruter, p. ccclv. 5.

C. ARRIO. C. F. COR. CLEMETI. MILITI. COH. IX. PR. EQVITI. COHORTIS. EJVSD. EM.

But whether this decorum was always observed in inscriptions, I must leave to others more versed in them to determine.

* Cohortes singulæ ex quibus conscriptæ vocabulo, item auctorum qui scripserunt, & si plures erant, ut Cohortes Legionariæ etiam numero distinguebantur. Schel. p. 1095, apud Grævium in Thes. tom. X. Vide etiam p. 1092.

† The true reading seems to me, *Cohortis Equitata Miles*, &c. R. GALE.

‡ Cap. xxiii. ver. 3.

III. One inscription on Vitellius is as follows * :

L. VITELLIVS. MA
NIALI·F·TANCINVS &
CIVES & HISP & CAVRIESIS
EQ. & ALAE. & VETTONVM †. CR.
ANN. XXXVI. STIP. XXVI.

H. S. E.

It has recorded his country, as usual in inscriptions on soldiers. He was *Cives Cauriesis*. ¶ *Cives* for *Civis* is undoubtedly the orthography of the age in which the inscription was written. Nouns, I imagine, of two genders (and such were all those which included both species), had originally in this declension two terminations; *is* masculine, and *es* feminine. In time both terminations were used in some words indiscriminately; and the masculine or feminine were solely appropriated to others. Hence *apis*, and *apes*; *vulpis* and *vulpes*; *vallis* and *valles*. Servius †, observing these double terminations, makes one the *genuine* nominative, the other the *poetical*, introduced for the sake of quantity; and says the genuine nominative is always distinguished by the formation of the diminutive; that *valles* therefore is the true nominative, because we have *vallecula*, not *valli-cula*. I rather think, that time has preserved only some of the diminutives, as well as originals, promiscuously, as *apes*, *apis*, *apicula*; *vulpis*, *vulpes*, *vulpecula*, &c. It is enough for our purpose, that several words had two nominatives, and *cives* may be added to the number, as *plebei* from *plebes* in the Monumentum Ancyranum. The omission of *n* in *Cauriesis* is another regular peculiarity, as was observed || before this Society, and has been elsewhere so learnedly proved §, that it needs no farther evidence; but still,

* Reines. Class. viii. 44, &c.

† Vettones.

¶ The remainder of this letter is considerably enlarged (after having been collated with the original) from Mr. Bowyer's Preface to a Grammatical Treatise by Mr. Leedes, annexed to Kuster "de vero usu Verborum Mediorum, &c. 1773," p. 81.

‡ Metri necessitate compellimur, ut *vallis* dicamus. Statius: *Vallis in amplexu nemorum sedet*: nam plenum est *valles*, ut nunc Virgilius posuit, quod ita esse diminutio indicat: nam *vallecula*, ut *vulpes*, *vulpecula*, facit. Ergo in *es* vel in *is*, quando *usurpative* aut quando *naturaliter* exeunt nomina, sola diminutio indicat. Serv. in Virg. *Æn.* xi. 522.

|| By R. Gale. See before this Inscription, the two copies differ in several particulars.

§ Dr. Musgrave in Jul. Vital. p. 57. Mr. Gale in Phil. Trans. N^o 357. Abridgm. vol. V. par. ii. c. 2. p. 52. Edw. Lhwyd's Archæol. Brit. Tit. I. Obf. 16.

I hope, I shall not be thought too officious if I add one or two observations, which can only, I confess, lay claim to your attention from their minuteness.

In the first place, I would observe, that it is probable the old Romans, in the infancy of their language, preserved the sound of the letter N * before S, because it occurs so regularly in all their participles of the present tense, and is inserted in many words which want it in the language from whence they were borrowed. That afterwards, however, the Romans dropped or softened this sound, as they grew more acquainted with the Grecians; and the several nations, which by degrees composed the Roman empire, fell more or less into this pronunciation, as it was more or less agreeable to their own respective languages. I will not pretend to trace out the various tongues that were spoken through Europe and Asia, before the Roman conquerors introduced theirs: it is sufficient to observe, that this pronunciation prevails among many of them to this day.

The Germans abound with N, and therefore retained it in the words they borrowed from the Romans; but the Italians, French, and Spaniards, very frequently omit it. Thus, agreeably to our inscription, we learn from the Italians to say *Milanesè*, *Genouesè*, and the like, for *Milaneses*, *Genouenses*, &c. The French, for *Burgenfes*, *Nivernenses*, say *Burgeois* (whence our *Burgeis*) and *Nivernois*; and in Spain (the country of the *Ala Vettonum* as well as of their *Curator Vitellius*) they say *Seso* for *Sensus*, *Esposa* for *Sponsa*, and we *Spouse*. Thus *Mensis* is *Mese* in Italy, in Spain *Mes*, and in France *Mois*. But this is too large a field to enter farther into.

I said we might carry up the original of this pronunciation still higher, and trace it from the Greeks, who are known to have been the masters of speech to the Romans: Cicero himself affected it, as appears from a passage cited by Dr. Musgrave from Velius Longus †, who lived before Ha-

* N silent.

† Sequenda est nonnunquam elegantia eruditorum, quod quasdam litteras levitatis causa omiserunt, sicut Cicero, qui *Forefia* & *Hortefia* sine N littera dicebat. Gram. Vet. per Putschium, p. 22. 37. And D. Vossius complains of the Mss. inserting N before S, as in *thenfauri*, *quotiens*. See his note on Cæs. Com. B. C. ii. 9.

The Welsh also, though greatly delighting in consonants, omit the N in Latin names, turned into British; as *Kyfeint* for Constantius, which probably they learnt from the Romans. R. GALE.

drían. Longus ascribes it *levitatis causæ*, for the sake of smoothness: I would ascribe it to his imitation of the Greek taste. That the Grecians omitted the N before S, appears,

1. From proper names, where the Romans inserted it. Thus, Ὁρτίσιος for *Hortensius*, Κλήμης, Πύδης, Κρέσκης, for *Clemens, Pudens, Crescens*.

2. From the Nominatives of various words of the fifth declension, which originally ended in NS, for what the Nominatives were originally appears (as Mr. Ainsworth hath † observed) from the oblique cases; thus Μέλας, Μέλας, was originally Μέλας; Σταῖς, Σταῖς, was, as in Latin, Σταῖς; Ὀδῶς, Ὀδῶς, Ὀδῶς; whence the Latin *Dens*; or rather, both in Greek and Latin, ζῶνς and ὀδῶνς; χην, χηνός, ΧΗΝΣ or ΧΑΝΣ, Belg. *Gans*, whence, by cutting off the N, comes our *Goose*; by retaining the N, and adding the Masculine Termination, comes the Latin *Anser*, and our *Gander* ‡.—So εἷς ἐνός, ἐνός or ἰνός; whence the Latin *Unus* is not derived from the Oblique case (as has been hitherto supposed), but from the Nominative case.

3. This omission of the N before S appears again in the Datives plural, from μέλας in the singular, μέλας in the plural, not μέλας; ζῶνι, ζῶσι, ὀδῶνι, ὀδῶσι, &c.

4. In some verbs, indeed, of the second person singular of the præterpassive, N should come before S regularly, as from φαίνω, πείθεμαι, πείθεσθαι: but this Attic ears would not bear; they therefore softened it into πείθεσμαι, πείθεσαι; whence φάσμα, retained with us to this day.

In short, except in some compound words where the preposition EN comes before Σ, as ἐνσέω, ἐνσημαίνω, &c. the N is almost universally dropped, and perhaps was here admitted to preserve a difference between the preposition and the augment. It is certain Σύν in the like composition is always melted into Σύς, as Συσολή, Σύνσας, &c.

It must farther be owned, in the famous Cretan League among the Oxford Marbles, the word ΠΙΠΑΝΣΙΟΙ (denoting one of the parties in that league) occurs very frequently. I should ill bear to have my observations

† In Mr. Chishull's *Antiq. Afiat.* p. 22.

‡ Armenis, qui hodie veteri Scytharum lingua loquuntur, Ἀῖρ est *Vir*, quæ vox hæret in Græcarum vocum terminationibus, ut Ἀνὴρ, Πατήρ, & similibus. Latinis integra vox est, Saxonibus nostris *Fer*, & Britannis *Our*."—Baxteri *Antiq. Rom.* p. 239.

overthrown by Cretans, who are noted for their aversion to soft sounds, by suppressing Timotheus the musician, and have left a specimen of it not only in the spirit, but in the very letter of their decree against him; and in this respect have verified Epimenides' and St. Paul's character of them, that they were of flow bellies, which to a proverb are noted to have no ears. But it happens very luckily for us, that these very people are called by Stephanus Byzantinus *Πραισίται*, more than once; and that Strabo is thought to mean them by the name of *Πραισίται*, and F. Hardouin produces even coins of ΠΡΑΙΣΙΩΝ and ΠΡΑΙΣΕΩΝ. The critics, indeed, have unanimously agreed to correct both books and coins by the stone. But I submit it to you, whether they are not authentic proofs of the different ways of writing the same name, and of the maxim I have been advancing, that the omission of N before S was agreeable to the general idiom of the Greek tongue *.

From what I have observed above in relation to the primitive Greek Nominatives of the Fifth Declension, I think we may account for one grammatical observation, viz. "That the terminations in *ας* are long, if they make *ων* in the Genitive; but otherwise are short." The Nominatives of *ων* ended in NTΣ, afterwards with a long Σ founded like our Z. So that when the N was cut off by more modern pronunciation, the sound

* No doubt of it, for the word upon the stone has been written according to the ancient spelling of it; and in Steph. Byzantinus, &c. according to the pronunciation; of which the critics have not been apprized. R. GALE.—For want of attending to this, the Learned have often thought they discovered faults in inscriptions, where there were none. Thus Gallandus in *Miscell. Obs.* 1735. p. 615. "Rarissimum illud ejusdem imp. numisma ROMA RESVRGES monetariorum *ignavia* RESVRGES pro RESVRGENS fuisse positum. Idem de verbo RENASCES debemus ferre judicium in nummis Galbæ." But the instances are too many and too uniform to be the effect of carelessness or chance. Thus again Dr. Chapman in his *Observations* on Ep. of Cic. to Brutus, p. 425, "There is in Gruter another fourth legion with the title of FLAVIES for FLAVIAE (a common error upon ancient stones) FELICIS." With submission, FLAVIES is no error, nor yet put for FLAVIAE, but for FLAVIESIS, i. e. FLAVIENSIS.

Since I wrote this, I find Dr. Clarke was well aware of this regularity in the Greek tongue: observing that *Κάλλας* makes *Κάλλαν* in the Vocative, he says, "Est enim nominativus plenis notis exaratus, *Κάλλας*: quanquam in hoc nomine, & in similibus respuit istud v. linguae Graecae ratio: semperque scribitur *Κάλλας*." II. d. ver. 86. and see Mr. Dawes in his *Miscell. Crit.* p. 184. So Dr. Hyde observes *Ἐλίφας* was originally *Ἐλίφανς*, *Ἐλίφανς*, as appears from the Genitive case. *Historia Shahiludii*, ed. Greg. Sharpe, vol. ii. p. 98.

of

of the double consonant still remained. Thus the Nominative of $\tauύφανος$ was $\tauύφαντος$. By cutting off the N, it became $\tauύφαντος$, with the double consonant, long; whereas by cutting off the N in $μέλανος$, we have $μέλας$, short, with a single one.

Mr. Markland *, tracing the Greek language to its infancy, extends this Rule to the ancient terminations of all the Nominatives of the Fifth Declension of the Greek, and the Third Declension in the Latin; and observes that at first the Nominatives uniformly ended in Σ , and the Genitive was formed only by inserting O before it; that in time they threw out the double Consonants, one or more, *ad libitum*, in the Nominative, for the greater smoothness of the language, but retained the Genitives in their primitive state. Thus for $σώμα$, they said $σώματος$, $σώματος$, $γάλας$, $γάλας$, $\tauύφανος$, $\tauύφανος$, $Πλάτωνος$, $Πλάτωνος$, $Ξενοφώνος$, $Ξενοφώνος$. Upon this supposition, I think, we may form a Rule, which ought to determine what Greek proper Names should now be terminated in O, what in ON, in Latin; viz. those which make *ontos* in the Genitive should have *on* in the Nominative; those in *onos*, should be *o* in the Nominative, preserving thus the vestigia of their pristine state, as, *Plato, Platonis; Solo, Solonis; but Xenophon, Xenophontis; Ctesiphon, Ctesiphontis.* Which the learned Dr. Taylor, Chancellor of Lincoln, writes without any discrimination in his accurate editions of *Lyfias* and *Demosthenes*, &c. *Plato, Solo, Xenopho, Ctesipho.*

These niceties, I fear, are below your regard. I have nothing to plead for them, but that they are offered you with the greatest respect. If I have fallen into any mistakes, you will pardon them in a novice in antiquities, who shall esteem your corrections the next honour to your approbation.

W. BOWYER.

* De Græcorum quinta declinatione imparisyllabica, &c. at the end of his edition of the *Supplices Mulieres*, 4to. 1763.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

P R E C E D I N G A R T I C L E.

N° I.

Letter from Mr. CLARKE to Mr. BOWYER, Nov. 17, 1736.

SINCE I received yours, I have scarce had an hour to myself—taken up with ceremonies that were due either to the Living or the Dead. You charge briskly, and seem to command the *Cohors Vigilum*; and are as busy as if Rome was burning. But where? in what quarter? If you don't tell me, I shall imagine that you not only rally your Horse, but your Friends.

I am sometimes afraid, that, like other disputants, we shall be in danger of losing the question. Let us therefore review the first point: you have now put Mr. Ward's reading of CR. intirely out of doubt. If there were Curators of the Infantry, nobody will question but there might be the same officers among the Horse; and as the abbreviations naturally lead you to it, and cannot well bear any other explication, it would be ridiculous to doubt of it. EQ. ALAE. VETTONVM. CVRATOR. is therefore indisputable, and a ruled point. The only question now is what the office was.

Now as to the incidental queries, that arose from hence. I much suspected that AMELIUS, the *Equit. Rom. Curator* mentioned by Reinesius, Cl. II. n. 77. might be a civil officer, because his other titles had that appearance only. But, be that as it will, I cannot think that either of Reinesius's mistakes about *Curator*, or *Curio* from Gruter, were owing to any persuasion or opinion of his about the *Legionarii Romani Equites*. *Curator* or *Curio* might denote military offices, whatever side of the question you take; nor will the clearing that question get us a step forwarder, with relation to the meaning of these two words. I see no connexion between them.

them. Because *Curio* often expresses a sacred or civil office, Reinefius too hastily quoted a marble to prove it a military office, where it is no office at all, and only a proper name. And whether he is mistaken in interpreting the other inscription (Cl. II. n. 77) may be still a *Quære*, though I am inclined to think he is.

Now for the great question that employs your thoughts so much. You say that where inscriptions mention *Eq. Leg.* the meaning is, that the person so distinguished was *Equus Romanus* (in a civil sense) and *Miles Legionis*, and that Schelius and Grævius undertake for this side of the question. Let them undertake what they please, I cannot believe any thing but what is proved, especially in a question so various and intricate as the exact account of the military discipline among the Romans. I allow that the Legions and Horse are distinguished by the historians; that *Legionaria Militia* is their Infantry; but when I see in inscriptions *Eq. Leg. VIII.* I cannot possibly read *Equus Romanus, Miles Legionis VIII.* without strong evidence. It trespasses too much upon common forms: and as the Cohortes had *Equites suos*, i. e. *Infidos*, I don't see why a particular body of Horse might not belong to one Legion; that is, when a detachment was made out of this or that Legion, such *Equites* might belong to them, as in the Cohorts. There is no understanding this truly, without an historical account of the Roman Art of War—how it altered, improved, declined, in different periods. Augustus left a legacy to all the citizens of Rome that were in the Legions; and if that honour merited a particular regard, what must the *Equites Romani* in the Legions have deserved? We have knights as poor as any knights of Rome ever were, and yet not reduced so low as to be common soldiers. And if such a thing should possibly have happened at Rome, it would have been told in the epitaph without any ambiguity; it would have been, *Eq. Rom. Mil. Leg. &c.* Till Augustus's time, Cohortes mean always the parts of a Legion: he seems first to have established the new distribution of Cohorts, not belonging to any Legion, (i. e. *Cohortis Beloniana Equites, & Singulares*), but a body of themselves, and his guards (*Cohortes alares*, Dio, lib. ix. pro Sociis, alibi de Auxiliis). These probably were originally foreigners (like the French king's Swiss guards, thinking himself safest in their hands). From thence the Cohorts multiplied in number and in title, and even in his time some Roman citi-

zens were admitted among them. They seem therefore to mean no more than troops of the new establishment; but I am not master of this question, and this is said only *ad referendum*.

Now as to that other inscription which Mr. Horsley is concerned in, I cannot acquiesce intirely in any of the readings. Mr. Horsley's is a mere hotch-potch. Mr. Camden's confounds the distinction of Cohorts and Legion, which is not easily got over. Reinesius makes (as the Quakers say) the point of honour descend, which should ascend. Nor does the inscription you quote from Gruter, p. 365, 6, at all remove the difficulty. There the scale is natural, *Mil. Cob. IX. Pr. Eq. Cob. ejusdem*. This last was the *Honoratior Militia*, and the Foot Cohorts were sometimes seditious because not made Equites. But how does this help the reading in Reinesius? For my part, I am for a bold stroke; for cutting difficulties I cannot unravel. If the letters upon the marble are as you put them in the margin, I would read *OPT. MILIT. LEG. XX. CEQ. (OPTIO)*; or suppose that we have not the true reading.

In one of your last, I approved much of your observation, that the mention of the league between the Hierap. and Πριαννοιοι was introduced too pompously. I don't see why you might not mention the passage in Maffei: it, in all appearance, relates to that league. And I hope the little grammatical nicety (as you call it), why words in *ας αυ* have *ας* long, is not below the dignity of your Society.

I am, with great regard both to you and it, dear Sir, your most affectionate

W. CLARKE.

Have you not seen the chevalier Folard's notes upon Polybius, which are much magnified for clearing up the Roman art of war?

Nº II.

Letter from Mr. CLARKE to Mr. BOWYER, Nov. 22, 1736-7.

Dear Sir,

I Have so little to say in answer to your last, that I was not very solicitous about saving a Post; especially since your Society would give a sanction to some of these readings before my conjectures could possibly reach you.

I am (as to the last Bath Inscription) intirely satisfied with Mr. Ward's reading, *Curator*. Since you have two Inscriptions to prove that it was an office in the Roman Infantry, this alone will remove all difficulty about the Horfe.

Besides, your reading (*Centurio*) displeases me, for being too general, *Centurio Equitum alæ*, &c. One would rather expect *Centurio Cohortis* (with its denomination) *Equit. alæ Vetton*. He was not properly *Centurio alæ*, but *Cohortis vel turmæ in Ala*. But if *Curator* is admitted, the inscription is correct; for the Curator had probably the care not only of some Cohorts or Turmæ, but of the whole body; *Curator alæ*. And I take *Curator* to have been the true Roman word, for what was afterwards in their affected Greek taste called *Optio*. Reinesius quotes Procopius for that sense of *Optio* among others: *Qui annonam in Cohorte, vel etiam Exercitu* (and I presume to add *in ala*) *curabat*, ὃς ἐπεμέλειο &c. ὁπλίωνα τετον καὶ ἑστὶ Ῥωμαῖοι—*Curator Annonæ* is what the Inscriptions mention.

I approve your conjectures about the Æmilian family much. But you know I have an old kindness for Reinesius, and am sorry you should suppose that Grævius was his equal: great criticks have thought quite otherwise.—As to Mr. Horsley's Inscription, I sent you my thoughts in the last. The passage in Velius Longus is thus:

“ *Conjux & sejunx* sine N putat Nisus esse scribendum, quoniam genitivo casu faciat *conjugis & sejugis*: mihi videtur non evellendam hanc
“ N literam, qua sonus enuntiationis infistit. Nam quamvis idem ait non esse
“ onerandam supervacuis literis scriptionem, rursus non fraudandum sonum existimo, cum & levior ad aures, & plenior veniat, ut in *abstinente*
“ *arcessitum est, ut in ambitum B*. Si ergo licet *conjugis* genitivo casui, &

“ *sejugis*, *conjux* tamen & *sejux* subtracta N litera & difficiliter enuntiabitur,
 “ & asperius auribus accidet. Sane illo catholico se Nifus tuetur, quo dicit
 “ in *declinationibus literam perire, quæ sit in primis positionibus*, ut *pudens pu-*
 “ *dentis, prudens prudentis*. Ita si *conjux* habet N literam, necessarium,
 “ inquit, erit, & genitivum quoque N literam habeat, ut sit quo ista spec-
 “ tare debuit: nam quod amphiboliæ tollendæ gratia consuetudo N literam
 “ omiserit, ambiguum utrum ab eo est quod *conjux* trahatur, ut a no-
 “ mine, an a verbo quod est *conjungo*. Non esse item illud verum, quod
 “ quidam putant servandam esse utrique N literam a prima positione
 “ per ceteras declinationes manifestum est, vel ex his, quod *finger* dici-
 “ mus, & tamen *fictus*, & *pingor*, & tamen *pictus*: necnon & ipsa N li-
 “ tera in locum M redit, ut cum dicimus *clandestinum*, cum ab eo trahatur
 “ quod est *clam*: item *sinciput*, quod est *semicaput*; sed non ubique ob-
 “ tinendum: nam & nonnunquam plenius per N quam per M enuntiatur:
 “ ac tum dico etiam nunc, quam per M scribam, nescio quomodo tamen
 “ exprimere non possint.—Sequenda est nonnunquam elegantia erudito-
 “ rum, quod quasdam literas *levitatis causa* omiserunt, sicut Cicero, qui *For-*
 “ *resia*, & *Megalesia*, & *Hortesia*, sine N litera libenter dicebat: & ut verbis ipsis
 “ utamur, *postmeridianas quoque quadrigas*, inquit, *libentius dixerim, quam*
 “ *postmeridianas*.”—This is the whole passage about N. Putschii Gram. Vett.
 p. 2236.—But there is an observation which agrees with yours about *as*,
av/æ, and yet the passage wants correcting. Nifus and Longus both agree
 that it is an universal rule, *Catholicum*, in *declinationibus literam perire*
quæ sit in primis positionibus.—Sure the very reason why this rule is quoted,
 proves it to be *literam non perire*; and so the instances. I think this cor-
 rection necessary; but there are some other things I don't well understand.
 “ Velius Longus ante Hadriani imperium floruit, ut notavit Norisius in
 “ *Orthographia*, p. 135.” Fabr. Bib. Lat. vol. III. p. 748.—Gellius quotes
 him, lib. xviii. c. 9. as “ homo non indoctus.”—You say the dispute about N
 before S arose from Musgrave's publishing the Inscription of *Julius Vitalis*.
 When that was published I know not; but Mr. *Lluyd* mentions it as fre-
 quent in Roman Inscriptions in his *Archæologia*, published A. D. 1707.

Yours, W. CLARKE.

LETTER TO MR. BOWYER.

143*

Nov. 8, 1736.

"I AM much obliged to you for letting me know what passes in your Society, especially when you contribute to their entertainment*; and you may be sure of having my thoughts upon any occasion, when you are so good as to let me have your own in exchange. I have no book of inscriptions but an old roasted Reinesius, which is more a ruin than any of the marbles it represents; you must therefore excuse me, if I only review your materials, without supplying any of my own. I shall only tell you how far I am convinced by your arguments, where I differ in opinion, or what consequences we agree or disagree in. Take it thus; the form and materials being yours †.

"There is only one inscription, that I have observed, where Curator is used in a military sense; and that is in Reines. Claf. II. n. 77.

L. AMELIVS L. F. LATINVS. AR. PRISCVS. EQVIT. ROM. CVI.

But as this inscription was communicated to the editor by the late most learned Mr. Spanheim, I think it is a sufficient authority for reading *ca.* in the Bath inscription *Curator*, and *EQ. Equitum* (not *Eques*), as it plainly is upon that marble. Both of them imply the same sort of office.

Equit. Rom. Cur. Equit. Ala Vettônium Cur.

Is it not *providetore*—perhaps paymaster, or a purveyor, or both?

"Reinesius indeed, in his notes upon this inscription, refers us to another in Gruter, p. DXLVIII. 8. DIS. MANIVS. M. JUNIO CURIONE EQ. R. Leg. XXII. Whence he concludes, that Curator and Curio were the same office; but, I think, without any grounds. Curio, in this inscription, is the cognomen of the family, as it was of several others. C. Scribonius Curio, who was consul A. U. 678, Cœlius Secundus Curio, and here M. Junius Curio, which I wonder Reinesius should not observe, so well skilled in Roman families. Nor can we think that there was a distinct Curator for the horse belonging to every legion. Amelius appears to have been Curator of all the Roman cavalry: and, in that sense, the lapidary would more naturally have written *EQ. R. CURIO*, not *Curio Eq. R.* Besides, in that great variety of places where Curator is mentioned as a civil office, Curio never once occurs, as it most probably would, if the words had been synonymous. Curio, in the Roman sense, is either Præco, or Magister Sacrorum Curia; and hence in the lower Latin Curio, *une Curé*, Sacerdos.

"Mr. Horsley has lately reprinted another inscription found at Bath, where we have *C. EQ. MILES* †. And whatever *C. EQ.* signifies, there

* See the Letter to Mr. Gale above, p. 133.

† See above, p. 144.

‡ I observe that you write it in the margin, *CEEQ.* Mr. Camden, who first copied it, writes *C. EQ.* distinct: whence comes this difference? As to Grævius, I neither understand

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

is no ambiguity; the cognomen is expressed before it. But I cannot agree with Mr. Horsley in reading Centurio, Eques, Miles, making Valerius to be mentioned under all these capacities. These are not gradations, as he would observe, but rather degradations; and as to their frequency in this manner, I am a stranger to it. Reinesius, who has quoted this inscription, p. 16, reads more eligibly, Centurio Equitum. But why should Mr. Camden's reading be rejected, who first copied and published this marble? Cohortis Equestris Miles, Camd. p. 172. The marbles justify this form, as Reinesius in the page abovementioned, MILES PRAET. COHORTIS VIII. EQUESTRIS.

"I cannot have such a low opinion of the Roman military discipline, as to imagine that the same person was an officer of horse, and a foot-soldier. It seems to express no more than being one of the horse belonging to the xxth legion *. But I submit this to better judges.

"Upon the word *CURIESIS* our worthy Vice-president † was pleased to observe, that the Romans probably dropped the sound of *n* before *s*, which is the reason *n* is so frequently omitted in inscriptions. I should think that the old Romans, in the infancy of the language, preserved the sound of *n* before *s*, because it occurs in such a great number of nouns, verbs of the perfect tense, and participles. But that afterwards, as they grew more acquainted with the Greek language and pronunciation, they began to drop or soften the sound of that letter: and that the several nations, which at last composed the Roman empire, fell more or less into this practice. We might observe, that the gentleman whose memory is preserved on this marble was a Spaniard, among whom dropping the sound of *n* before *s* was probably familiar. For thus the present Spaniards, *senfus*, *sefo*; *senfatus*, *sefado*; *sponsa*, *esposa*; *sponsare*, *desposer*; *translatio*, *traslado*; *transponere*, *trasponer*; *mensis*, *mese*; and in many other instances.

"The Germans seem to have preserved the old Roman way of keeping the sound of *n* the most of any Europeans, anser, *χνῆν*, *ἡνός*, *gans*, Ger. *goose*, *gwydd*, Wallice. The *n* before *s* is frequent in words of Ger-

derstand you nor him; what he means, or why you press a doubtful person into the service without occasion. I think you had better have nothing to say to him at present. *Turmae* are often mentioned in inscriptions, as well as history. The legions had their quota of horse, and perhaps the word *turmae* was confined to them, and never used of the auxiliaries.—Be that how it will, I don't see that it helps to clear up any thing. W. C.

* Ex harum cohortium [equestrium] instituto ortum duxit quod etiam in legione singulis cohortibus *equites sui* attribuerentur: ut apud Vegetium cohorti primæ quæ habet ped. 1105. eq. 132.—cæteris cohortibus quæ habent ped. 511. eq. 66. nam etsi ab antiquo, idem in legione numerus turmarum & cohortium esset; *turmae* tamen illæ per cohortes non distribuebantur, sed erant totius legionis equitatus. Schel. p. 1092. W. B.

† Dr. Taylor.

man original, and therefore they were less inclined to omit it in what was borrowed from the Latin. I am sensible that we have already seen a full proof of the practice of omitting *n* among the Romans, in what our Vice-president has favoured us with. But I hope, since it has been accidentally mentioned, I shall not be thought too officious if I offer a few observations as further evidence. The Greeks, who were masters of speech to the Romans, had such a dislike to the sound of *n* before *s*, that they leave it out, I had almost said, universally. This appears, first, from proper names where the Romans inserted *n*, as Ὁρτήσιος, Hortensius, Κλήμης, Clemens, &c. Secondly, in the termination of many words, whose nominative originally ended in *νς*, and ὀδὲς dens, ὀδόντιον. See Mr. Ainsworth's Prolegomena to the Articles under *N* in his Dictionary.

"I writ so far only to sort your proper names under one head, as a distinct article, to make appellatives and adjectives the second, oblique cases the third, tenses the fourth, as you have done.

Dec. 5, 1736.

"THESE inscriptions will clear up by degrees; I seem at least to make some progress by every one of your letters. Mr. Horsley's Bath inscription is, by the reading which you mention from his Preface, sufficiently explained, *Decurio Equitum ex Milite Leg. xx.* A more correct lapidary would have expressed it in that manner; but we must make considerable allowances, in point of exactness, both to the composers and cutters of inscriptions. Now the main difficulty that remains is, how to interpret the few inscriptions in Gruter that give us *Eques Leg.* or *Eques Rom. Leg.* To this I can say little. I am satisfied that there was no such thing as a body of horse that had a constant relation to any one particular legion: nor does your last conjecture help us out. There were several legions in their armies, and only two *alæ*. How could these *alæ* bear a particular relation to each of the intermediate legions? Reinesius puzzles in the place you refer to, because he has there found *Eques Legionis* again. But he tells us, that the *alæ* were sometimes denominated from the general who commanded them. I have only this to conjecture, that the ten legions were often placed upon the frontiers of the Roman empire in separate bodies, and at proper distances, to secure them from incursions. There was, most probably, with each legion so quartered a body of horse, more or less (not always the same body, or the same number), for their further security.— And possibly *Equites*, so disposed upon the frontiers, might style themselves as *Equites* of this or that Legion, *i. e.* *Equites* stationed along with them, and sent for the same purpose. This conjecture meets with no difficulties from

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

from Schellius's scheme, and must be perhaps what Reinesius means in the place quoted.

"But as to your design, why should you drop it? You may contract your triumphs, but should not intirely give them up. You may confirm Mr. Ward's reading of the last Bath inscription c. r. and may explain that to be the same office which they afterwards in the Greek taste called *Optio*. You may take occasion to say that Mr. Horsley should have read his Bath inscription on Valerius, *Decurio, ex milite*; and then there will be nothing of the gradations or degradations he talks of; and you may conclude with your etymology, which needs no great improvements. But I desire, for my own information, an *historical account* of the alterations, improvements, &c. in the Roman armies, as they now appear to you from these inquiries. That I may have a better notion of them, your best way to know what to do with *Eques in Legione*, is to bring all the places together, see where the inscriptions were found, and who transmitted them. This, in Reinesius, Cl. VIII. 57, favours my conjecture, found on the banks of the Rhine. These horse were not *alæ legionis*, but only a brigade, or rather squadron, sent with such a legion."

Dec. 14, 1736.

Camden, p. 172. *Dis manibus. M. Valerius M. Pol. Eatinus. * c. Eq.* miles. Leg. Aug. An. xxx. stipen. x. H. s. E. Thus he gives us Mr. Horsley's Bath inscription, with an asterisk at * c. Eq. & Cohortis Equitum at length in the margin. Mr. Camden therefore must be read, Cohortis Equitum miles legione Aug. In this manner Bp. Gibson's first edition truly represents it, but without the *Cohortis Equitum* in the margin. In the additions to Somersetshire, Mr. Camden's reading of this inscription is corrected rightly in several places, as *Fil. Latinus* for *Pol. Eatinus*; but takes no notice how c. Eq. was written, and leaves the blunder of *legione Augusta*; though the annotator observes, that upon the stone it was thus written ^Λ v. A. but never thought of reading it *vicefima*. So much for Camden, and I hope it is particular enough: how it is in the second edition of Bp. Gibson's I know not. Now am I at great loss to understand the next thing you are upon. You say, 'I want *Caurus* [the place]' 'to be called so from the south-west called *Caurus* or *Corus* blowing over 'it [that Quarter]'. Now what that quarter means I cannot guess. You know there is a dispute whether *Caurus* signifies the *South-west*, or *North-west*. Vossius says, that Vegetius reckons it the *South-west*; Favorinus, Vitruvius, Pliny, the *North-west*. Whom the passage in Lucan, and that in Festus, *Cauris nimium vicina Britannis*, declare for, I cannot say."

N^o III.

Letter from Mr. CLARKE to Mr. BOWYER, Jan. 16, 1736-7.

Dear Sir,

I AM much pleased to find that you and your Cavalry are just where I thought you should be at your first setting out. I was of opinion, at the beginning, that the lapidaries would never have mentioned a relation between the *Horse* and *Foot*, between *Eques* and *Legio*, if there had not been some grounds for such a relation, though I could think of none better than being stationed on the same frontier, or serving in the same province. But still I don't understand Schelius; *Ala ex civibus conscripta, & legionibus adjuncta*. How does it appear, because these *Ala* are called *Pannonica, & Mœsica*, that they were *ex Civibus conscripta*; or, if they were citizens, in what manner were they *adjuncta Legionibus* more than the rest? The reason of the relation is what I want. The Inscriptions are a full evidence, that there was a relation between *Eques* and *Legio*. Saying therefore that they were *Legionibus adjuncta*, is, in my opinion, saying nothing. If the *Foot* and *Horse* were both raised in *Pannonia* and *Mœsia*, and served together, and were usually stationed in the same place, this is making a relation, which might be common to many other bodies of *Foot* and *Horse*, and might be a foundation for calling such *Horse Equites* of such a *Legion*.

I was in much concern for you, when I first heard of the fire in the Temple*; but I find it was at a considerable distance, and probably did not give you any great apprehensions.

W. CLARKE.

* A fire which happened in The Inner Temple, adjoining the Hall, in the night of Jan. 4, 1736-7, and consumed more than thirty chambers, with many writings of very great value. Mr. Bowyer lived then in White-Fryars. J. N.

N° IV.

Letter from Mr. MARKLAND to Mr. BOWYER.

Dear Sir,

Uckfield, March 12, 1749-50.

I Have read over, as well as I was capable, and here return you, the loose leaves*, in which *Je n'ai rien à redire*, except that I a little differ from you in some trifling things†; as where you say (p. 141) the original *Nominative Case* of *ζῶς* was *ζῶνς*, as in *Latin*, which I take to have been *ζῶης*, and *stant* in *Latin*: and *ὀδῶς* (not *ὀδῶνς*), whence the *Latin* word *dents* originally, not *dens*. So (p. 142) Dr. Clarke's *καίχωνς* cannot make *καίχων* in the *Genitive*, but *καίχων*: the *Nominative* of *καίχων* can be no other than *καίχωνς*. You have here fallen into a subject of which I have been thinking a little, and have lately sent to Mr. Clarke a rough short sketch of my notion concerning the *Fifth Declension Imparisyllabica* of the *Greeks*; to which I shall add the *Third Declension Imparisyllabica* of the *Latins*, which was taken from the *Greek*, and imitates it surprisngly‡. My notion is, that all the *Nominatives* of this *Declension* in *Latin* originally ended in *S* (as in *Greek* they did in *Σ*), and the *Genitives* in all of them were increased by only adding the vowel *i* before the final *s*, as in *Greek* they were by adding *O* before the *Σ*. Thus the original *Nominative* of *homo* (in the beginnings of the language, when most of the words of this *Declension* ended in two or three consonants) was *homons*, *Gen. homōnIs*, which is still preserved in *Ennius*—*vultur miserum mandebat homōnem*. The *Nominative* of *pubis* was *pubs*; of *nubis*, *nubs* (still preserved in *Ausonius*); of *classis* was *clafs*, *Gen. clasIs*, extant in the *Columna Duiliana*; for they did not double the letter *s* in the middle of a word, and therefore *afs* made *afis* (not *affis*), in the *Genitive*; *mas*, *masis*; for which they afterwards wrote *mas*, *maris*, as the *Antients* wrote *Papifius*, not *Papirius* (see *Cicero* and *Quintilian*); and the cognomen, which formerly was *Maso*, was afterwards *Maro*: whence *Virgil* had his. I have great reason to think that all the

* Of Kuster, "De Verbo Medio," &c. J. N.

† Mr. Bowyer appears to have adopted these corrections. See above, p. 141, 142. J. N.

‡ We have here the outlines of Mr. Markland's excellent Dissertation on this subject, cited in p. 143. J. N.

Nominative

Nominative Cases in this Declension which are now of two syllables, and do not increase in the Genitive, were formerly monosyllables; as *navis*, Gen. *navis*, was originally *navs* [*nafs*] (Gr. *ναῦς*), Gen. *navis*: so *ovs* [*ofs*] (Gr. *ὄϊς*), Gen. *ovis*; *Jovs* [*Jofs*] (from the Gr. *Ζεύς*), Gen. *Jovis*, whence they made a new Nominative, viz. *Jovis*, Gen. *Jovis*: *bovs* or *bofs* (Gr. *βοῦς*) Gen. *bovis*. We see it was so in many that are still extant, as *trabs*, *trabis*; *plebs*, *plebis*; *scobs*, *scobis*; *grus*, *gruis*; from all which new Nominative Cases of two syllables were formed. So the original Nominative of *orbis* was *orbs*, as of *urbis* it is *urbs*; *vats*, *vatis*; *vads*, *vadis*; *vulps*, *vulpis*; *seps*, *sepis*, an *bedge*; whence *sepes*, Gen. *sepis*; *æds*, *ædis*; *præds*, *prædis*: and so in Adjectives of the third Declension; *trists*, *tristis*; *dulcs*, *dulcis*, as *trucs*, *trucis*, still extant. In short, not to tire you and myself any further at present, I have not yet found one material objection to this my position, That all the Nouns of the Fifth Greek Declension Imparissyllabica at first ended in Σ, and were increased in the Genitive by adding O before the Σ: and all the Nouns of the Third Declension in Latin were originally Imparissyllabic, ended in S in the Nominative, and were increased in the Genitive by adding the vowel *i* before the *s*, as *igns*, *ignis*; *lapids*, *lapidis*; *fusts*, *fustis*; *civs*, *civis*. That in process of time the harshness and disagreeableness of so many consonants coming together was perceived in both languages, and was remedied either by throwing off consonants from the end of the word, as *δαίμαρ* for *δαίμαρς*, Gen. *δαίμαρς*, *uxor*; *imago* for *imagon*, Gen. *imagonis*: or, by putting in a vowel among the consonants, as *verres* for *verrs*, *fascis* for *fascs* (of which I think there are no instances in the Greek, all their words in this Declension increasing in the Genitive Case): or, lastly, by quite altering the form of the Nominative into a more easy and agreeable sound, as *γυνή* for *γυναικς* *mulier*; *caro* for *carns*; *supellex* for *supellestils*; *corpus* for *corpors*; *pectus* for *pectors*; *onus* and *pondus* for *oners* and *ponders*. But, in all these changes of the Nominatives, both languages constantly retained the original Genitives, Datives, &c. there not being the same reason for making any change in them; and from these Genitives we may most certainly know the original Nominatives, and *vice versâ*; as in all the other Declensions, both Greek and Latin, as soon as we know the Nominative we are sure of the Genitive. This is my notion; to which if you find any objection, I wish you would let me know.

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

JER. MARKLAND.

Marmora quædam penes Illustrissimum Comitem
EXONIENSEM in Ædibus Burleianis.

Communicated to the Society of ANTIQUARIES by Mr. BOWYER.

MANLIA
CALLISTE

SEX. POMPONIO. SEX. F.
CALLISTO. VIX. ANN. VII.
MENSE. I. DIES XX. FECIT

SEX. POMPONIVS.
FELIX. PATER FILI. SVO.
FECIT. DVLCISSIMO.

EXTRICATA
OCTAVIA

FAVS....

SARCINATRIX
V. A. XX.

Q. CORNELIVS
Q. ET. S. L. NICEPHOR.

SACARIVS

.... CORNELIVS
CLARVS.
NMENCLATOR.

D. M.

HYGIAES.
V. A. XXI. M. VI.

CL. NICENA.
TER INFELICISS.

L. COPONIVS.
PELORVS. V. A. XIX.

HELIAS.
CONIVGI
CARISSIMO.

IVLIA PEPLI. ET.
ARCHESI. HEVRESIS.

ΑΥΡ. ΔΟΜΝΕΙΝΟΥ
ΚΑΝΑΙΑΙΚ. ΔΑΡΙΟΥ.
ΤΗΝ. ΕΚ. ΤΗΣ. ΠΥΡΑΚ.
ΚΟΝΙΝ. ΣΥΝΑΞΑΤΟ.
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ. ΑΔΕΛΦΑΝΔΡΟΣ.
ΜΝΗΜΗC. ΧΑΡΙΝ.

A Tergo in eodem Marmore.

D. M.

ROME. ALVMNAE. DVLCISSIMAE.

QVAE. VIXIT. ANNIS.

MENSES. VII. DIEBVS XVI.

CLAVDIA. VERECVNDΑ. FECIT.

M. NAENIVS. M. L.

ENTYCHIDES

NAENIA. J. L. EPHESIA.

TI. CLAVDIVS. EPAPHRA. ET.

CLAVDIA. HEIPIS.

CLAVDIAE. HYGIAE. F.

CARISSIMAE.

VIXIT. ANNOS. XIII.

MESIBVS. III. DIEBVS

XII.

C. CORNELIVS

C. L.

PHILAGATHVS.

PISTVS. ET. ARTEMIS.

LIB. LIBERTABQ.

SVIS. FECER.

VICTORA. IN. PACE.

DIS. MANIBVS. CAEENNIAE. PRI....

CAEENNIVS PAEDEROS.

SANCTISSIMAE. ET. BENEMERENTI.

Q. VELIVS. Q. L.

GPTATVS.

FAVSTIO.

SISENNAE.

STATILI.

CVBICVLA.

VIX. ANN. XX.

X

A DIS.

A DISSERTATION on the GULE or YULE of the SAXONS; in a Letter to Bishop LYTTTELTON, President of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES.

MY LORD,

HAVING observed several explanations of the word *Yule* offered to this Society*, I think it a piece of justice due to the subject, and to the great restorer of Northern Literature, to lay before you his comment on the word, which the gentlemen in their several conjectures have taken not the least notice of. I do this the rather, because his interpretation was received heretofore with great applause, pointed out by Dr. Wotton in his *Conspectus* of that great Treasury, p. 28, and by Mrs. Elstob in her edition of the English-Saxon Homily, Append. p. 29, 30. I would not be understood to diminish in the least from the merit of what the gentlemen have offered, but that the united labours of all may give additional lustre to each other.

Dr. Hickes, in the first volume of his *Thesaurus*, in his Anglo-Saxon and Mæso-Gothic Grammar, p. 203, has printed a Dano-Saxon Calendar, from the Cotton Library, Tiberius, B. I. 2, with a Latin translation; in which, in the month December, there is a passage to this purpose, verse 428: "The next day brings us to December, which is called *Æppa Iula*;" on which the Doctor comments to this purpose, p. 211, & seq.

"*Æppa Iula, the former Yule*] January was called *æfpepa Iula*, the second Yule, as the poet here, using the Dano-Saxon dialect, writes it, from the Cimbri *Iol* or *Iul*; of which see Gudmundus Andreae on the word. From whence *Iol* comes, amidst the darkness of antiquity, we can but guess. In the English Saxon it is written *geola*, and two months are called *æppa geola* and *æfpepa geola*, the *former* and the *latter Yule*; which Somner thinks were so called because the one precedes, the other follows, the birth-day of our Lord, denominated *geol* by the Anglo-Saxons. In this he is right; for the Christians thought proper to transfer the name of the ancient heathen festival *Iol*, or *geol*, to the birth-day of our Lord,

* Dr. Pettingal's Dissertation was afterwards printed, *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 60. This Letter was *not printed*, as the Society "did not think itself at liberty to *criticise*, or *controvert* papers of living members, or even to correct their mistakes by notes." *W. B.*

as they applied the old name *Easter*, from the goddesses *Eostre*, to denote their Paschal Feast; whence, as Bede informs us, April was called *Eosturmonað*. But whence the Saturnalia, or Mid-winter Festivals, received this appellation, is a point on which the learned are not agreed.

I. Some (whose opinion is exploded by Loccenius in his Sueo-Gothic Antiquities, lib. I. c. 5) think they were instituted in honour of *Julius Caesar*; and Buchanan supposes that the Britons, adopting the Roman Saturnalia, called them *Julia*, changing the name of *Saturn* for the præ-nomen of *Julius Caesar*.

II. Others think that the word *Iol* was derived from the Greek *Ἰελος*, which signifies an hymn sung by the spinsters of wool, in honour of the god Mercury, agreeably to the following verse:

Δαυδαίλους τεύχεται καλὰς ἤειπεν Ἰελες.

Didymus says, the hymn was in praise of *Ceres*, which is confirmed by Athenæus, lib. xiv. from Semus of Delos, and by Theodoret in his book *De Materia & Mundo*, in these words: *Let us now sing our Yule to Ceres, or to Bacchus our Dithyrambic*. Which corresponds indeed (says Pontanus) with our sense of the word, and with the Yules of our countrymen, celebrated after the barns had been filled with the fruits of *Ceres*, and when the new-revolving year brings on the season for cultivating the ground to receive the seed again. But it will be asked, How could an exotic word, and so obsolete, be known and familiar to the Northern People? I answer, says he, that we have other more remote words borrowed from the Greek, which the Danes and we to this day retain. Is not our word *Fo*, i. e. *born*, from *φύω*, *nascor*? And nothing is more common with us than *Smor*, *Butter*, from *Μύρον*, which, by adding *Σ*, is *Σμύρον*, *ointment*; as the Attics for *μικρόν* say *σμικρόν*.

Such is the opinion of Pontanus (cited by Olaus Wormius in his *Fasti Danici*, lib. I. c. 7), which he confutes in the following terms*:
 “What Pontanus asserts is very true, except that the word *lol* is of a
 “more extensive signification than only an hymn to *Ceres*. It denotes
 “somewhat more: such a festivity as is celebrated not with hymns only,
 “but with sports also, and compotation, and every mark of festal joy.
 “From whence *Iola genio indulgere*; *Iola*, and *Iala*, *confabulari*.”

* Notes on Hervarar Saga. c. iv.

We may farther add, in confutation of Pontanus, that the Cimbric *Iul* was by the ancient English, before Bede, written *Giuli*, and by the Anglo-Saxons *zeol*, *zehul*, *zeohol*; which words have little or no affinity with *Iul*. On the contrary, the Cimbric *Iul*, or *Iol*, seems derived from the Anglo-Saxon *zehul*, *zeol*; *ze* being changed into *I*, as *Iſur*, Saxon *geſur*, *very ſour*; *Igræn*, Saxon *gegræne*, *very green*. And ſo in the Dano-Saxon dialect, the præfix *ge* is melted into *I*, as in *Iola*, or *Iul*, from *zeul* or *zeol*, emphatically *zeula*, *zeola*. To trace then the original of the Cimbric *Iol* or *Iola*, we muſt firſt find whence the Anglo-Saxon *zeol* or *zeul* is derived.

III. Gudmundus Andrea, a ſtranger in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and who affects to derive every thing from the Hebrew, conſiders *Iol* as a neuter gender plural, in a two-fold ſenſe; either, in the more recent ſignification of it, denoting the feſtival of the birth of Chriſt; or, in the more ancient, the winter feſtival, celebrated long before, even amongſt the giants, ſuppoſed to have been the deſcendants of the original inhabitants of Canaan. In the former ſenſe, the word, he ſays, may not unfitly have a reference to the Hebrew *יול*, *parvulus puerulus*, when to us a Son was born, *Et nova progenies cælo demittitur alto*. If we take the word in the other ſenſe, what hinders but that the deſcendants of the Canaanites might borrow from the Hebrew *Jubilee* both the name and thing? for the Jewish *יובל* was ſo called from the ſounding of [rams] horns. Both theſe ſenſes are ſo foreign to the purpoſe, that they need no confutation.

IV. Olaus Wormius, in his *Faſti Danici*, lib. i. cap. 14. with no leſs impropriety derives *Iul* from the Daniſh *Huile*, reſt. The two months called *Giuli*, ſays he, receive that name from the Sun's returning to increaſe the length of the days; one of the months preceding, the other following, the commencement of ſuch increaſe. This he cites as the words of Bede, and then adds his own: "*Huile*, ſays he, ſtill with us denotes *reſt*, as I "*imagine, from the winter ſolſtice, becauſe the Sun ſeems then to reſt,* "*before he ſets forward towards the Æquator. Now, from *Huile*, to *reſt*,* "*the change of H into G is very eaſy, as thoſe letters are contiguous in* "*the alphabet, and the Printers, through haſte in compoſing, often make* "*ſuch miſtakes. But if, with Scaliger, we read *Giuli*, we ſhall not im-* "*properly derive it from the feſtival which was celebrated at that ſeaſon* "*in*

"in our country, and is still called *Iuel*." Here this learned writer (through ignorance of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, in which, as we have observed, the Danish *Iul*, formerly called *Iol*, is written *geol*, &c.) would, against all analogy, for *Giuli* read *Huile*. Besides, Bede says the two months December and January were called by the ancient English *Giuli*, not from the Sun's seeming to REST at the winter solstice, but from his TURNING back to increase the length of the days, manifestly alluding to the Anglo-Saxon *hpeol*, *hpel*, or *geheol*, *gehpeol*; Islandic *Hiol* and *Huel*, a WHEEL. All, therefore, which this great man observes of the easy change of H and I, and of the Printer's mistakes, is to no purpose. Nor am I more satisfied with what he further advances, that *Giuli*, the plural of *Giul*, if we must read so with Scaliger, was derived from the Cimbric *Iul*, since I have shewn, from the analogy of other examples, that the latter is rather to be derived from the former.

V. Let us now, then, proceed to enquire from whence *Giul* of the ancient English (who came hither with the Jutes and Saxons), and the Saxon *geol*, emphatically *geola*, are derived. Bede, as above cited, thinks they are derived from *hpeol*, *hpel*, with the syllabic augment *gehpeol*, *gehpeol*, in the Cimbric *Hiol* and *Huel*. Of the same opinion seems to be the author of the Anglo-Saxon Menology preserved in the Cotton Library, B. I. "In the twelfth month, says he, are xxxi days. This month is called in Latin *December*, but in our tongue the former *Geola*; for there are two months of the same name, the one called the former *Geola*, the other the latter *Geola*." One of these comes before the Sun bends his course towards lengthening the days, the other follows it. This opinion of Bede, that *giul* from *hpel*, or *gehpeol*, is confirmed from *gehul* and *gehol* being written with an h, as in the laws of King Alfred, c. 39. the twelve days from the feast of the Nativity are called *xii saȝar on gehol*. Which is still farther confirmed from what Loccenius, in his Sueo-Gothic Antiquities, lib. I. cap. 5. observes, that on the Runic-Norwegian Staff a wheel is represented at Christ's Nativity. This Verelius freely allows; but yet does not acquiesce in Bede's opinion. He owns that the Scandinavians denoted both solstices by a wheel; "as I have seen it, says he, depicted in a certain kalendar at the summer solstice." But I still deny that they therefore derived the word *Iul* from the return of the Sun at the winter

winter solstice*; because the other return of the Sun, at the summer solstice, ought to have been called so likewise.

VI. Verelius therefore, persuaded that the signification of the word must be elsewhere derived, contends that *Iul* and *Iol* denoted a time of feasting and joy; and because these feasts were kept with the greatest solemnity, after the winter sacrifices were finished, they were therefore called *Iol*, *Iolabad*, &c. by way of eminence, which he confirms by several authorities.

VII. But I wonder he did not, with all his sagacity, discover the original of the word in *OL*, *ale*, or *beer*, which, by a metonymy, signifies a feast or compotation. In his Scandic Dictionary he says *OL* is properly *ale*, but is often used for a feast in general. Thence *olgiora*, to furnish out a feast; *olstemna*, an invitation to a feast; *olbodin*, one bidden to a feast; and *samburdar aul*, i. e. *ol*, a compotation at a common expence. Nay, those emblematical horns, filled with ale, which denoted the *Tulian* festivity in the Runic calendar, pointed out the derivation of *Iol* from *OL*. And Gudmundus Andreæ seemed to discern somewhat of that derivation in his word *Iol*: "He enjoined, says he, this Bacchanalian feast from *OL*, *Ale*."

But you will ask, perhaps, what hindered Verelius from discovering this derivation? I answer, it was the prefix *I*, which is a syllabical augment, increasing the signification of words, and adding an emphasis to them. Gudmundus Andreæ, in his note on the second Strophe of *Voluspe*, says, "In *Ivide*, *I* is prefixed, being an intensive particle; as in *igilde*, very dear; *isurt*, very sour; and *igræne*, very green." To this intensive particle *I*, used by the Cimbri and Scandinavians, the English-Saxon ge answers, as I have observed above, in my Grammar, chap. ix. 17.

Hence it is that the Cimbric *Iol*, in Anglo-Saxon *geol*, and in Dano-Saxon *Iul*, formed by the easy change of *o* into *u*, denotes, by way of eminence, those festal solemnities which accompany the sacred rites of mid-winter, as being the most public and the principal of all.

But still Bede's authority will be objected, who derives the old English *Giol* from *hpel*, *gehuel*, or *hiol*. I answer, Bede, writing as a mathematician concerning the measure of time, was led naturally to pay a greater regard to an etymology which pointed out the time of the retrograde motion of the Sun, when the days increase, than to the rules of gram-

* *Qy.* if not printed by mistake *circa æquinoctium*, in the original.

mar; for as he flourished about the year dcc, when the solstice fell on the seventeenth of December, the Sun on the twenty-fifth of that month, when the Yulian feasts were celebrated, was got forward twelve days in his progress towards the summer tropic.

So much for the feasts of *lol*, *geol*, &c. from whence the twelfth and first month of the Julian year received the name of the first and second *geola* and *iola*; the former so called, because, on the twenty-fifth of it, viz. on the eighth of the calends of January, which the ancients thought to be the winter solstice, and thence began their year, they commenced their Yulian festivities; which they used to prolong for many days, even to the thirteenth of January; and after that, to renew them about the end of that month, and the beginning of February; whence January was called by the Anglo-Saxons the second *geola*.

It must be observed, that the ancient northern world thought the solstice, or the middle of winter, fell on the viiith of the calends of January, or twenty-fifth of December; from whence they began their year, and celebrated festivals, on account of it, long before the birth of Christ; perhaps as early as when the solstice fell in reality on that day, which was in the year of the world MMMDLVIII. the year before Christ cccxc."

Thus far Dr. Hickes. I will only add, as a further confirmation of his etymology, that *Oulal*, in Greek, is preserved in Hesychius, under the words *Oυλοχόριον* and *Oυλοχύτης*, signifying *Barley*; from whence that beverage is made which used to be the principal ingredient of the northern feasts.

I will presume to hazard one conjecture more on the word *γελαῶ*, which (whence soever derived) I would propose for the original of our word *laugh*; since it was usual with all nations to express the sound of the digamma between two vowels, and the northern nations to express it stronger than the others did. But to prove this would be too large a field to enter into.

Lastly, I would proceed one step further, from words to things. As Dr. Hickes has calculated how high he can carry the heathen festival *Ol* or *Yule*, so has Mr. Selden tried how far he can, by the same argument, carry back the observation of the Christian festival of the birth of Christ.

"Whensoever, says he, it was first instituted for anniversary celebration,
" it

“ it was in such an age as had the *supposition* of the *winter solstice* being
 “ on the 25th of December, yet retained in the church: otherwise what
 “ dependence were there betwixt the name of the *feast* and the *solstice*?
 “ But that dependence is by consent of the Fathers fully testified, as a tra-
 “ dition of former times; and the latest age which in the church retained
 “ that *supposition*, must at least be before the Council of *Nice*; therefore,
 “ at least, the institution of it must precede that Council.” But though
 we were to carry up the first *institution* of this feast so high as urged, yet it
 does not follow that it was *rightly* placed, because (as Sir Isaac Newton
 observes *) the Christians of the first age let these great occurrences pass
 without regarding the year, or the season of the year, on which they hap-
 pened; and when they began first to celebrate the feasts in memory of
 them, arbitrarily placed the chief of them in the cardinal points of the
 year: the Annunciation on the 25th of March, or the Vernal Equinox; St.
 John’s Baptism on the Summer Solstice; St. Michael’s at the Autumnal
 Equinox; and the Birth of Christ at the Winter Solstice. “ For which
 “ reason there is not one month of the year, except July, which one or
 “ other of the Learned have not fixed for the real month of the Nati-
 “ vity †.”

Very different is the reasoning of a Philosopher and an Antiquary from
 the same facts: the one finds the birth of Christ commemorated at Mid-
 winter-day so early, or so late, as the Council of Nice; therefore his birth-
 day was so in reality: the other finds the Heathen festivals were converted
 into Christian, therefore they were arbitrarily placed upon them, and it is
 no mark of the season of their so falling out. Undoubtedly the juster
 conclusion.

* Observ. on Prophecy, chap. xi.

† See Fabricius, Bibliotheca Antiquaria.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

IN CHISHULL'S ANTIQUITATES ASIATICÆ,

Transcribed from the Margin of Mr. BOWYER's Copy,

Now in the Possession of the Right Honourable EDWARD Lord SANDYS.

Præf. iii. l. 22. *lege*, Hæc inter, duo præ cæteris eminent monumenta.

INSCR. SIG. p. 4. l. 29. *σιγηνεις*.] *Σιγηνεις*, pro *Σιγνης*. Casu plurali quarto aut forte quinto. Nec obstare debet aut Lucianus in Solæcistâ, aut Hel-ladius apud Photium, aut iis consentiens doctissimus J. Grævius, quanquam hi omnes negaverint pluralem quartum antiquitus defuisse in *εις*. Contra enim stabit Magnetum & Smyrnæorum fœdus in Marmore Oxoniensi, ubi p. 6. legitur βασιλεις, ιππεις, iterumque p. 12. ιππεις casu quarto, ut etiam in Marmore Chronico lin. 87. Φωκεις casu plurali primo, & Homero Odyss. d. ver. 170—πολλεις ἐμὸν ἦσαν ἀνδρας. CHISHULL.

Scribe, *Σιγνης* pro *Σιγηνεις* ap. recentiores Atticos, non pro *Σιγνης*. “Quantæ [enim] levitatis fuisset in isto marmore potestatem EI nuda vocali E designari velle, cum in syllaba proxime præcedente eadem potestas plene exhiberetur. Fefellit viros eruditos analogia in hujusmodi nominibus ab Atticis servata, quam sic concipi velim: a recto —εως obliquos formabant Iones —εως, —εωι, —εωα, —εως, —εωων, —εως, —εωων, —εωσι, —εως. Illud autem εως Attici juxta crasin ipsis solennem neglecta aspiratione w in ης mutabant. Hinc apud Poetas Atticos legimus ιππης, Αχαιης, Μεγαρης: recte nisi quod literæ η subjiçiatu*r* ι. DAWES, Misc. Crit. p. 121. —Notandum præterea ΣΙΓΕΤΕΥΣΙΝ & ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ parum sibi invicem constare, legi autem oportere vel ΣΙΓΕΤΕΥΣΙΝ & ΣΙΓΕΤΕΣ, vel, quod rectius, ΣΙΓΕΙΕΥΣΙΝ & ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ. *Ibid.*

Not. l. ult. *lege*, ΜΕΛΕΔΑΙΝΕΝ-ΕΟ.—Tandem verò Τουρ in Suidam, par. III. p. 306. voc. Χαλίκρηλος, legendum monet ΔΕΩ, *precor, ut mei curam habeant Sigeenses*. Idem autem δέω & δέομαι, ut ἡγέω & ἡγέομαι. Hoc recentiorum, illud antiquiorum.

P. 9. l. 22. *lege*, in usu fuit; unde & vicissim aliquando ου pro ο, ut in voce οὔνομα. Vid. Jul. Scaligerum de Caufis Ling. Lat. p. 92. CHISHULL.

P. 11. l. 19. τῷ τρίτῳ] *lege*, τῷ τρίτῳ.—Notandum est EIII TO TPITO potestatem viros eruditos minus recte cepisse EIII TOI TPITOI: Hanc utique exaratam oportuisset EIII TOI TPITOI, non secus atque ibidem loquuntur HOΔOI TOI AΠPOI, & TOI KINEΣANTI; uti & alterius declinationis TEI AIIIHAI. Est autem vera potestas EIII TOW TPITOW, sicuti illorum OWΔENI TOW TPIONIOW. DAWES, Misc. Crit. p. 125.

P. 12. l. 6. *Triopium*] In eo non parum sibi placuerunt Romani, villas suas Græco nomine vocitari. Ut Augusti Cæsaris Syracusæ, aliorum Paulipum, Academia, &c. Sueton. in Augusto c. 71. CHISHULL.

P. 16. l. 9. *lege*, legendum veniet, ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰμὶ ἀνδρῆς καὶ τὸ σφέλας; i. e. *hic in lapide sum statua et statuæ basis*; vel forsan, *hic unum et idem sum* [ἐν] *lapidis statua et* [statuæ] *basis*. Sic enim in ipso marmore* etiamnum legi monet Anth. Askew, M. D. oculatus testis. In cippo marmoreo prælongo prominet statua, suffulta basi marmorea quasi ex medio cippi progrediente.

P. 22. Not. *adde*, His adde quæ habet H. Vossius de translatione LXX Interpretum p. 93, &c. CHISHULL.

P. 26. l. 20. *Masoretis*] i. e. Criticis Sacris, ubi Criticos intelligo, non recentiores illos Masoræ propriè sic dictæ auctores; sed veterrimos sacræ Criticæ Magistros, Esdram nempe ejusque in Synagoga magna adseffores. Vid. Casaub. Epist. 281. & Prideauxii Hist. Connexæ Par. I. c. 5. Cupereim tamen totam hujus loci sententiam hoc modo refingendam: "Hæ quidem in Alphabeto suos tunc locos habuere, cum ob inductas formas Affyriacas de novo describerentur Psalmi illi Alphabetici, aliaque omnia Veteris Instrumenti, quæ, ut in Prologo galeato notavit Hieronymus, viginti duarum literarum texuntur Alphabeti. At vero," &c.—Aut sic refinge: "Psalmi Alphabetici xxxiv & cxix, quibus adde cx. cxii. Proverbia Lemuelis cap. xxxi. Lamentationes Jeremiæ capp. i. ii. iii. iv. Hæc vero omnia a Masoretis potius prodiisse, quam ab ipsis scriptoribus Θεοπνεύστοις facile quis crediderit. CHISHULL.

De literis Teth, Tzaddi, Koph, non inventis in pectorali sacro, vid. Prideaux, par. I. p. 121. CHISHULL.

Ib. not. col. 2. l. 5. *lege*, Alphabetum Seniores illud Psalmo lxix, aliisque technâ illâ Alphabeticâ similiter conscriptis intertexuisse: quo intuitu credibile est Simonidem suis, &c. CHISHULL.

P. 28. *Hierusalem*] *Lege Jerusalem*. CHISHULL.

* In Lord Sandys's copy, the inscription itself is properly corrected. J. N.

P. 31. l. 11. *lege*, possint, aut, ut quibusdam placuit, Æolica. Glyconia quare sic vocentur observandum apud Grammaticos veteres Putschii, præcipuè p. 2701. CHISHULL.

L. 29. *adde*, Vid. Rufinum Gr. p. 2708.

P. 33. not. col. 2. l. 4. *lege*,

“Amphytryo me sacravit de gente reversus

“Teleboâ.”

Lege enim versum Herodoteum ἀνέβηκε νέων, non ut in Editis Herodoti exemplaribus ἀνέβηκεν ἔων. Pari lege corrigendum illud Homericum ἔχῃ νήδυμος, & legendum ἔχεν ἥδυμος. immo perpetuo apud Homerum ἥδυμος, non νήδυμος. CHISHULL.

P. 36. not. l. 2. *lege*, cap. 8. p. 480.—Ita scribendus videtur iste locus :

A. Νυνὶ δ', ἀπονίζων τὴν κύλικα, δάσω τιεῖν.

B. Ἀλλ' ἔρχεον, ἐπιθείς τὸν ἥμῶν.

A. Nunc verò, calice abiuto, dabo quod bibas.

B. Quin tu affundito, COLO-SUPERIMPOSITO.

TOUP, Epist. ad Ep. Glocestr. 1767. p. 122.

P. 37. l. 25. Σργαεύς.] Μῆμα, non ut aliàs monumentum sepulchrale, sed quicquid quis memoriæ ergò reliquerit. Sic arcum ab Iphito sibi donatum ejus μῆμα Ulysses servavit. Odyss. Φ. ver. 40.

—μῆμα ξείνοιο φίλοιο

Κέσπεϊ ἐνὶ μεγάροισι.

P. 38. l. 12. *commendo*.] Si sic legatur, adducetur eodem sensu versus Homericus Il. Θ. ver. 428.

ἔκλεϊ ἔγωγε

Νῶϊν εἰώ Διὸς αἴηλα βροτῶν ἔσκεν πολεμίζεν.

Ibid. not. l. ult. *adde*, Hoc certe sensu occurrit vox εἰώ apud Hom. Il. Θ. ver. 428. & apud Sophoclem in Ajace Flagel. ver. 429.

P. 44. l. 38. *lege*, excipit. Adde Epigramma Gr. e Gortynâ, Εἰκόνας τῆνδ' ἐσαθρεῖ, & Prophetæ Sacri Jeremiæ c. xxii. ver. 24, 25.

P. 46. l. 12. *vestigium*.] Nullus videtur esse dubitandi locus, quin in verbo ΜΕΛΕΔΑ. INEN vacuum spatium minus recte collocetur; ecqua enim tandem litera suppleri poterit? Oportet autem ΜΕΛΕΔΑΙΝΕΝ quod sic complendum est ΜΕΛΕΔΗΝΕΙΝ. DAWES, Misc. Crit. § iv. p. 120.

P. 47. l. 9. *adde*, ubi pro ἐποίησε reponendum vetustum ἐπόησε.—Apud Sponium etiam Misc. E. A. p. 348. ΤΟΝ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΝ ΕΙΩΝΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΥΤΙΝΤΟΝ ΙΟΥΑΙΟΝ ΜΕΛΑΗΤΟΝ ΟΙ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ. Q. IVLIVS FAENTIVS ALVMNVS

CVM ARTIFICIBVS POSVIT.—Añt (ut inquit Plin. l. xxxvi. 5.) *Multorum obscurior fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis obstande numero Artificum, quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam, nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt, sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo; opus omnibus & picturæ & statuariæ artis præponendum. Ex uno lapide eum, et liberos, draconumque mirabiles nexus de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Agesander et Polydorus & Athenodorus Rhodii.* CHISHULL.

PSEPHISMA SIGEORUM, &c. p. 54. l. 12. *non admodum vulgari.*] Vox satis obvia in Ep. Pauli et alios scriptores. Coloss. v. 12. & apud Jos. Ant. IV. ii. 4. *προέσταναι τῆς εὐσεβείας, rebus divinis præesse;* & V. i. 24. VII. xiv. 5. VIII. xii. 3. KREBSIUS, in Col. v. 2.

L. 13. *lege, προῖσθαι, & sensu contrario περιεῖναι, Tit. iii. 9. 2 Tim. ii. 16.* CHISHULL.

L. 17. *adde, Geminum plane videtur illud in Monumento Berenicensi ap. P. Weffelingium, p. 5, 6. Ἐπεὶ Μάρκος Τίτιος—παραγενηθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ δημοσίων παραγμάτων, τὴν τε προασίαν αὐτῶν ἐποίησας Φιλανθρώπως καὶ καλῶς, i. e. Quoniam M. Tittius—provinciam rerum publicarum causa ingressus, earum & curam humaniter ac dextre egit. Qui genti provinciæve præest Προστάτης dicitur, ut mox apud Attalistas p. 144. Vides igitur apud Sigeos Antiochus dicitur ἐν ἀρχῇ παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν. Titius apud Berenicenses παραγενηθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ δημοσίων παραγμάτων. Antiochus πρὸς αἰς ἐνδόξῃ καὶ καλῇ αἰρέσει. Titius τῆς προασίας αὐτῶν ἐποίησας Φιλανθρώπως. Marmor in Cratonis Musici honorem erectum, l. 13: ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αἰεὶ προαίρειν τῆς εὐεργεσίας, eo quod in eodem semper proposito permaneat benefaciendi.* CHISHULL.

P. 55. l. 47. *servatur.*] Vide tamen huc spectans, id quod incertè admodum de ejus conjugio traditur ab Eustath. in Dionysii Perieg. post ver. 915, &c. CHISHULL.

P. 56. l. 12. *Soteris.*] Vide Eustath. ad Dionysii Perieg. ver. 915, &c.

P. 58. l. ult. *adde, De Victoriâ Palladis ξυνέργω Aristoph in Ἰππῆς, p. m. 323.*

STAT. JOV. URII. p. 61. l. 23. *lege, Sub statuâ, &c.*

L. ult. *σύμβολον]* σύμβολον εὐπλοῆς, ut in Epigrammate Edit. Brodei p. 473.

ὅπως ἀνδρείκελαι τεύξῃ

Τῆς καὶ Ἀθηναίων σύμβολαι Καμμανόης.

Item

Item Anthologîâ eâdem, p. 571.

Ὀφιοτόνος Σπινθῆς Ἑρμῇ τὰδε σύμβολα τέχνης.

Item, p. 576.

Δῆρας Ἀλεξάνδρου—σύμβολον Ἀρτέμιδι.

CHISHULL.

MON. MILES. p. 65, l. 16. *versione*] Versionem intelligo sic vulgo dictam : quæ enim vere LXX fuit post Justinî Martyris ætatem in usu apud Ecclesiâs esse defiit, subrogatâ in ejus locum Theodotianâ, quæ tamen vere LXXvirali valde consentanea fuisse perhibetur. CHISHULL.

P. 69. l. 17. ἀφεσαλμένων] quod communi dialecto ἀπέσαλμένων. CHISHULL.

L. 26. Γραφὴ χρυσωμάτων] Scriptura seu Catalogus vasorum auri, ut apud LXX. in libro Ezræ. CHISHULL.

P. 71. l. 1. τεσσαράκοντα] ut semper ferè in MS. Alexandrino τῶν LXX. quod tamen a doctissimo Editore Grabio in τεσσαράκοντα temère mutatum : vide ejus Prolegomena ad versionem Alexandrinam cap. 2. § 6. Veterem illam lectionem confirmat passim Herodotus, & inde ductum vocabulum Latinum *testera*. Est verò Ionicum, quo scribendi genere sæpius abundare Versionem LXX. Alexandrinam notavit vir doctissimus (in præfatione ad tom. III.) Fr. Lous, M. D. CHISHULL.

L. 3. σχοινίδα] Quærat, annon legi debeat Σχοινίδα, omiffâ syllabâ κι errore marmorarii. Occurrit enim Σχοινίς in Scholiis ad Arati Phænomena, edit. Oxon. p. 31. Iterum in Eratosthene ibid. p. 33. nempe Scholiastæ προχῆ Σχοινίς, Eratostheni vero Σχοινίς αἰγίεα. Confer vero Plautinum *Miseras Schæno delibutas* ; i. e. Unguento Schœnico in Pœnulo not. 1. p. m. 517. CHISHULL.—Σχοινίς est *colum junceum*, five argenteum in modum coli juncei formatum. Σχοινίον ἡβμόν vocant Græci. Hesych. Σχοινιὸς ἡβμός. Hinc σχοινίς, ut κισίς, κυσίς, atque alia ejusdem formæ sexcenta. TOUR, Epist. ad Ep. Gloucestr. 1767, p. 122.

P. 72, l. 12. *Lectione*, &c.] ΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ, quo rejecto ΧΡΙΕΣΘΑΙ legendum arbitror. Confer tamen Herodotum l. vii. c. 141. συνελέγε αὐτὶς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστήριῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. CHISHULL.

MON. ADUL. PTOL. EUERG. p. 76. .7. Ἑρμεία.] Nota junctos in fellâ Adulitanâ, Herculem & Hermem, ut etiam in vetusto Epigrammate, apud Salmasium de duabus Inscriptionibus Herodis Attici p. 22. edit. Lugd. Bat. CHISHULL.

P. 81. l. 28. *μόνος βασιλέων τῶν πρὸ ἐμῶ, solus regum qui ante me fuerunt*] ut Tacito Hist. I. cap. 5. *Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.*

L. 29. ἔχω [πρὸς] τὸν μέγιστον] F. *propter quod beneficium habeo* [five *agnosco*] *Martem maximum Deum meum*, i. e. δι' ἣν εὐχαριστίαν ἔχω τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν μὲν Ἀρην.—Me tamen moratur significatio vocis εὐχαριστία, quæ plerumque pro *gratiarum actione* sumitur. MAITTAIRE, in Marm. Oxon. in Ind. voc. *Syntaxis incongrua*.—Post ἔχω inferendum est πρὸς, quod sensus & syntaxis postulat.

L. 32. γῆ τῇ ἐμῇ, *ditioni meæ*] ut sæpius in Maccabaicis, & Homeri Odyss. speciatim A. 165. εἰς πῶ αἰμῆς—γῆς ἐπέειπεν. CHISHULL. Huc adde, ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῆς p. 81. ult. in singulari, quod vix apud idoneos Græcos invenies, inquit Beza, in Matth. ii. 2. Vide tamen Philonem de Monarch. vol. II. p. 223.

P. 84. (4.) (5.) Genus Ptolomæi Evergetæ relatum ad Herculem & Bacchum ab illius ævi adulatoribus, Satyri testimonio illustratur apud Theophylum ad Autolycum l. ii. p. 85. Confer cum Eusebii fragmentis in Thes. temp. Jos. Scaligeri in Græcis, p. 45. 57. Locum Latinè damus : “ Satyri (inquit) verba hæc sunt : Ex Baccho & Althea, quæ Thestii “ fuit familia, orta est Dejanira ; ex hac & Hercule, Jovis genitus est “ Hylus ; ex hoc Cleodemus ; ex hoc Aristomachus, &c. Bonus ex hoc “ Meleager, ex quo Arfinoë. Hæc & Lagus procrearunt Ptolomæum, “ cognomentó Sotera ; ex hoc & Berenice ortus est Ptolemæus Evergetes ; “ ex quo & Berenice, quæ filia fuit Megæ [rescribe *Magæ* Cyrenarum “ rex] regis Cyrenis, originem habuit Ptolemæus Philopater. Regum “ Alexandrinorum cum Baccho cognatio in hunc modum se habet.” Hinc intelligitur, qua ratione usi sunt Ptolemæi in materno genere ad Bacchum ferendo ; quorum auctor Ptolemæus Lagi, si fuit filius Philippi ipsius Macedonum regis, quæ Pausaniæ sententia est & Curtii, satis apparet cur paternam stirpem ab Hercule deduci voluerint. M. V. La Croze, Vind. Vet. Script. contra Harduinum, p. 145.

Ibid. (5.) Ταὶ δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς Διονύσου τῆ Διὸς, i. e. à matre Arfinoa, filia Lyfimachi, qui Dionysum generis sui ἀρχηγέτην ferens, ideo, Dionysi ad instar, cornutus in nummis cuditur. Idem memoravit Satyrus de populis Alexandrinorum scriptor, qui, ut habet Theophilus Antiochenus ad Autolycum lib. 2. ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος, τῆ δὲ Πτολεμαίᾳ προσωγορευθέντος, τῷτο

τὸτο μηνύει Διόυσον Ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι. Erat vero Ptolemæus Philopater Ptolemæi nostri Evergetis filius. CHISHULL.

P. 85. l. 20, *adde*, Vid. Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 108—118. edit. Steph. Gr.

P. 86. l. ult. *adde*, Vide tamen apud Polybium, p. 1020, τὴν πρὸς Θεῶς εὐχαριστίαν, & Demosthenem περὶ σεφάνη, Περσέων εὐχαριστίαν : item in Χερρόνη-σιλῶν ψηφίσματι—ἐκ ἐλλείπει εὐχαριστῶν.

P. 87. l. 4. *adde*, Vid. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. p. 108—118. ed. Steph.

DONARIA APOLLINIS DIDYMEI, p. 91. l. 31. *drachmas Alexandrinas*] Hæ, Varrone teste, duplo superabant Atticas. Mox, drachmæ Milesiæ, h. e. ut videtur Atticæ. CHISHULL.

P. 94. l. 38. *Chalcedonius*] *Adde*, Πρωσιᾶς, πωλήριον ὄρθον *, h. e. *modicum*, quodque hominem a statu recto non dejiceret. Ita enim Δάουτος ὄρθος, apud Athenæum, pagg. m. 39. 475. 496. intelligitur. Latinorum *cæna recta* vide an huic convenit. CHISHULL.

TEIORUM DIRÆ, p. 97. l. 1. *Era-ki*] i. e. *Era-vicus*, idem forte de quo Strabo ἄτα Γέραι πολίχριν ἐστὶ Τηϊόν, lib. 14. p. m. 443. CHISHULL.

P. 100. l. 44. *Adde*, Disquiri tamen meretur annon ἄλας aut παρσίλας vox fuerit antiquis ab ἄλς ducta, ut θαλάττιος à θαλάττω. Certe in Sophoclis Ajace Flag. p. 412. legendum videtur πόροι ἀλγίροβοι παρσίλας ἀνίρα, non ut in editis παρσίλας τ' ἀνίρα, aut ut senarii ratio postulat—παρσίλας τ' ἀνίρα. CHISHULL.

P. 101. l. 20. *Adde*, Ver. 32, 33. Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν, Ἡρακλῆοισιν ἔ Δίοισιν, eodem ordine ac Διονύσιοις, Ἡρακλῆος, Δίος, i. e. Junius, Julius, Augustus, inter menses Bithynices, quod locum satis apte explicat. Ἀνθεστήρια enim Baccho fuere sacra.

L. ult. *Adde*, Demosthenes quoque in Midiana, τρόπον ἢ μηχανῇ εἰδεμένη. Lex etiam Attica in Heliastarum juramento. CHISHULL. *Adde*, Thucyd. l. v. c. 18. μήτε τέχνη, μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ. Et Xenoph. in Cyri Exped. l. vi. p. 504. 8vo. ed. Hutchinson, πᾶσι τέχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι. ut in MS. Eton. legitur, notante Hutchinsono.

MON. TEIA, p. 103. l. 20. ἔ ὅτι δι' ὅλα πλεῖστον λόγον κ. τ. λ. Huic compar lege de Atheniensium statu a Pausania observatum in Atticis l. c. 17. p. m. 39. δηλαῖ (ita lege, non δηλα) τε ἐναργῶς ὅσοις πλεον τι ἐτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεσιν ἴσων σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστῆς. *Adde* Ciceronem de Arusp. responsis n. 9. *Nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos,*

* This seems to be exactly the *standing cup*, or *goblet*, of our forefathers. J. N.

nec denique hæc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate ac religione, atque hac unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. CHISHULL.

P. 106. l. 10. Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἄγῃ, cum Æolica expletiva κα, quo modo etiam legendum apud Homerum Il. A. 184. Ἐγὼ δὲ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα.

P. 125. l. 34. *Adde*, Notandum cum Berkelio ad Stephanum in voce Βεχρῆς innumeris nominibus propriis nunc addi τὸ Σ, nunc vero demi. CHISHULL.

P. 126. l. 23. *lege*, *Rhauciorum Gemellorum*, non aliter ac Comanæ gemellæ urbes Cappadociæ apud Dionem lib. 35. Tales cecinit Homerus in Syria insulâ, gemellas urbes,

Ἐθά δὲ δύο πόλεις, δίχρῳ δὲ σφισι πάντα δέδαισαι Odyss. O. 411.

Ægyptus quoque in superiorem & inferiorem divisa ideo dualiter *Misraim* vocata est, & recentius modo non dissimili, Galliæ, Hispaniæ, &c. CHISHULL.

P. 127. l. 24. *turba*] *adde*, ut notat Salmas. de Linguâ Hellenisticâ, p. 66.

L. 28. *adde*, In sacra quoque Apocalypsi xvii. 15. λαοὶ καὶ ὄχλοι, quæ duo simpliciter *populi* ab interprete vulgato reddita. Et in S. Joan. Evangel. c. vii. 49. ὁ ὄχλος ἔτος τὸν νόμον μὴ γινώσκων. CHISHULL.

L. 34. *adde*, Ita πῦρ Teutonicè *Fyre*, ποῖνιξ idem ac φοῖνιξ, ΠΙΛΙΠΠΙ idem ac ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙ in nummo Gentis Marciae ap. Vaillant, & Βίλιππος Macedonicè, teste Eustathio, ad Odyss. 341. Pari modo e Græco δαίς Latinum DAPIS, Æoles enim scripsere ΔΑΦΙΣ, mox ΔΑΦΙΣ, unde ΔΑΠΙΣ, Latini *Dapis*. CHISHULL.

L. 37. *adde*, De εὐταξία vide Ciceronem in Offic. l. I. c. 40. ubi εὐταξία vocatur modestia sive scientia earum rerum, quæ agentur aut dicentur, loco suo collocandarum. CHISHULL.

Certum etiam vocis præsidium in Polybio, qui l. IV. c. 82. de Rege Philippo κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις τεθραυσμένος ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν. Et Arriano l. I. Disp. Epict. c. 9. εἰ δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τινὶ χώρῃ καὶ ἀναστροφῇ καταπέταχῃ. Vid. & Arrian. l. IV. c. 7. & Teletis Philosophi verba a Stobæo nobis servata Serm. ccxxvii p. 780. Ita etiam Inscriptio Berenicensis, annotante P. Wesselingio, p. 14.

P. 128. l. 17. *lege*, Lacedæmoniorum de Timotheo psephisma, linguâ Læconicâ σ finale in ρ vertente, ubi etiam, teste Hesychio, Σιὸρ pro Σιὸς, hoc est Doricè & Æolicè Θεὸς. Eidem τῖρ, τὶς οἱ Λάκωνες. CHISHULL.

L. 20. τὰν μῶων,] *Mōa*, *Musa*, ita Aristophanes in *Lyfistratā*, pro quo veteres Latini *Muba*. Dausquius p. 204. Per μῶων vere five *Mubam* id ipsum intellige quod Lucretius l. ii. ver. 412.

Per Musæa mele, per chordas organici quæ

Mobilibus digitis expergefacta figurant.

Confer Athenæum l. xiv. c. 4. & Ciceronem 2 de Legg. Idem. Lacones pro *Μωσικαὶ* dixere *Μωικαὶ*, σ scilicet in aspiratam in media dictione verso, quod apud ipsos familiare dicit Etymologici Magni auctor. Vide Meurfium de Miscellaneis Laconicis lib. iii. cap. 5. CHISHULL.

In alio loco sic refingit CHISHULL: *Mōa* pro quo rectius scribendum *Mōā*, Latine *Muba*, idem quod Græcis cæteris commune *Μῶσα*, ut in Cantilenâ Laconicâ apud Aristophanem in fine *Lyfistratæ*, ταύτης αὐτ' ἔρασαν ἐκλεπῶσι *Mōā*.

L. 45. *Adde*, P. 121. ὅπαι pro ὅπη, idem ac ὅπως, quippe ὅπη *Odyss.* χ. 43. & sæpe alibi dupliciter videtur significare, non aliter ac ἵνα. Ita in Sibyllino apud Zosimum carmine, ὅπη θέμις, i. e. ubi fas est. CHISHULL.

P. 129. l. 36. *Adde*, Hanc primus memorat *Onorio Belli* Medicus apud *Viçetinos* A. D. 1583, in MS. pererudito a Scipione Maffei citato, lib. de Amphitheatro c. vii. Editam (quod mirum est) ne nôsse quidem videtur *Maffei* A. D.* quo tempore librum suum contexuit. [Sed Q. orig. W. B.]

L. 53. *Adde*, Par nomen & etymologia mensis אביב *abib*, apud Hebræos, *Φιλαισίς* apud Lacedæmonios. CHISHULL.

P. 130. not. l. 3. *adde*, ut jamdudum legit Origenes in *Philocal.* B. Quære vero annon reponi debeat χώραι αἶν, sic forte literis colligatis in ipso marmore insculptum, *AV*. CHISHULL.

Ver. 10. 14. 40. κρατόντες, πωλόντες, κοσμόντες, pro communi κραίεοντες, πωλέοντες, κοσμέοντες, ut apud Latinos *servit* Archaice pro *servet*, &c. CHISHULL.

Ver. 27. ἀσινής, *innocuus*. Sic enim lacunam adimpleo, εἴ τις κ' ἀσινής ἦι, αἰτελής ἔσω, αἱ δὲ καὶ σίνηται,—plane ut illud Homericum, *Od.* A. v. 109.

Τὰς εἰ μὲν κ' ἀσινέας ἔαας, νόσῃ τε μέδουαι,

Εἰ δὲ κε σίνηται—&c.

ubi pro ἀσινέας melius longe ἀσινής legendum arbitror. CHISHULL.

* Circiter 1730. Verba ἡ ἱερὰ πύλη male interpretatus est V. Cl. Montfauconius quasi ad *sacram pugnam* referenda cum revera de urbe *Hierapytna* agitur cujus incolas spectat marimor Oxoniense.

Ver. 29. *πρεργία*, h. e. ut videtur *πρεργίων* five *προεργών* ἤτοι, *legatorum viatica*. *ἤτοι* enim Homero Od. O. ver. 289. & 410. ἐφοδία sunt, i. e. *viatica* παρὰ τῷ ἔναι. CHISHULL.

P. 132. *not. Adde*, Ver. 64, 65, *περὶ δὲ τῶ δικαστηρίου*, h. e. de foro, de tribunali, &c. His confer quæ habet de foro a se statuto Cicero ad Atticum lib. v. Ep. 2. *Forum constitueram agere Laodiceæ*, &c. CHISHULL.

L. 13. *Adde*, ἐπιμνήριον τελεῖται, i. e. *sacrificium ἐπιμνήριον dictum perficiatur*; ut Herodoto lib. viii. c. 41. ἐπιμνήρια τελεῖσι. CHISHULL.

L. 20. *Adde*, Subesse videtur is ipse sensus, qui & *συμβόλῃ* Christianæ Fidei. CHISHULL.

P. 133. l. 10. AOPATPION.] Hæc, si recte scribitur, singulare & ignotum est, originem forte ducens ab ἄορ, ensis; ita ut Martis sit epitheton: ab ἄορ enim interposito Digamma & præposito M est MAVORS, ut ab Ἀρης, MARS. At si subsit mendum, conjectura facile dabit pro ἀοράτριον, aut ἀόρατον, aut ἀρότριον, utrumque Jovis epitheton. Ζῆνα ἀρότριον, hoc est οἶτα & ἀρότριον inventorem (Δάγωνα i. e. Σίτωνι vocatum) memorat Sanchoniathon (aut ejus Interpres Philo Byblius) apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. l. I. p. m. 25. & 23. Forte pro AOPATPION legendum transpositis literis (ut Καρνεος pro Craneus Pausaniæ) APOTPAION, & intelligendum Deum Arationis præsidem, Vestæ, hoc est Terræ, non male sociatum. AOPATPION si legatur potest esse Jovis epitheton, idem ac Χρυσάορις aut Περσεύνοδος, de quo p. 162. ex Strabone, & utriusque origo forte fuit ex Geneleos cap. ver. ult. cum epitheto Περσεύνοδος comparando. CHISHULL.

P. 134. l. 5. *Adde*, Latiorum & Olontiorum pacta de vi hostili invicem ab alterutris propulsandâ: quibus conferantur & quæ pacta sunt inter Romanos & Judæos, 1 Maccab. c. viii. CHISHULL.

P. 135. *not. l. 2. Adde*, Romæ quoque prandia in semitis decumæ nomine aliquando publice præbita laudavit Cicero de Offic. l. ii. c. 17. CHISHULL.

P. 136. l. 27. Ζῆνα τὸν Κρητογενέα.] Jovem Creta genitum, quem etiam in Creta mortuum & sepultum fuisse traditur. Illic ejus σῆμα decantatum a Poetis, speciatim e Callimacho—ὃ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σείο—Κρήτες, ἔτεκ' ἐν αὐτῷ. Hanc fabulam diluere voluit Scholiastes in Apollonium; narrans quidem in Creta extitisse inscriptionem ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. Eam vero non aliud fuisse quam reliquias alterius quæ ab origine sic integra legebatur ΜΙΝΩ-ΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. Atque non ea fuit decantata a poetis sepulchralis inscriptio. Aliam isti indigitarant in oppido Cnoso, ΣΔΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟ, cujus

Jus ex Euhemero meminit Lactantius lib. i. c. 11. Porphyrius vero in vita Pythagoræ versum affert ab eo Jovis tumulo inscriptum. Ὡς δὲ Δαονὶν κῆται Ζεὺς, ὃν Δία κληθήσασιν; at Suidas in voce Πῆκος—ἐνθαυδὲ κῆται Δαονὶν τῷκος ὁ Ζεὺς. CHISHULL.

L. 33. Σιὸς pro Θεὸς Doricum erat & Æolicum : Dorico-Laconicum Σιὸρ. Ita enim Hesychius Σιὸρ, Θεὸρ, Λακωνες. Hinc Lampitūs Lacænæ fœminæ per Dioscuros juramentum, καὶ τῷ Σιῷ, apud Aristophanem in *Lyfistratâ*, idemque apud Plutarchum in *Apophthegmatis Laconicis*. Iisdem igitur Σιὸς ἀνὴρ, *vir divinus*, ut testis est Aristoteles *Ethic. Eudem. lib. vi. c. 1.* Adde Athenæum lib. viii. ubi αὐτὸς τὸς Θεὸς (inquit) οἱ Λακωνες Σιὸς φασί. Pari modo pro ἀγαθὸς dixerunt illi ἀγασὸς. Arist. in *Lyfistrata* sub ipsum finem, & pro παρθένος, παρσένος. Σιὸς, Deos, non Θεὸς appellabat (Varro) Æolico genere dicendi Lactantius, lib. i. CHISHULL.

Not. l. 4. ἡμᾶν,] i. e. ἡμῶν. Vox in jurando solennis, non hic tantum sed & in Magnetum cum Smyrnæis fœdere, & apud LXX versionem *Exod. xxii. 12.* item *Hom. Il. A. ver. 77.* sæpius etiam apud Thucydidem lib. vi. c. 72. CHISHULL.

L. ult. adde, Lapsus est etiam doctissimus Meursius in notis ad Phlegontem Trallianum, c. 35. ubi ὀρείον tanquam vocem Græco-barbaram ex Latino *horreum* deducit. Scribe vero apud Phlegontem ἐν τοῖς ὀρείοις [non ὀρίοις] τεταριχυσμένος. CHISHULL.

MON. ATTAL. p. 148. l. 5. Κορὸν τῆς Ἐχίνε συμμορίας] i. e. *Dionysiacorum artificum sodalitiū* ab Echino dictum. Verisimilem nominis rationem subministrare videntur Epigrammata Græca in *Anthologia* l. vi. p. m. 554. unde dicitur Echinum Dionysi donis infestum Dionysio suspendi fœctum.

Κώμαυλος τὸν Ἐχῖνον ἰδὼν ἐπὶ νῦτα φέροντα

Ῥαγὰς, ἀπεκρίνευ τῷδ' ἐπὶ Δημοπιδῶν.

Αἰήνας δ' ἀνέθηκε Φιλακρήτω Διονύσιω

Τὸν τὰ Διωνύσεω δῶρα λειζόμενον.

Et antea p. 553.

Ὅξ' ἐσι λαχγνήναι δέμας κέντροισιν Ἐχῖνον

Ῥαγολόγον, γλυκερῶν σίνισσαι Δημοπιδῶν,

Σφαιρηδὸν σαφυλῆσιν ἐπίρολαλοντα δοκύσας

Κώμαυλος Βρομίῳ ζῶον ἀνεκρέμασεν.

Eodem nimirum merito, quo—

—Baccho caper omnibus aris

Caditur.

CHISHULL.

Z 2

L. 6.

L. 6. Συμμορία] *Sodalitium* quod tamen ordinarie *Decuria* vertitur. Sed utrumque conjunxit Gruterus p. xxxv. 5. & hujusmodi decurios sodalitia fuisse operarum scenicarum demonstrant inscriptiones a Fabretto relatae pag. 660. DEC. III. SCAMILLAR. OPERAE. VETERES. A. SCAENA. aliter pag. 603. OPERAE VRB. SCATIL. Sed vide locos. CHISHULL.

P. 149. l. 23. πράττοντας] h. e. ποιῶντας τὰς θεωρίας. De quo vide Eustathium ad Odyss. Θ.—οἱ κατ' ἀγῶνας εὐπρήσσεσκον ἀπασιν. Vide Epigraphen nummi apud Vaillant in gente Sulpitia ultima ΤΑΡΚΥΤΤΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΥ ΕΞ. ΥΠΑΤΟ. * ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΟΣ. CHISHULL.

MON. STRATON. p. 156. l. 3. *Stratonicensium*] Notatur quod de beneficiis Stratoniceae urbi concessis attulit Spanhemius de Orbe Romano, inter Antiq. Rom. tom. ix. p. 115. 119. CHISHULL.

P. 158. l. 28. παιδονόμος.] Is qualis fuerit vide apud Xenophontem in Lacedaemoniorum πολιτεία cap. 2. § 2. 11. vid. & Strabonem lib. x. p. m. 332. καθ' ἑκάστον δὲ ἀνδρείον καθέστηκε παιδονόμος. CHISHULL.

P. 160. l. 24. Nota ψήφισμα παιδικῇ a paedonomo conscribendum, in quo notatu non indignum scribi σύνπαν, ἀναγγελίαν, literis ob sequentes π & γ non mutatis, in eodem ῥῶτα numquam reperies affixum dativis. Hoc nempe Romanis qui ad lectionem instituerentur impedimento fuit, observante Quintiliano lib. i. c. 7. Erant vero inter Latinos Grammaticos qui e suis quoque Dativis illud i exulare jusserunt. Teste Agellio l. iv. c. 16. C. Caesar gravis auctor Linguae Latinae in libris Analogicis omnia istiusmodi (puta, Senatu, Vieta, Aspectu, &c.) sine litera i dicenda censet. De Graecis verò Strabo lib. xiv. p. m. 446. πολλοὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἰ γράφουσι δοτικῶς, καὶ ἐκβαλόντες τὸ ἐθος φυσικὴν αἰτίαν εἶχ' ἔχον. CHISHULL.

P. 162. l. 46. Dele Quamquam, &c. usque ad videtur, l. 49.

P. 163. l. 11. Adde, Et Mamertinus in Genethliaco five Panegyrico Maximiani cap. x. non opinione traditus, sed conspicuus & praesens Jupiter coninus invocari. Vegetius vero de re militari, l. ii. c. 2. Imperatori cum Augusti nomen accepit tanquam praesenti & corporali Deo fidelis praestanda est devotio. CHISHULL.

L. 15—28. Haec incertus auctor an deleat, necne.

L. 24. lege, At fucatus ille apud Zosimum poeta Sibyllinus & Leunclavius, &c. CHISHULL.

MON. ANCYR. p. 171. l. 24. adde, Emendationes aliquot in Mon. Ancy. vid. in Biblioth. Choisie, tom. viii. p. 328. MASSON, MS.

* ΕΞΟΤΕΙΑΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑΝ.

Not.

Not. l. 4. *Adde*, nec non et præstantissimus Spanhemius, in secundo illo *De præstant. & usu Numism.* volumine, p. 362. CHISHULL.—ubi tamen cl. viri [Spanhemii] periodus manca. Inde etiam liquet istam *Tournesortii* copiam minus accuratam fuisse illa exarata a *P. Luca*, vel potius a *Le Fevre*, qui per plures annos Ancyrae degeret, et a cujus hæredibus exemplar habuit *P. Lucas*, ut mihi narravit *Dr. Sherard*, qui ultra decennium Smyrnae consul Anglorum fuit.—*P. Montfaucon*, *Palæogr.* p. 162. *Faure* illum vocat. MASSON, MS.

P. 172. l. 18. COMPARAVI] Cicero Phil. iv. p. 296. *Cæsar fertur in cælum, qui contra te, Antoni, exercitum comparavit.* Phil. vii. p. 324. *Ei porro honores a Senatu decretos immortales et singulares, quod contra M. Antonium exercitum comparavisset.* MASSON, MS.

Ibid. obstinatione] Jac. Gron. legit *dominatione*.—Vell. ii. 60. *Aperte deinde Antonii ac Dolabellæ consulum ad nefandam DOMINATIONEM erupit furor.* FABRICIUS.

L. 19. DECRETIS HONORIFICIS ab Senatu IN ORDINEM SUM adlectus sed CONSVLIBVS mortuis in vacantem LOCVM exercitus IMPERIVM MIHI DEDIT, &c.

Ibid. HONORIFICIS] Ea sunt quæ refert Dio, p. 310. D. FABRICIUS.

Ibid. ornatus decretis honorificis non probatur a Gronovio esse locutionem Romanam. Aliud est *ornari laudibus, honoribus, testimoniis, verbis amplissimis*. Dein dicitur *adlectus AD et COOPTATUS IN*. Grut. Inscript. p. 300. n. 1. 2. Nec *voculæ ornatus* locus est in vulgari vel Cossioniano exemplari. Forte igitur post VINDICAVI locus sic supplendus: *quam ob causam Senatus DECRETIS HONORIFICIS IN ORDINEM SVVM cooptavit. Et ut cum CONSVLIBVS in exercitu auctoritatem LOCVMque haberem, IMPERIVM MIHI DEDIT extraordinarium RESPUBLICA, quo pro PRAETORE SIMVL CVM Hirtio et Pansa CONSVLIBVS bellum gererem.*—Vel sic; VINDICAVI. *Eam ob causam Senatus DECRETIS HONORIFICIS IN ORDINEM SVVM me cooptavit. Et ut cum CONSVLIBVS in bello contra hostem LOCVM haberem IMPERIVM MIHI DEDIT extraordinarium RESPUBLICA, quo pro PRAETORE SIMUL CUM Hirtio et Pansa CONSVLIBVS exercitui præesset.* MASSON, *ibid.* Hæc forte id spectant quod Vell. l. ii. c. 61. *Eum Senatus honoratum equestri statua—proprætore; una cum consulibus designatis, Hirtio & Pansa, bellum cum Antonio gerere iussit.* Suet. l. ii. c. 10. *Iussusque comparato exercitui Proprætor præesse, et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum acceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, &c.* Tac. Ann. l. i. c. 10.

Mox

Mox imperium ubi decreta Patrum fasces et jus Prætoris invaserat, &c. Dio, l. xlv. p. m. 422. Paulo post, priusquam de Antonii sententiâ fierent certiores, tumultum urbi impendere censuerunt, vestem Senatoriam exuerunt, bellum contra Antonium consulibus et Cæsari, cui prætoriam potestatem tribuerant, injunxerunt, &c. vid. et p. 426. Cicero Philip. v. p. 310. Consulibus totam rempublicam commendandam censeo. Phil. iii. p. 283. Quousque enim tantum bellum privatis consiliis propulsabitur? Cur non quam primum publica accedit auctoritas? Caius Cæsar adolescens, pæne potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, tum cum maxime furor arderet Antonii, cumque ejus a Brundisio crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur, nec postulantibus, nec cogitantibus, nec optantibus quidem—firmissimum exercitum invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit; patrimonium suum effudit, &c. qua peste Remp. privato consilio (nec enim fieri potuit aliter) Cæsar liberavit.—Cui quidem hodierno die, P. C. tribuenda est auctoritas, ut Remp. non modo a se susceptam, sed etiam a nobis commendatam, possit defendere. Vid. et Ep. Fam. l. xi. 7. MASSON, MS. Vid. et Cic. ad Brut. Ep. xiv. p. 405. Tantum dicam Cæsarem hunc adolescentem, &c. Ad Fam. Ep. l. xii. ep. 25. Phil. v. p. 306. Idem, ibid.

Ibid. F. Electus in eum ordinem SVM admissus. G. CLARKE.

L. 22. suffectum] F. solutum legibus consulem—scil. lege annuali consulum ætati præstituta. Mamertina cæteris.

L. 24. CONIVRATI, &c.] Vel conjuratione facta interfecerant IN, &c. MASSON, MS.

L. 31. DEDUXI, &c.] Vix Latinè dicitur; deducere IN colonias. W. B.

P. 173. l. 2. PATRIORVM] Vid. Tacit. Ann. xi. c. 25. Dio l. LII.

L. 3. SENATVM] Censor, Collega L. Philippo legerat. Val. Max. l. VIII. c. 13. Sic et Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 48.

L. 8. De civium Romanorum in Imp. Claud. Censura, vid. Tacit. Annal. xi. c. 25. cum Lipfii notis. MASSON, MS.

L. 9. Leg. PROCONSULARI ex Dione l. LV. p. 557. ubi prodit Augustum ut recensionem in Italia perageret, Proconsulare imperium accepisse. MASSON, MS.—Imo, quod Dio narrat, ad Italiam, hoc vero ad Romam spectat; adeoque omnino Consulari retinendum. Idem, ibid.

L. 51. PRINCIPEM JUVENTUTIS, &c.] Gronovius legerat ex Cossioniano exemplari, Principem Juventutis ROMANORUM parmis utrumque et hastis argenteis.

Recte

Recte tamen vidit Cl. Spanhemius De præst. Num. tom. II. p. 361. vocem ROMANORUM haud convenire: et quidem ex Lucæ exemplari patet legendum; *utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis*, &c. quod mox confirmat ex alio exemplari, quod Cl. viro communicatum a *Chiswell*, innominato tamen, liquet, quodque is a Cl. *Tournefort* habuerat. Hunc enim designare voluit nomine *Tournebantil*. Nec etiam rem clare satis exponit p. 361, 362. Quinimo periodus omnino manca est. MASSON, MS.

L. 54. *Adde*, [I. Cong.] *

L. 56. *Adde*, [II. Cong.] *

* Ex his et sequentibus patet Congiaria *septies* Augustum dedisse;
I. Patris nomine; et suo nomine V. Plebi urbanæ, et I. Coloniis suorum Militum. MASSON, MS.

P. 174. l. 2. *Adde*, [III. Congiar.]

L. 5. *ad festerivm*] ad hominvm vel potius civivm.

Ibid. ad festerivm millia] Oudanius explevit *ad hominum millia*, nunquam minus quinquaginta & ducenta. Et quis non ita expleret, quum in seqq. semper exprimatur numerus *hominum*, qui Congiaria acceperunt. Ver. 15. 320000 plebis urbanæ; dein v. 19. *hominum* 120000 in triumphali Congiario; v. 21, denique paulo plura quam 20000. Notandum est in hisce Congiariis ab Augusto plebi Rom. suo nomine datis, singulos hominos accepisse semper *Quadrigenos nummos*. Vid. Tab. iii. ver. 12. 13. Jam vero si in iis Congiariis summa univcrsa fuit 250000 nummorum, unusquisque habuit 400 nummos, ne mille quidem homines, immo, si rectâ ratione subducas, tantum sexcentos & viginti quinque reperies nummos accepisse. PERIZON. Diff. de morte Judæ, c. x. L. Bat. 1702. Chishullius in eundem errorem labitur, atque etiam falsa computatione novas tenebras obducit.

L. 7. *Adde*, [IV. Congiar.]

Ibid. sexagenos] Sic et Dio, l. LIII. vid. Modi. ad Livium, p. 423. MASSON, MS.

L. 8. *Adde*, [V. Congiar.]

L. 9. *SINGULA*] Sic Sueton. in Aug. c. 101. Legavit—Prætorianis militibus *SINGULA MILLIA nummorum*. et c. 40. *SINGULA millia nummum, a se dividebat*. c. 48. *SINGULA nummorum millia*. Tac. An. i. c. 9. *Militibus SINGULA nummum millia*. MASSON, MS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

L. 10. [VI. Congiar. Pl. Rom.]

L. 11. FRUMENTVM] Vid. Contarenus de Frument. p. 123. Hic Jacobus Gronovius exclamat, "An expectavisti unquam ab Casaubono, ut statueret "Augusteo ævo dictum fuisse, *militēs accipere Congiaria?* Spartiano et filii-
"milibus id relinquitur, non Augusto." Quidni veronon et Augusto, cum jam fuerit in usu anno Urbis 710, paucis post Julii necem mensibus, ut liquet ex Cic. ad Att. xvi. 31. ep. 7. ubi de tribus Legionibus Macedonicis Hæ, ait, *Congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt*, &c. Vid. ad Att. xvi. 8. et Savillii not. ad Tac. Hist. I. p. m. 15. et Annal. xiii. 31. *Coloniæ Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatæ sunt, plebeique Congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati*, &c. Et Annal. iii. 29. xii. 41. xiv. 11. ac Script. de Orat. c. 17. Sueton. l. iii. 20. de Tiberii triumpho Dalmatico ad Ann. U. C. 765. *Prandium dein populo mille mensis et CONGIARIUM trecentos nummos viritim dedit.* MASSON, MS.

L. 15. SEXSIENS. F. Sexagiens vel Sexcenciens. MOX—QVAM vero coloniis et PRO prædiis—ut conjecerat MASSON in MS.

L. 19. ITEMQVE. C. ANTISTIO] F. ITEM VETERE C. ANTISTIO. MASSON, MS.

L. 21. CONSVLIBVS pecuniam militibus quos EMERITEIS. STIPENDIIS IN SVA MVNICIPIA remisi—nisi malis pecuniam omittere, et præmia post remisi inferre, quod melius convenire videri potest. MASSON, MS.—Felicissimam conjecturam confirmat istud exemplar.

L. 26. AD EOS QVI] Vid. Bibl. Chôif. T. viii. p. 328.

L. 31. F. eo anno quo [scil 736.]

L. 35. PORTICUM AD CIRCVM] De hac porticu Octavia ad circ. Flamin. vid. Donat. de urbe Roma, l. i. c. 21. p. 77. c. 24. p. 87. Nardini Ant. Rom. p. 333. MASSON, MS.

L. 41. IN PALATIO] In quo jam ante simulacrum erat Matris Deum; teste Dione l. xlvi. ad Ann. U. C. 711. MASSON, MS.

L. 50. CONSVL] Forte leg. *conlapsa* vel *consumpta*. MASSON, MS.

L. 55. Ad. id. . . .] F. a me EMPTO. LIPSIVS et MASSON, MS.

L. 56. GENERI NITESCIT] F. GENERI mei esset. MASSON, MS.

P. 175. l. 7. MUNVS GLADIATORIVM] ut Suet. l. iv. c. 18. *Munera gladiatoria.* vid. l. iii. c. 7. MASSON, MS. Male Gron. *Speſtacula Gladiatorum.*

L. 14. TEMPVS] Vox *tempus* pereat, inquit Jac. Gronovius. Imo subſtet, cum agatur de Ludis sæcularibus. F. AD ID TEMPVS, de qua phraſi vide

Sueton.

Sueton. l. iv. c. 15. vel sic legendum, *seculares LVDOS dedi, quales nullus viderat ante id tempus.* MASSON, MS.

Ibid. l. 15, 16. *bestiarum africanarum*] Sueton. l. iv. c. 18. *Edidit et Circenses plurimas—interjecta modo Africanarum venatione, modo Trojæ decur- sione.* De Africanis scil. Pantheris vid. Liv. l. XLIV. Cicer. Famil. l. VIII ep. 8 & 9. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. VIII. c. 17. Plin. Jun. l. vi. ep. ult. Suet. Calig. c. 18. et Claud. c. 21. MASSON, MS.

L. 33. *Atticis et Persicis classibus*] *Legerem Qui classibus pugnave- runt praeter remiges millia hominum tricenta, vel quid simile ex Lucæ apographo.* MASSON, MS.

P. 176. l. 3. *Filium meum regi Ari-*] Emendaverat Jac. Gronovius *Armeniae regnum per Tiberium Artaxiae ademptum Tigrani cuidam tradidit. et postea illo mortuo Parthis adimentibus filio ejus Artavasdi Ariobarzanem qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum orivndus in id restitvi vel redvxi.*—At Tiberius tunc nondum fuerat adoptatus ab Augusto. Vid. l. 19. MASSON, MS.

L. 7. *Siciliam*] Huc ego referendos existimo nummos Augusti qui re- periuntur cum literis modo IMP. IX. SICIL. modo IMP. X. SICIL. item IMP. XI. SICIL. et IMP. XII. SICIL. JAC. GRONOV.—Vid. Biblioth. Choif. t. VIII. p. 336. MASSON, MS.

L. 9. *Colonias, &c.*] De Augusti Coloniis vid. Suet. l. ii. c. 46. MASSON, MS.

L. 10. *praeter praesidia*] *Post legitima stipendia, vel post emerita stipendia, vel post acta stipendia, vid. Tac. Ann. vi. c. 3. Peraetis stipendiis Val. Max. l. VII. c. 7. n. 1.* MASSON, MS.

L. 15. *spolia et signa*] Tac. An. ii. 1. Τρόπαια habet Strabo l. vi. p. Ed. nov. 441. et l. XVI. p. 1085. MASSON, MS.

L. 19. *praerat exercitibus*] F. *praetorivs, vel propraetor meus.* Sic Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 75. 73. MASSON, MS.

L. 53. *Senatus et equester ordo populusque romanus*] De eo vide Pli- nium l. 33. c. 2. & Manilii Astronomicorum lib. 5. in fine.

P. 177. l. 30. *Adde, Emendationes aliquot in hoc monumentum vid. Biblioth. Choisie, tom. VIII. p. 327.*

P. 181. l. 3. *solummodo*] Imo, et ex Ovid. Fast. V. 527. MASSON, MS.

P. 182. l. 3. *statimque ab eo natali*] *Vix statim ab eo natali die; nam*

ex variis Ciceronis Epistolis demonstrari potest, mense demum *Octobri* istius anni MDCCX (non vero *Septembri*) Octavianum Veteranos circumseribere, exercitumque contra Antonium ducere coepisse; cum jam *undevicesimum* ætatis annum modo absolvisset, ac jam auspicatus esset *vicefirmum*; quo labente & U. C. MDCCXI. haud multum adulto M. Antonium armis vicit fugavitque. MASSON, Vit. Ovid. p. 114. et Jani Templ. Refer. p. 333.

P. 183. l. 3. *Adde*, Idem de Lepido vide apud Grut. p. CCXCVII. CHISHULL.

L. 34. ἐν ἡ ἄνοσιν] Sed Grammaticam desidero: abs quo enim substantivo dependet ἡ. Si Dionem libeat mutare, ego malim ἐνκατανοσάμενος. Sed rotundo usum numero credimus: ἐν ἄνοσιν intelligo ἐργοῖς, quod continuo præcesserat. Extat certe nummus apud Goltzium IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. IMP. XXI. ✠ PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVN. POTEST. XXXVI. et vid. Tacit. Annal. i. 9. J. REINOLD. Censu habitus nascente Christo, p. 17.

P. 184. l. 17. *Adde*, Quin & primus hic Augusti census in Collectione quadam Historica Chronographica inter Canisii Lectiones Antiquas, tom. II. p. 174. Simili loquendi modo, quanquam numeris paulo variantibus, sic narratur. *Censu Romæ agitato inventa sunt civium Romanorum xli millia centena, & lxiv millia. Hæc descriptio xlii anni Imperii Octaviani facta est. Clarissimum, &c.* CHISHULL.

L. 24. *Adde*, Ecce igitur Hebraismum in ipsa aurei sæculi Latinitate: non aliter ac in Horatiano illo, *Nestor componere lites—Inter Peliden festinat & inter Atridem.* & A. Hirtii de Bello Hispan. c. 4. *Oppidani discordare ceperunt fere inter Cæsarianos & inter Pompeianos.* Hoc enim pare est Hebræum, ut Gen. I. 14. *בין היום ובין הלילה* quod & Septuaginta ad verbum sic verterunt ἀναμέσον τῆς ἡμέρας & ἀναμέσον τῆς νυκτός. & sæpius alibi. Vide Clericum ad Homeri Iliad E. ver. 769. CHISHULL.

L. 49. *Adde*, Notandum vero exemplar istud Marmoris Ancyranî satis habere præsidii ex integritate sua contra conjecturas & argumenta Joannis Masson, qui in libello cui tit. *Jani templum Christo nascente refferatum*, p. 280—283, contendit alterum lustrum censumque minime U. C. 746. Censorino & Asinio Coss. factum esse, nec recte lacunam, prout olim patebat, hæc nominibus suppleri. “Nulla apud Dionem, inquit, censûs mentio “per totum U. C. 746, consulatumve Asinii Galli & M. Censorini, vel “proxime sequentem Tiberii & Pisonis, etiamsi in hujus biennii historia
“ vel

“ vel minimum lacunæ defectusve indicium non appareat: Verum præ-
 “ terea in U. C. 743 actis diserte tradit, Augustum tunc censum, ἀπογραφὰς
 “ egisse, & senatum legisse, l. 54. p. 545. Et si vero non expresse scribat
 “ *lustrum* quoque tunc temporis conditum, id tamen haud obscure signi-
 “ ficat, dum prodit *Senatum ab Augusto lectum*. Etenim ex historia patet,
 “ Censores, numero et facultatibus populi cognitis, deinde cum *lustrum*
 “ condituri erant, *Senatum in curuli sella sedentes legisse*. Quinetiam
 “ ex tabulis Ancyranis perspicuum est Augustum toties *Senatum legisse*
 “ quoties *lustrum* condidit: nam initio dicitur, *Jussu populi & Senatus Se-*
 “ *natum legi*.—Igitur auctoritate et testimonio Dionis fulti asserere possu-
 “ mus secundum populi censum mediumve *lustrum* U. C. 743, non au-
 “ tem 746 actum conditumque fuisse.”

P. 185. *virorum*] Forte Suidas vel ipsius auctor scripserat sive signis,
 five vocibus integris, *quadragies decem myriades et millia λζ.* quæ summa illi
 responderet quæ Latinis numeris in monumento hoc reperitur: sicque
 verbatim Græce redderetur. Igitur rescribendum *τεσσαράκοντάκις δέκα μυ-*
ριαδες καὶ χίλιοι τριακονταπέντε. Kuster sic Latine interpretatur, *Et inventi sunt*
qui Romanarum ditionem inhabitabant, quadragies et semel centena millia,
mille et septendecim. Vide de hoc Suidæ loco Rualdi Animadv. in Plutarch.
 p. 106. Dion. Halic, l. v. c. 75. p. 324. de Censu T. Lartii Dictat. A. U.
 258. *ἐπὶ τριακοσίαις πλείαις εὐρέθησαν οἱ ἐν ἡβῇ Ῥωμαίων πενήτεκαίδεκα μυριάδων*, scil. cl.
 millia et dcc. MASSON, MS.

L. ult. IMP. XX.] Lege vero IMP. XXI. ut apud Occonem. Extat
 nummus apud Goltzium, IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. IMP. XXI. H
 PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVN. POTEST. XXXVI. Qui ergo in Tribunicia potestate
 XXXVI. erat IMP. XXI. non potuit esse IMP. XX. in Tribunicia potestate
 XXXVII. Monum. Ancyranum tab. I. ET APPELLATUS sum viciens et SEMEL.
 IMPERATOR. Et Tacitus Annal. l. i. c. 9. de Augusto, *nomen Imperatoris*
semel & viciens partum. J. REINOLD. Censu habitus nascente Christo,
 p. 17. Vid. supra p. 183.

P. 188. l. 31. *utrumque eorum*] Jo. Eberhardus Raue, de tumulo Caii et
 Lucii Cæs. p. 91, A. D. 1738, legit *principem juventutis CAIVM*. Quòd
 (inquit vir idem doctus) is ætatis prærogativâ præ fratre Lucio *Princeps*
Juventutis, sicut Augustus *Princeps Senatus*, salutandus esset ex voluntate
 Augusti relicturi eum successorem imperii: idcirco in nummis qui-

busdam, & primum quidem excusis, solus Caius cernitur una cum Augusto; non item Lucius. Postea vero et hunc eodem honoris titulo populus Rom. condecoravit; quamobrem uterque scriptoribus et in nummis *Princeps Juventutis* audit. Quæ ratio fugit Casaubonum in Animadversionibus in lapidem Ancyranum. Atque hæc de filiis fieri a Senatu populoque Rom. Augustum, specie recusantis, flagrantissime cupiisse, Tacitus prodidit Annal. l. iii.

P. 191. l. 12.—4r. 10d. $\frac{1}{8}$] *Lege 2l. 8s. 5d. $\frac{1}{4}$* . Ita TRECECOS cum Plutarcho *trecentos* rectè interpretabere, non *triginta* cum Dione; qui etiam in Augusti commentariis, trececos *denarios* visus est legisse, non *sestertios*. v. lib. 44. p. 258. Hoc autem nimis amplum Dio dum extenuare voluit, *trececos* Græcè reddidit *τρεῖςκόσται*.

L. 14. *Adde*, Ut apud Hirtium de Bello Alexandrino, § 5. *Eâ plebes ac multitudo contenta est necessario*. B.

L. 33. *ad sestertium millia*] 50,200,000 HS. quam summam notare *sestertiū millia quinquaginta & ducenta* falso Chishullius autumavit. Hæc verba designant solummodo 250,000 HS. Unde clare ostenditur lacunam non posse ad hanc modum suppleri. Vid. p. 174.

L. 35. 125500] 125500 viri. Plebs—viritim 400 HS.

L. 37. *militum meorum*] An credibile est, Augustum, qui civilitatem studiosissime affectabat, & suam Reip. speciem relinquebat, milites Reip. appellaturum palam in hoc monumento *suos milites*? Nemo id facile sibi persuaserit. Sine dubio alios ergo hic loci designavit Augustus. Nam de *Militibus* demum in sequentibus egisse videtur. At quos designaverit incertum, quum in Schedis Cossonianis legatur tantum *millium meorum*. Nisi nimius esset *Hominum* numerus qui sequitur, crederem scripsisse Augustum TRIBVLIVM MEORVM, quos ex duabus habebat tribubus. Sed aliud quid latet. PERIZON. Diff. de morte Judæ, c. ult. p. 87.

P. 193. l. 14. *Adde*, quem tamen felicissima conjectura emendaverat Perizonius p. 47. Resp. ad Nuperam Notitiam de Var. Æliani, &c. locis, L. Bat. 1703. Ubi & pro *quinq̄iens* mavult *quinq̄agiens*.

L. 38. *Chalcidicum*] De eo vide quæ habet Florens Christianus in Observationibus ad Aristophanis *Lyfistratam* in ipso fine, & Reinesium classe septimâ Inscript. xv. ubi legitur *Mammios Rufos Scholam & Chalcidicum fecisse* Herculaniæ five Pompeiis ad radices Vesuvii. CHISHULL.—De Minerva Chalcicea Pausan. Phoc. l. x. c. v. p. 810. ed Lips. an. 1696. vid. Tristan.

Tristan. Comment. p. 25. ed. 1. ad Domit. num. xi. Spanheim de Num. tom. I. p. 573. Vid. et Biblioth. Choif. l. viii. p. 339. MASSON, MS. Odium addit Cassiodor. in Chronic. 9. L. Vid. Cuspinian p. 411. et nota quod habet ex vulg. codd. Suetonii in Domit. c. 5. *et studium et Methodium*, scil. pro *Minervæ odeum*, ut mihi videtur. MASSON, ibid.

P. 196. l. 18. Adde etiam quod de Antiocho retulit Polybius Legat. 383. *περήκοιλα μὲν τάλαλα* misisse eum, tanquam *ἐξέφανον Ρωμαίοις*.

P. 198. l. 21. Adde, Orosius quoque l. vi. cap. 18. *Cæsar animo ingens viginti millia militum exautoravit, triginta millia servorum dominis restituit, sex millia quorum domini non extabant in crucem egit* *. CHISHULL.

P. 199. l. 22. Adde, Hanc Augusti navigationem Euroboream Strabo videtur ignoravisse. Sic enim ille l. vii. p. 203. *Τὰ δὲ πέραν τῆς Ἀλβίου τοῦ πρὸς Ὀκεανῶ παρ' ὅλας τιν' ἄγνωστα*. CHISHULL.

L. 24. Adde, de Cimbris vero sacrum Augusto lebetem offerentibus testis est Strabo l. vii. p. m. 202. CHISHULL.

L. 27. Adde, Orosio lib. vi. c. 7. Arudes.

P. 200. l. 25. *Trans Hadrianum* hic Cæsar, quod Ionium mare vocat Nicolaus Damascenus, ejusdem Augusti victorias mire extollens Latine datus a Grotio in Epistola 264. p. 95. CHISHULL.

P. 201. l. 1. *Lege*, post victoriam Ægyptiacam.

P. 202. l. 9. Adde, De deductis vero in Macedonia colonis legatur Spanhemius de Præst. & Usu Num. vol. II. p. 600.

L. 25. *imperio*] Adde, Ibique, ut auctor est Florus, *Viriatum—insignia trabeis & fascibus nostris, quæ ceperat, in montibus suis tropæa fixit*.

P. 203. l. 6. pag. 526.] Jac. Gronov. ait quid signis illis fuerit factum docemur nunc ab ipso Augusto, cum antea id sciremus solummodo ex Dionis libro, 54, &c. Imo, ex Ovid. Fast. V. 527. MASSON, MS. Vid. supra, p. 81.

L. 16. Adde, Vide tamen Masson, Vit. Ovid. qui unum solummodo templum MARTI VLTORI dicatum contendit, p. 108.

L. 22. *qui tum*, &c.] Vel TVM ERAT *propractor meus*. MASSON, MS.

P. 204. l. 26. Adde, Aliàs vero notum ex Strabone Britannicos quosdam dynastas amicitiam Augusti petiisse & donaria in Capitolio dedicasse. Strab. l. iv. p. m. 138. forsan igitur legendum *BRITANNORUM DAMNO BELLA*

* To crucify 6000 slaves because they had no master, must be allowed to be a noble piece of cruelty in the mild, at least openly so, Augustus!

ET TIM... ita tria hic intimentur regulorum a Britannia nomina, quorum quod primum habetur ad Damnonios non obscure spectat. CHISHULL.

DE NUM. CKΩΠΙ, &c. p. 2. l. 27. Cereris] Quæ tamen in lapide haud nominatur; cum sit modo THE ΘΕΟΤ scil. potius *Deæ* Matris Deorum, *Sipylenæ*. MASSON, MS.

P. 4. l. 15. *Adde*, & apud Smetium in *Antiq. Neomagenf.* p. 98, 99. in hac sensu explicata à Batteley *Antiq. Rutup.* § 60.

L. 38. Christianum] qui Torpacion cognominabatur. Vid. Vandale *Diff.* VIII. p. 719.

L. 40. Euodium] *Euodum* dicendum fuerat. MASSON, MS.—Euodus Severi Libertus fuit, Vid. *Dion. Caff.* l. 76. &c. p. 862. 867. et *Bochart Geogr.* II. c. 16. p. 854. IDEM.

L. 42. præfectus.] *Adde*, Sic Pamelius ad d. l. Tertulliani, quod recte rejicit Vandale *Diff.* p. 719.

χρῆμα τῆς εὐωδίας θαυμαστὸν, *res optimi odoris*; *Aristid. Orat. Sacr.* III. t. I. p. 556. Loquitur de Pharmaco ex tribus composito.

Istam Chishulli interpretationem recte rejicit Cl. *Pet. Wesseling.* *Probabil.* p. 205. MASSON, MS.

L. 44. *Adde*, Firmat hanc conjecturam cognomen illud *Torpacion* five *Dropacion*, ut vir doctus Samuel Petitus rectius scribendum autumat. Merito enim *Dropacion* Proculus cognominari potuit a frequenti & solenni *Dropacis* Medicamenti usu. Hoc verò quale fuerit testatur Suidas in voce *Δροπακίζειν*, h. e. τὸ μεθ' αἰλουφῆς τινὸς χρίσθαι τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ψίλωσιν τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς τριχῶν, i. e. *unguento quodam corpus delibare ad pilos in carne minuendos.* Quod quidem proprium erat *Balnearum*, & *Balneatorum* opus. Quam necessarius vero fuerit *Euodix* Procurator, ad rem scil. *Euodix* curandam, notari poterit ab *Excerptis Polybianis* p. m. 1493. ex *Athenæo* citatis, ubi μῦρον habemus κρόικον, καναμώμιον, νάρδικον, τήλινον, αἰμαράκινον, κρίκινον, πάλια διαφέροντα ταῖς εὐωδίαις. CHISHULL.

ANTIQ. ASIAT. vol. II. p. 6. l. 3. *Adde*, Oī vero, non αὐτοῖς aut σφίσι, quippe variatur aliquando numerus, ut *Ephes.* iii. 13. ἐν θλίψει—ἥτις ἐστὶ δόξα ὑμῶν, & 2 *Petri* iii. 1. δευτέραν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν αἷς. Item *Horat.* 2 *Sat.* vi. ver. 65.

O noctes cæneque Deūm, quibus ipse, meique,
Ante Larem proprium vescor—Non vescimur.

CHISHULL.

Vol. I. p. 59. Nostrium quod hic exhibetur Jovis Urii Epigramma doctissimus quidem & acutissimus, quisquis is fuit, Aristarchus hoc modo emendavit. [viz. CAROLUS ASHTON, S. T. P. Coll. Jes. Cant. Custos.]

Οὐριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὀδηγητῆρα καλεῖτω
 Ζῆνα, κατὰ προλόνων ἰσὶον ἐκπέλασας.
 Εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κυανέας δίναις δρόμος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν
 Καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμαθῶις,
 Εἴτε καὶ Αἰγαίην πόντον πλάκα νόσον ἔρευνα,
 Νείσθω, τῷδε βαλὼν φαισά παρὰ ξοάνῳ.
 Ὡδὲ τὸν εὐαίητον αἰεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάτρα παῖς
 Στήσῃ Φιλῶν, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης.

Urium e puppe quis viæ ducem invocet
 Jovem, cum rudentibus velum expandit.
 Seu ad Cyaneos vortices cursus fit, ubi Neptunus
 Curvum volvit fluctum ad arenas litoris,
 Seu per Ægæi maris æquor reditum quærat,
 Proficiscatur, cum ad hanc fuderit liba statuam.
 Hic propitium semper Deum, Antipatri filius.
 Posuit Philo, secundæ signum navigationis.

Versio altera.

Urium in clamato Jovem comitemque ducemque
 Navita, cum ventis pandere vela parat.
 Sive ad Cyaneas immani in vortice petras
 Tendat, ubi horribilis æstibus unda fremit;
 Sive iter Ægæi scopulosa per æquora tentet,
 Tutus, ubi huic statuæ liba sacrârit, eat.
 Hunc Deum hic posuit nautis lætabile signum,
 Præsidiumque Philo, filius Antipatri.

N O T A E.

Ver. 3. Εἴτ'] Whelerus de versu parum sollicitus vocalem hic in marmore scriptam prætermittit: Sponius autem ἐς' exhibet, quod tamen loco minus convenit. Chishullius igitur mutatâ literâ legit εἴτ', i. e. εἴτα, tum; & recte quidem quod ad literam attinet, sed ad Poetæ mentem accommodatius mihi videtur εἴτ' sive, ut fit, εἴτε δρόμος ἐστὶ (vel ἦ) i. e. sive cursum instituat; cui consonat εἴτε νόσον ἔρευνα versu 5to. Nempe nautæ prosperum utroque

utroque versum iter pollicetur, seu in Euxinum, seu contra in *Ægæum* navigare velit.

Ver. 5. *Εἴτε*] Aptè hoc respondet superiori *ἢ*τ'. Atque ita legendum esse offendit plane Sponius, qui male notatis literarum ductibus ineptum illud *EITE* pro *EITE* exhibuit. Wheler vero, non satis certus antiquitatis auctor, legit *ἤτα*, quod Chishullius iterum male arripit, & præter Poetæ mentem perperam hoc distichon Latine reddit, *Tum reditum Ægai meditans*—nam quæso meditatione, quove Dei ductu, nauta qui a Jovis Urii fano ad Symplegados profectus est ad idem *tum* fanum per *Ægæum* redire possit? mecum vero facit Chishull. not. 4.

Ib. *νόσον*] *Reditum* propriè; hic autem *συνεκδικῶς* totum iter, prorsum rursus denotat. Sic *νέεσθαι*, unde *νόσος*, utrumque, et ire et redire significat; quin & *νοσῆσαι* interdum (ut in Hom. *ὁ*. 119. notat Eustath.) pro *ἀπλῶς ἐλθεῖν* ponitur. Antiqui certe *νόσων* scriptores sub eo titulo non reditum tantum, sed totam ab initio navigationem complectabantur. Sic apud Apollonium feminae prosperum Argonautis iter universum a Diis precantes *νόσῃ* solum meminerunt.

Εὐχόμεναι νόσοιο τέλος θυμηδὲς ὁπάσσαι. Arg. 1. 249.

Ita & mulieres Lemniæ de iisdem Argonautis vota faciebant.

Εὐχόμεναι μακάρεσσιν ἀπήμοναι νόσον ὁπάσσαι. Ib. ver. 884.

Uno scil. isto verbo *νόσον* itum æque ac reditum comprehendentes*. Idem enim Jasoni mox explicatius vovet Hypsipyle.

Νείσοο, καὶ σε Θεοὶ σὺν ἀπήμοσιν αὐτὶς ἑτάροις

Χρυσέιον βασιλῆι δέρος κομίσσεναι ἄγοντα. Ib. ver. 888.

Ibid. *ἐρευνᾷ*] Sic lego, auctore Sponio, qui e marmore descriptum exhibet *EPETNAI*, cum τῷ 1 scilicet prisco more post *α* adjecto, quod in *ἰῶτα* postea subscriptum transit. Sic *τιμαί* olim scriptum pro hodierno *τιμᾷ*, *Ἀππιαί* pro *Ἀππία*, & (ut in re notissima pluribus supersedeam) hoc in epigrammate ver. 6. *τιωδὲ ξοανωὶ* pro τῷδε ξοάνῳ. Miror igitur hoc Sponio viro Antiquitatis studio in mentem non venisse: atque mirandum sane magis erit si (quod ejus versio indicare videtur) hic legerit *ἐρεῦναι*, quasi esset Aorist. 1. Opt. cum ab *ἐρευνᾶν* ibi non *ἐρεῦναι*, sed *ἐρευνῆσαι* formetur. Wheler autem quem sequitur Chish. habet *ἐρευνῶν* (l. *ἐρευνῶν*) quod non satis aptè convenire videtur cum versu tertio; atque rectius, opinor, legisset *ἐρευνᾷ*, sc. *ἢτε δρόμος γένοιτο, ἢτε νόσον ἐρευνᾷ*. Sed omnino retinendum arbitror *ἐρευνᾷ*.

* If one wishes a person a safe return, that is sufficient for the purpose, because the going is tacitly included, not that Return means Going: and so in many cases of the Scholiasts.

Ver. 6. νέσθω] *Proficiscatur*, fidenter *eat*, νέσθω, πορεύεσθω. Schol. in Hom. Il. Γ. 159. & al. sæpe. νέσθαι, πορεύεσθαι, Hesych. Sic Apoll. supra νέσσο, *proficiscere*. Chishullius male vertit *fac redi pro fac redeas*, seu potius *redeat*. νέσθω enim est tertiæ personæ & nautam quemlibet designat: sic vers. 1. τις καλέετω. Sed quorsum nautæ ut redeat præcipis, cui nihil magis in votis est, quam ut incolumis redeat? νέσθω vero, ut ante dixi, sonat hic, *eat vel pergat*.

Ibid. βαλὼν ψαῖσά] Hoc post reditum fieri vult Chishullius, ego vero ante iter inceptum. Nauta nempe invocato Jove hæc ei ψαῖσά tanquam ἐπιβατήρια offerre jubetur, ut σὺν Θεῷ salvus ire redire possit. Sic apud Apollonium Jason navem conscensurus Apollinem invocat:

Αὐτὸς νῦν ἄγε νῆα σὺν Ἀρτεμέσθιν ἑταίροις

Κεῖσέ τε καὶ παλίνροσον εἰς Ἑλλάδα— Arg. I. 415.

Deinde manu tendens ἐλοχύταις dicit,

Νῦν δ' ἴθι καὶ τῆρδ' ἡμῖν Ἑκέβολε, δέξα θυήλην,

Ἦν τοι τῆς δ' ἐπιβαθραὶ χάριν προτεθείμεθα νηὸς.

His autem dictis sacra confestim porricit;

Ἦ, καὶ ἅμ' εὐχάλη προχύταις βάλε—

Hujusmodi vero προχύται, ἐλοχύται, ψαῖσά, &c. etsi victimarum fere προθύμαλα erant, sæpe tamen (ut hic Jovi) per se sola Diis offerebantur, ob iter scil. terra marique faciendum, aut ejusmodi aliâ de causâ. Nam sicut libaminum (notante Eustathio) sic & horum erat Καῖρος, ἔ μόνον δ' κατὰ τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κατ' αἰρχὴν ὁδοπορίας καὶ ἀπόπλιν, &c. in Hom. Il. A. 462. In eo igitur errasse videtur vir doctissimus quod verbum νέσθω de reditu tantum intelligi posse existimaverit, atque idcirco judicaverit rerum seriem eodem ordine procedere quo stant in versu verba. At hic, nisi fallor, est verus verborum ordo; βαλὼν ψαῖσά παρὰ τῷδε ξοάνῳ νέσθω, *oblatis libis huic statua pergat ire*.

Ibid. παρὰ ξοάνῳ] Turpiter hic hallucinati sunt Antiquarii ambo, quorum alter orthographiâ metroque repugnantibus legit παρὰ τῷ ξοάνῳ, alter multo pejus παρὰ τῷ ἄνω (lat. *superne*) quod nec Græci sermonis ratio nec res ipsa patitur. Eorum utrique, ut opinor, erroris causam præbuit prisca litera ξ forma non satis intellecta (de qua vide Monfauc. Palæogr. 153, 185, 233, 236): utcunque vero ea se res habeat certissima est hæc sagacissimi Chishullii emendatio παρὰ ξοάνῳ, quem & sequens distichon confirmat, & metri ratio plane postulat.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

Ver. 7. ὦδε] Uterque hic Antiquarius exhibet ὦδε, nulla metri ratione habita, quod τῶδε potius exigit. Rectissime vero vir acutissimus correxit ὦδε, etsi minus recte quā Latinè reddidit, sc. quā posuit, pro hic vel hoc loco. ὦδε ἐνταῦθα, Hesych. ὦδε ὧσι τῶ ἐνθάδε Suidas, qui & exemplis rem demonstrat.

His ita respondet E. CHISHULLIUS.

“Gratias ago huic doctissimo, quicumque is fuerit, Aristarcho: & quod τὸ EITE bis, loco τῶ EITTA, reponendum, emendationem facile accipio. Huc etiam ipse prius propendebam, ut ex nota 4. recte deprehendit vir eruditissimus. At vero EPETNΩN quod attinet, vocem illam Whelerianam omnino retinendam censeo; pro qua Sponius substituit EPETNAI, cum post edita Wheleriana interpretationem inauspicato est aggressus. Jam vero omnia quadrabunt, si modo nova hæc distinctionum nunc demum habeatur & admittatur ratio:

Οὔριον ἐκ πρύμνης τῆς ὀδηγητῆρος καλεῖται
 Ζῆνα, κατὰ προτόνων ἴσιον ἐκπέτασας,
 Εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κυανέας δῖνας δρόμος (ἐνθα Ποσειδῶν
 Καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαιμάθοις)
 Εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην Πόντον πλάκα. Νόσον ἐρευνῶν
 Νέσθω, τῶδε βαλὼν ψαισὰ παρὰ Ξοάνῳ.
 Ὡδὲ τὸν εὐάνηλον αἰεὶ θεὸν, Ἀντιπάτρει παῖς
 Στῆσε Φίλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης.

Sic cape constructionem epigrammatis. Ἰσιον τῆς ἐκπετάσας ὀδηγητῆρος καλεῖται Ζῆνα Οὔριον, εἴτε ἐπὶ Κυανέας δῖνας, εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντον πλάκα, δρόμος ἤ. Νόσον δὲ ἐρευνῶν νέσθω παρὰ τῷ Ξοάνῳ τῶδε βαλὼν τὰ ψαισὰ. Ita inter se recte opponentur δρόμος & νόσος. Δρόμος enim navis est proficiscentis, Anglicè *Outward-bound*; Νόσος vero redeuntis, Anglicè *Homeward-bound*.

Urion excelsa ductorem e puppe vocato
 Nauta Jovem, intento vela radente ferens,
 Sive ad Cyaneas decurrat (ubi acer arenis
 Commiscet tumidas Ennosigæus aquas)
 Seu maris Ægæi petat æquora. Dumque redibit,
 Sic eat, huic statuzæ si modo liba dabit.
 Ecce! deum hic posuit, nautis lætabile numen
 Propitiumque Philo, filius Antipatri.

Horum

Horum hæc nunc esto versio. In qua verbum νέσθω de reditu quidem intelligo; non vero de peractō (ubi male me accepit vir doctissimus) sed de incepto nec finito. Quippe nautam hic alloquitur Poeta, non ex fano Jovis Urii solventem, & ad idem iterum redeuntem; sed præter illud fanum, Euxinum inter & Ægæum, ultro citroque vela facientem. Monet igitur peregre utrovis proficiscentem, ut in cursu invocet Jovem Urium. Monet etiam domum utrovis repetentem, ut, in reditu, liba ad Jovis statuum profundat. Hoc sibi volunt tria priora disticha. Ultimum nunc lubens verto magis ad mentem hujus Herculis mutatum, sic enim ex pede metior: proque accepto habeo, quod qui clava configerē potuit, suadelā maluit.

MON. MILES. p. 71. εὐαγγέλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσσε, i. e. Evangelia diis sacrificavit. Evangelia vero eodem sensu intellige ac Εὐαγγέλιον apud Homerum Od. E. hoc est mercedem pro accepto bono nuntio repensam. CHISHULL.

Ἐκτενώς, Tacito interprete *intentē*, idem quod Homero passim ἐνδυκέως. CHISHULL.

Κοσμητρίστρια Ἀρτέμιδος, i. e. ut videtur Sacerdotissa ejus maxima, ad quod nota Theocritum de Arfinoe instruite festum Adonidis Idyll. xv. ver. 24. αἰκὼν χρημαὶ καλὸν τι—κοσμήν ταν βασιλισσαν.—Sacerdotissa custos templi Ephesii & curatrix & ornatrix Dianæ aliquando, & Κλειδεῖχος dicta, nempe ab auctore Phoronidis apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

Καλλιθόη κλειδεῖχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης

Ἥρης Ἀργείης ἢ ζέμμασι καὶ θυσαύνοισι

Πρώτη ἐκόσμησεν περὶ κίονα μαῖκρον ἀνάσσης.

Ibid. apud Theocritum Idyll. xv. ver. 24.—κοσμήν ταν βασιλισσαν. CHISHULL.

Ἀρχισκηπτῆρχος Ἑρμιππος, Ephesiorum forte Archisacerdos, uti Βασιλεῖς ἱερεῖς, & ἀνακτοτελεσταί, de quibus Cafaub. ad Sueton. Aug. c. 31. Vide vero Strab. l. 14. initio. CHISHULL.

MON. ADUL. p. 84, l. 28. Errat Scholiastes Theocriti dum ait Arfinoen Lyfimachi filiam fuisse Philadelphi uxorem primam, Arfinoen vero sororem ejus uterinam uxorem posteriorum. Utræque sane uxores, sed diverso ordine, teste Pausania: οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ

Συγγατρός. Τὴν δὲ συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ἀποθανεῖν ἁπαίδα, i. e. *Huic liberi superstites extiterunt ex Arsinoe, non sorore, sed Lyfimachi filia. Nam ita contigit quod soror ejus, quæ illi prius matrimonia juncta fuit, decesserat, nullis post se liberis relictis.* Actum est igitur, inquit, de Monumento Adulitano, in quo Ptolemæus Evergetes FILIUS dicitur Regis Ptolemæi & Reginae Arsinoes, *Deorum FRATRUM.* At hæc cum Pausania fati conveniunt.

Par. II. p. 1. Ἑρμόδωρον Ἐφεσίου ἀνδρα, &c. de eodem vide Lexicon Stephani Ciceronianum, p. 142. & Menagii in Laertii librum nonum Observationes, p. 229.

P. 5. l. 29. De conjecturâ *Chishullii*, vid. Conject. in N. T. Acts. xix. 38. [ed. 4to. 1781. p. 261.]

MR. BOWYER'S NOTES

O. N

CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

* * The Notes distinguished by this mark (+) are now for the first time printed; the others are copied (with occasional corrections) from the edition of BLADEN's Translation, 1750, to which the references are made to correspond.—The page and line of Mr. DUNCAN's Translation, 1755, to which most of these notes are equally applicable, are placed in the margin.

† P. x. l. 29. *Two incomparable masters, the present Bishop of Rochester and Sir Roger L'Estrange*] Two very different masters, the latter of whom this author chose to imitate in his vulgar expressions; as, p. 2. *eastlier*.—p. 9. *To serve the Swiss on the score of his marriage*.—p. 10. *Cæsar reprimanded Dumnorix, telling him he was well acquainted with his PRACTICES*: It is a mercy he did not say, PRANKS.—p. 15. *Demanded of Cæsar a private audience, that they might DISCOURSE him about an affair*.—p. 17. *The Swiss were MIGHTILY encumbered with their target*.—ibid. *Cæsar having heard their complaints bade them shake hands with Despair*, for he would do them what service he could.—p. 21. *Cæsar had a particular esteem for this Legion, in whose courage he placed a MIGHTY confidence*.—p. 83. *The day being spent, he resolved to bestow the rest ON'T in, &c.*—p. 89. *Not one vessel lost, FOR ALL the ships were so numerous*.—p. 96. *Much TO DO maintained their ground* †, —“ Bladen translates Britannia by England; and as he affects to modernize “ the names of the several people, he renders the Morini by *Tercüennois*, “ a country hardly heard of in England since the reign of Henry VIII., “ who took that city.” PEGGE.

† P. xvi. *who was actually with the ships in person*] It is not said Labienus had joined the ships. *Ipse post paullo, silentio egressus cum III. legionibus eum locum PETIT, quo naves appelli jufferat*. The Gauls, on the other hand, left one part of their forces in their camp; another party were to go

* Of this gentleman an account is given in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 224.

† These vulgarisms were removed by Mr. Bowyer, and the style in some degree corrected, throughout the edition of 1750.

to the place whither Labienus's ships were destined ; a third attended Labienus's motions. Cæsar had not joined them.—*Labianus milites cohortari, ut suæ pristinæ virtutis—memoriam tenerent, atque ipsum Cæsarem adesse existimarent*, lib. vii. § 62.

† P. xix. l. 25. *Flamen Dialis*] No one was created Flamen Dialis from 667 to 743. Tac. Annal. l. iii. c. 38.

L. 26. *affirms he did*] Affirms in these words : “*Sequentibus consulibus “Flamen Dialis DESTINATUS Corneliam duxit.*” He was *designed* for the office ; but Suetonius does not *affirm* that *he obtained it*. See Pet. Wesseling. Obf. l. ii. c. 18.

† L. 31. *pontificate*] Rather “priesthood.” Flamen Dialis was a *Sacerdotium*, but not one of the College of *Pontifices*. This makes afterwards, p. 311, Domitius Scipio and Lentulus contend about succeeding Cæsar in this Priesthood of Flamen Dialis, which he himself supposes Cæsar never obtained. He was designed Flamen Dialis when a boy, U. C. 667. Suet. in initio ; Vell. Pat. ii. 43. but not inaugurated, by reason of the civil war between Marius and Sylla. He stood for the priesthood U. C. 672, the third year after his father's death, and was hindered from obtaining it by Sylla. In 680 he succeeded Cotta in the Pontificate, and 691 was made Pontifex Maximus.

DUNCAN, P. 3. l. 5. † P. 1. l. 3. *Belgæ, Aquitains, and Celtæ*] In this triple division of Gaul, Cæsar does not mention *Narbonensis*, which had been before made a Roman province, and is called by him *Provincia*, whence that part of it adjoining to Italy still retains that name. *Gallia Celtica* was situated between the Rhosne, Garumna, and the Ocean. *Aquitania* bounded by the Garumna, the Pyrenean Mountains, and the Ocean ; *Belgica*, by the Rhine, the Ocean, and the Seine ; *Provincia*, by the Mediterranean and the Alps.

P. 5. l. 9. P. 2. l. 25. 240 miles, &c.] In reality not above 172 miles in length, nor above 60 in breadth. A mistake probably of Cæsar himself, not of the MSS, because Julius Cæsar cites the same numbers. Life of Cæsar, i. 1.

P. 6. l. 20. P. 3. l. 15. *his relations, friends, clients, and debtors, to the number of 10,000 men*] Read “his slaves and domestics to the number of 10,000 men, besides his clients and debtors, who were very numerous.” It is in the original *omnem suam familiam coegit*, which word in its proper and original signification is used to express a family of slaves, subjected to the authority of the proper *paterfamilias*, as appears from Briffon, “*De verborum significatione*,”

significatione," voce *Familias*; from l. 9. ff. de jurisdictione; from the title de *Ædilitio edicto*; from l. i. § 16. and several other places of the title *De vi et de vi armata*; from both the rubric and the laws of the title *Si familia furtum fecisse dicetur*; from l. 195. ff. "De verborum significatione," and from numberless other places in the Pandects. And that the Gauls had domestic slaves appears further from Bell. Gall. vi. 13. "Plerique cum aut ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in SERVITUTEM dicant nobilibus." See Dissertation on the Numbers of mankind, in antient and modern times, p. 315.

† P. 4. l. 35. *cast up an intrenchment, &c.*] Read "carried on a wall P. 9. l. 3. "from the lake of Geneva, where the Rhosne flows into it at the mountains of Jura, which divide the people of Franche-comte from the Swiss, "xvi feet high, and xix miles in length." Vossius has clearly shewn, that Cæsar's rampart was raised on *this* side the river Rhosne*; not, as has been vulgarly supposed, from Nion to Mount Jura near Gingen. The proofs are these: 1. The Helvetians seem already possessed of the country on the *other side*; for the place of their rendezvous was on the banks of the river, between Geneva and the Straits of *Clusum*. 2. Cæsar, when he came to Geneva, broke down the bridge there. A very impolitic step, had he been on the other side of it, by which means he would have cut off his own retreat, without in the least incommoding the enemy. 3. Cæsar cannot be understood on the other supposition. The Helvetii, after they had been refused a passage, *navibus junctis, alii vadis Rhodani percurrere conati*. It is plain then they attempted to force the intrenchment, but without success; and it is plain, the means they used was by crossing the river first. 4. There were only two passes from Switzerland into Gaul; one by the *Allobroges*, the other by the Straights of *Clusum*, § 6; the latter of which was from Mount Jura, the only pass practicable for an army, according to Viginere. Supposing the rampart carried on from *Nion* to

* I had long been *certain*, from Cæsar's own account, that his works were on the Geneva side of the Lake. When Professor Martyn went abroad about three years ago, I drew up my reasons, and desired him to consult the Literati on the spot; he did so, and reported that there was no doubt. At the same time he sent me over a translation, by himself, of a Geneva Physician's treatise to prove the same point. He uses every argument exactly as I had done. I had been much confirmed in my opinion by Sir G. Shuckburgh's excellent plan of the environs of Geneva, in the Philosophical Transactions.

G. A.

Gingen, both passes were cut off at once; and yet Cæsar says, after the Helvetii were repulsed, *relinquebatur una per Sequanos via*, one of the two he had mentioned before, § 5. From these arguments then, it is plain, Cæsar's rampart was on this side of the Rhosne. But what shall we do with *ad montem Juram—murum—fossamque perducit*, which the geographers all place on the *other* side the Rhosne? To solve this difficulty, Vossius fairly removes the mountain to this side; and would strike out the words *qui fines Helvetiorum à Sequanis dividit*. But Butin, at the end of Spon's History of Geneva, interprets *ad Juram* to be the same as *adversus Juram*; which clears all the difficulty. The rampart is said to have been carried on for XIX miles, which some think too small for the space it extended, and Clewer alters it to *decem*. But in the year 1699, the distance from Geneva to the Straits of Clusium was measured, and, following the winding of the river Rhosne, was found to be exactly XIX miles. From Nion to Gingen on the North of the Lake is but five, besides being in every respect unsuitable to the design of the Helvetians. I need not observe that *murus* does not imply a wall made with lime, but a rampart of earth or any materials. And here I cannot but note a similar passage in Polybius, which has led the Geographers into a like mistake; and the two may serve to correct each other. That historian says, Molo made himself master of *Parapotamia* as far as the city *Europus*, and of *Mesopotamia* as far as *Dura*, τὴν δὲ Μεσσοποταμίαν ἕως Δύρων. Ptolemy, speaking of the country of Babylon, says, Par. II. p. 717. Παρὰ δὲ Εὐφράτι πρὸς τὴν μέσσην αἰδὲ Ἰδικάρα, Δυράβα. NEAR THAT PART which is washed by the Euphrates, are Idicara and Duraba. By *Duraba* is meant *Duro* on the South side of the Euphrates, to which the country of Babylon adjoins. But Stephanus, and Cellarius after him, place it on the North-side in Mesopotamia; not being aware that ἕως Δύρων in Polybius means only *Mesopotamia* on the shore OVER AGAINST *Dura*. This last observation is owing to Lakemacherus, Obs. Phil. Par. VII. Obs. I. § 13.

P. 12. l. 26. † P. 6. l. antep. *whose daughter*] Julius Cæsar had married Calpurnia his fourth wife, who survived him U. C. 695. She was daughter of L. Piso. Suet. c. xxi.

P. 14. l. 20. P. 8. l. 1. *not to deliver hostages, but to receive them*] This was what the Romans had been witnesses of. In the battle wherein Cassius was defeated, the Romans redeemed themselves with half their goods. Liv. ep. lxx.

P. 9. l. 3. *Obtain the empire themselves*] This translation is better than Mr. P. 16. l. 10. Duncan's; and is more agreeable to the Greek interpreter and Jurin.

P. 10. l. 7. *without the privity or consent of Cæsar*] It may be asked, why P. 18. l. 7. Dumnorix was obliged to obtain Cæsar's consent to let the Helvetii pass through the country of the Ædui, since they were a neutral power as well as the Sequani. It is answered: 1st, Because they were become, as it were, allies of the Romans, by an act of the senate, which obliged the magistrate who should obtain Gaul for his province to take the Ædui, and the other friends of the Roman people, into their protection, l. i. c. 35. 2dly, Because Cæsar had restored the Ædui to the power they held in Gaul, and so was become their patron, l. vi. 12. *Hotoman*. We see by his treatment of the *Lingones*, c. 26, that he would allow no power to be neutral that succoured his enemies.

† P. 14. l. 34. *92,000 bore arms*] Dr. Halley (Phil. Transf. in Low-P. 25. l. 10. thorp's Abridgement, vol. iii. p. 669) proves that the number of men at Breslaw fit to bear arms (viz. from XVIII years old to LVI) were about a fourth of the whole number of souls, male and female, which agrees exactly with this account of 92,000 out of 368,000. Strabo, in another relation, l. iv. p. m. 205. confirms the same proportion. Augustus Cæsar, he says, when he rooted out the Salassii, who dwelt on the Alps, sold 36,000 persons for slaves, of whom 8,000 were able to bear arms. By Dr. Halley's rule, there ought to have been a few above 9000. But this difference is justly accounted for, by supposing more than 1000 of their best men killed before they were subdued. Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in antient and modern times, p. 91.

† P. 16. l. 1. *Roman senate*] He had travelled to Rome, and returned P. 27. l. 10. without having his petition granted, as Cæsar tells us, l. vi. c. 12. Cicero mentions the same circumstance, Div. l. i. c. 41. from which last passage it farther appears he was one of the Druids. *Davies*.

† P. 25. l. 25. *C. Valerius Caburus*] The Romans were distinguished by P. 42. l. 32. their *names*, and by being entered in the *Censor's* books; *nominibus et censu*, says Asconius ad Cicer. Proem. in Verrem, c. viii. for which reason it was usual for those who were admitted to the freedom of Rome to take a Roman name, and generally the *Prænomen* and *Family* name of him by whose favour they obtained that privilege. So *Caburus* is called here *Caius Valerius* from *Caius Valerius Flaccus*. So again, Bell. Afric. c. 28. § 2. *Forte incidit in navem in*

qua erant duo TITI, Hispani adolescentes, tribuni legionis V. quorum patrem Caesar in Senatum legerat. And in Cic. l. ii. in Verrem, c. 8. *Sextus Pompeius Chlorus*, and *Quintus Cæcilius Dio*; the former from *Sextus Pompeius*, the latter from *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, as appears from the same Oration, c. 7. Sometimes they assumed another name, as fancy suggested. See Cic. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 35. *J. Arntzenius*, Diff. binæ, p. 183.

P. 47. l. ult. † P. 28. l. ult. *general dict.*] The Proconsuls and Prætors in their several provinces allotted the winter for the distribution of justice, leaving the summer open for war, or at least for gathering in the harvest and fruits of the earth. They published by their edict throughout the province where and when the courts would be held, that the towns of each respective district might attend them. A plan which is in a great measure still preserved in the circuits of our Judges.

P. 63. l. 16. † P. 36. l. 36. *heavy baggage*] F. *Whilst they were encumbered with their knapsacks.* The Roman soldiers on their march, besides their arms, carried provisions, tools, and fascines [*vallum*]. Without these they were said to be *expediti*; with them *sub onere*, or *sub sarcinis*. Bell. Civ. l. i. c. 66. *Veriti ne noctu impediti sub onere configere cogerentur.* B. G. l. iii. c. 24. *Sub sarcinis inferiores animo adoriri cogitabant.* Hirt. viii. 27. *perterritosque sub sarcinis in itinere aggressi.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. II. *Arma membra esse militis dicunt, quæ quidem ita geruntur, ut si usus fuerat, objectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare possint.*

P. 88. l. 8. † P. 56. l. 32. *once in six hours*] *bis semper accidit horarum XII spatio.* As the new philosophy ascribes the tides to the attraction of the moon on one side of the globe, and to the centrifugal force on the other, there can be from those two causes but two tides in the circumvolution of that planet round the earth. And yet all the Mss. read *bis XII horarum spatio*, except one at Oxford, which leaves out *bis*. Or read *bis horarum XXIV spatio*, either of which, as Dr. Jurin says, is agreeable to truth. So in Dugdale's History of the Fens, in Lincolnshire, p. 216. *that the river mentioned in that presentment then was, and long had been, an arm of the sea, whereinto the tides did ebb and flow twice in 24 hours.*

P. 89. l. 28 —34. † P. 51. l. 27. *without fear of the rocks*] *minus commodè scopulis continebantur.* Scaliger and others of the moderns read *minus INCOMMODE scopulis continebantur*; could shelter themselves with safety among the flats, without fear of the rocks, as Edmonds.—Perhaps, we should read *Copulis*, which

which are used for harpoons; and for iron fetters in Plaut. Epid. V. 1, 11. *in manibus gestantes COPULAS secuncias*. These ships were so high, that it was difficult to grapple them. *Jurin*.

† P. 55. l. 7. *The Roman province*] *ex his regionibus* in the text was probably added by another hand, and is not in the Greek versions. *Jurin*.

† Ibid. l. 33. *copper mines*] *ærarix secturæ. metalla æris, metalla æraria*, P. 56. l. 19. &c. in Pliny, were likewise called *ærarix*. *Secturæ*, or, as others, *stricturæ*, is a gloss. The Greek πολλῶν ὄρων χαλκείων. And in l. vii. 22. *magnæ sunt ferrariæ*. *Jurin*.

† P. 56. l. 21. *Sertorius*] Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius P. 57. l. 29. and Cinna; and when Sylla had overthrown both the elder and the younger Marius, he fled into Spain, and there maintained the quarrel on foot against Pompey and Metellus, and overthrew them in many battles: but in the end was treacherously slain by Perpenna at a banquet. See Epit. Liv. I. xcv. Plutarch in his Life, Appian, B. C. l. 1. Florus, l. iii. 22. *Edmonds, Glandorp*.

† Ibid. l. 37. *the auxiliaries*] *auxiliis in mediam aciem conjecit*. He placed them in the middle that he might keep them the more easily to their duty. Wherever there have been set battles fought, the strength consisted always in the wings, as the two principal instruments of the battle. *Edmonds*.—It is strange to say that the wings were the principal instruments. Perhaps common relaters may divide an army grossly into two parts only, and then no wonder if all is done by one wing or the other. *J. N.*

† Ibid. l. 41. *better*] *tutius esse arbitrabantur*. Probably it should be *fatius*. *Tutius* would denote to gain a bloodless victory. *Jurin*.

† P. 57. l. 9. *enemy were afraid of them*] *quum sua cunctatione atque opinione timidiore hostes*. Read, *quum sua cunctatione atque opinione TIMIDIORES [jam facti] nostros alacriores ad pugnandum EFFECISSENT*, as the Mss. *Clarke, Jurin*.

† P. 66. l. 34. *their name alone*] *opinionem et amicitiam Pop. Rom.* Read, *opinionem amicitiam*, the credit of their friendship would be a sufficient defence. *Jurin*.

† P. 70. l. 3. *about eight miles off*] I am inclined to think this port was either Gravelin, or near it. For it was only VIII miles from Portus Itius, from whence he tells us he set out, in his second expedition, B. G. v. 2; and the wind, that carried the ships from this latter port to Bri-

tain, prevented the other ships at the former port coming to Portus Itius. Now a south-west wind would do both, which is the wind that Cæsar expressly tells us he sailed by in his second expedition; and by Cæsar's ordering the horse to the other port and to follow him, one would be emboldened to think that the same wind which carried him from where he was to Britain, would also serve at the other port for the same purpose, which is manifestly true of Gravelin and Calais. He calls these ports *portus superior* and *portus inferior*, c. iv. 26 and 21; and, speaking of the two ships that miscarried in their return to Britain, he says they were carried *farther down*. Ib. iv. 32. Now the upper haven is the farther to the north or north-east, as Gravelin is with respect to Calais higher up on the coast. If Boulogne be the port from whence Cæsar sailed, Calais was probably the other port to which the horse marched. The distance indeed between them is too great, computed to be xx miles: and Cæsar says it was only eight. But if Calais was then used as a port, it is highly improbable that Cæsar would say of any other place, when compared with it, that the passage from thence to Britain was the most convenient and shortest. Calais is therefore most probably Cæsar's *Portus Itius*, whence he set out, and Gravelin where the horse were detained. Horsley, B. I. c. 1. p. 11, 12.

P. 121. l. 20. † P. 70. l. 13. *about one in the morning*] *tertia fere vigilia*. The watches, containing three hours each, were computed from six in the evening. Therefore *fere tertia vigilia*, is one in the morning. Bp Gibson translates it, I know not why, *about three in the morning*. There were four watches in the night; and four in the day; the fourth is mentioned by St. Matthew, xiv. 25; consequently of three hours each, which it is strange the Bishop should be ignorant of, and more strange Paulus Manutius should mistake in Cic. ad Att. l. iii. c. 7. *Nō in tres vigilias, & quaternas horas vigilia dividibantur*; he should have said *in quaternas vigilias, & tres horas vigilia dividebantur*.

Ib. l. 23. † Ib. l. 18. *about ten in the morning*] *hora diei quarta*, i. e. the fourth hour, reckoning from six in the morning, which consequently is *ten*; which Bp. Gibson translates, *four o'clock*.

Ib. l. 26. † Ib. l. 20. *the impending hills*] *montibus angustis*. Read, *abruptis*. So Julius Cæsar: *rupes præruptas pelago impendentes*. Such the mountains at Dover are. *Jurin*.—But Q. if *abruptæ* is ever joined to *rupes*. What if it were to be read *angustis*? J. N.

† P.

† P. 70. l. 36. *a plain and open shore*] At what place Cæsar attempted to^{P. 122. l. 8.} land, as well as where he landed at last, is uncertain: Richborough was at that time the most noted port, and agrees as well at least with his account as any other. Dr. Halley [Phil. Trans. vol. xvii. A. D. 1690. Num. 193.] thinks he made at first for *Dover*; and finding that place not convenient for him, he landed at *Deal*. Dio, l. xxxix. says, "Ἀκρὰν ἔν τινα προσέχρσαν παραιπλεύσας ἐτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη. Κανταῦθα τὰς προμή-
ξας οἱ ἐς τὰ τεύαγγα ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας, ἔφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας, i. e. *Wherefore doubling a certain headland, he made to the shore on the other side, where he overcame those that skirmished with him at the water's edge; and so got well on shore.* Thus Dr. Halley translates it. But τεύαγγος never signifies the sea-shore, the *water's edge*, but *marshy ground*. Accordingly Stephens translates it in *paludibus*. Dr. Halley, however, has the authority of Suidas, who says, τεύαγγος πελαγία ἰλύς, or the *sea-mud*, properly the ouse on the sea-shore, and easily used for the shore itself where the ouse is found. Gent. Mag. July 1774, p. 308. Aristotle περὶ ζώων ἰστορίας, v. 15. expressly distinguishes between αἰμῶδες and τεύαγγος. And Plutarch, speaking of the standard-bearer's exploit in this descent, says it was ἐν τόπῳ ἐλώδει καὶ μεσῶ ὕδατος, and near ῥεύματα τελευατῶδη, in a *marshy place*, and *near a muddy river*, which exactly agrees with *Richborough* or *Sandwich*; marshy by reason of the river *Wantsum*, where, as Cæsar observes, § 26, his soldiers could not have good footing. This was such a port as Cæsar wanted, *ad majorem navium multitudinum idoneus*, c. 20. Where he landed was about xi miles from *Gefforiacum*, or which is supposed the same *Portus Icius*, from whence he set out, as he himself tells us, Gall. v. 2. or, which is the same thing, 320 stadia, according to Strabo, l. iv. p. 305. which agrees with the distance between *Bologne* and *Sandwich* or *Richborough*. J. Batteley, Antiq. Rutupinæ, § 38. But Ptolemy, as Dr. Halley informs us, places *Gefforiacum* in the same latitude with Ἰκίον ἄκρον, but half a degree more to the east. From thence concludes that *Gefforiacum* was not *Bologne*, but at *Gravelin* or *Dunkirk*. Horsley, Brit. Rom.

† P. 72. l. 41. *it being full moon*] A peace was concluded four days^{P. 123. l. 16.} after Cæsar's arrival, which conclusion happened to be *at full moon*. It was full moon this year after midnight, August 30, or 31, in the morning before day. Consequently he landed August 26, four days before (*Halley ubi supra*) in the year before Christ 55, on the Kentish shore of the Downs, and the

the place he set out from Calais. Phil. Trans. N^o 193. See also Gent. Mag. for July, 1774. Chifflet had settled *Portus Iccius* at Mardyk; Somner, at Boulogne; Dufresne, Camden, and Ortelius, at Witsan. Horsley follows Halley, who follows H. Lloyd. Monf. Schœpflin, Historiographer Royal of France, in an Essay on the subject, p. 385—387, of his *Commentationes Historicae et Critic.* Bas. 1741. 4to. sums up the evidence in favour of Witsan. See Mr. Gough's *British Topography*, p. 2.

P. 129. l. 5. † P. 75. l. 22. *the autumnal equinox approached*] The equinox must in Cæsar's time have fallen on the 24th of September, which, by the Julian calendar, falls now upon the 12th or 11th. The Julian calendar was not settled indeed till a few years afterwards; but all things are related as they fell out according to the new computation. He left the island probably about the 20th of September, when he had continued here about three weeks. Horsley, p. 10.—Doth not this shew that the Commentaries were not written at the time, or have undergone a subsequent correction? J. N.

Ib. l. 13. † Ib. l. 30. *In these two vessels were about three hundred soldiers*] By the same proportion, eighty ships would carry twelve thousand. And Cæsar says he had got together eighty transports, which would be sufficient for two legions. c. 20. Therefore, there were six thousand to a legion; so conjectures Mr. Horsley, p. 5. But, from undoubted authority, the legions at this time were not so numerous, and contained only 4000 or 4200 foot, and 200 or 300 horse, as we shall see hereafter. Bell. Civ. III. c. LXXXIII. And of such numbers Cæsar tells us his actually consisted on this occasion, Bell. Gall. V. c. xli. See Rualdus in Plutarch. Animad. II. The Britons may abate 2000 of the number of those who are supposed to have invaded this island, but who surveyed it rather than conquered it.

P. 130. l. ult. † P. 76. l. ult. *twenty days*] *dierum xx supplicatio.* A thanksgiving at first did not extend to above one or two days at most, as appears by Livy l. III. Upon the victory obtained against the Veii by Camillus it was granted for four days, to which one was afterwards added; which was the usual time of supplication, till Pompey ended the Mithridatic war, when ten days supplication were granted him. It was afterwards extended by Cæsar to xv days, B. G. II. and now to twenty, the greatest that was ever before granted. Edmonds.

P. 139. l. 10. † P. 81. l. 23. *south wind*] south-west wind, Dr. Halley; and Horsley, p. 7.

† P. 81.

† P. 81. l. 40. *having landed his army*] Probably in the month of May, ^{Ib. l. 33.} and left this island again before the middle of September. Quintus Cicero, who accompanied Cæsar into Britain, had writ four letters to his brother Marcus; the last, dated August 10, was received September 13, Cic. ad Quintum Fratrem, l. iii. c. 1. Allowing the same distance of time for each of the other letters, it will bring us back to May. He was come to the shore, in order to make ready to reimbark September 1, as appears from the same letter, sub fin. Some days passed before he set sail. Horsley, Brit. Rom. p. 10, 11.

† P. 83. l. 15. *four score miles.*] From Rutupæ or Richborough, where ^{P. 141. l. 31.} Cæsar first landed; for eighty Roman miles to Otlands in Surrey, where stakes were driven into the Thames to oppose his passage *. There are the remains of a large Roman encampment up in the county directly southward about a mile and an half distant from that ford, and pointing to it; where it is natural to imagine Cæsar intrenched his troops to give them time to recover after their difficult marches, and to prepare for passing the river with their whole force. But the difficulty is how the Thames could be said to divide Cassivellaun's territories about LXXX miles à *maritimis civitatibus*. Now Mr. Horsley supposes that Cassivellaun's territories were LXXX miles from Ritupæ, or the neighbouring *maritime* places of Kent, Cæsar beginning his computation from the place where he landed. Of Kent he says, *Regio est maritima omnis*, l. v. c. 10. And in Antonine's Itinerary from Ritupæ to London, according to the course of the military way, is LXXVII miles; in the more direct way it may not be above LXX; so that Cæsar's LXXX miles will bring us near to Kingston in Surrey; where it is probable the foot forded the river, and where it is now in many places not above five feet deep, and where the Romans afterwards (as Dr. Gale observes, Anton. Itin. Brit. p. 71, 72.) first passed the river Thames by a bridge, who usually in their subsequent expeditions followed the course of their former victories: a bridge then afterwards built by them is a presumption that they had found there a ford before. Brit. Rom. p. 15. Others suppose at Cowey Stakes, near Otlands, seven or eight miles above Kingston; of which see presently.

* We are told that these stakes ran *across* the river in a *strait line*: but would such a disposition stop the passage of an army? J. N.

- P. 142. l. 10. † P. 83. l. 28. *For money they use brass and iron rings.* BLADEN. *They use brass money and iron rings of a certain weight.* DUNCAN. *Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis pro nummo.* CÆSAR.] Mr. Duncan, after many others, supposed, that, according to Cæsar's account, the Britains at this time had *brass money* stamped. But no money of theirs was ever found of Julius Cæsar's time; it was an art which they learnt of the Romans after they had, under Cunobelin, some intercourse with them: Cæsar, therefore, tells us what they used at this time instead of coin stamped. The passage in the original should be pointed a little different from the editions, thus: *Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo;* the word *examinatis* being connected both with *ære* and *taleis ferreis*, not with the latter only. See Pegge's account of Cunobelin's coins, 1766.—For *taleis* some read *laminis*, or *anulis*, as the Greek *δακτυλίοις*, I should think, *circulis ferreis*, without *ære*, which Cæsar says was *imported*. Jurin.
- P. 145 l. 10. † P. 85. l. antep. *sharp flakes*] supposed by Camden, and many others, to have been at *Cowey Stakes*, near *Lalam*. Within our memory, when *Molfey-bridge* was built, these very stakes were discovered and pulled up. The Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, late Speaker, had a set of knives and forks, the handles of which were made of the wood; and many of the flakes are, if I am rightly informed, in the possession of other gentlemen.
- P. 146. l. 17. † P. 86. l. 35. *they readily performed*] It is observable, that as the *Trinobantes* were the first of the Britains who submitted to the Romans; so they have since been the ruling precedent for submission under every revolution. *Mandubratius*, as Mr. Camden observes, is by Eutropius, Bede, and the more modern writers, always called *Androgeus*, which in the British language signifies *vir malus*, a bad man; a name of infamy fixed upon him, for having been the first who betrayed his country. Camden, Brit. *Trinobantes*, Baxt. Gloss. Brit. in voce.
- Ib. l. 25. † P. 87. l. 3. *Cassivellaunus's town*] Which some think to have been Old Verulamium, others at Cassiobury, both in the hundred of Cassiobury in Hertfordshire, which retains the name derived from Cassibelanus.
- P. 147. l. 10. † Ibid. l. 21. *Segonax*] This termination is neither British nor Roman. The name was originally *Segomar*, or *Sigomar*, and contracted into *Sigmar*; thence from the similitude of the German *r* and *x*, made *Segonar* by the editors. *Reinesius*, Pref. to his Syntagma Inscript. p. xiv.

† P. 95.

† P. 95. l. 13. *an account of the action*] This was the greatest loss that P. 158. l. 14. ever befell Cæsar at once, from the time he was proconsul in Gallia to the end of his dictatorship. In the two overthrows at Dyrrachium he lost not above 1000 men; in that of Gergovia not so many; but here 15 cohorts were cut to pieces, amounting to 6000 men. Edmonds, p. 118.

† P. 96. l. 13. *Cicero sent away couriers*] In this action Quintus Cicero's P. 159. l. 18. behaviour deserved as great reputation as ever his brother Marcus gained by his eloquence. And if it had been the fortune of the latter to have performed the like service, he would have made it the greatest exploit that ever Roman had achieved by arms. Particularly he is so praised for raising so many towns in so small a time; for providing the night before such things as were necessary for the next day's defence; for making so many stakes hardened at the end with fire for defence of the rampart; and for the store of mural piles, which resembled the form of the ordinary pile, but were far greater and heavier, as they were to be cast from the rampart, and consequently would do greater execution. Edmonds, p. 119.

† P. 97. l. 16. *carry it in their cloaks*] *manibus sagulisque terram EXHAURIRE cogebantur*. The translator supplies what is not in the text, when he says, *they CARRIED IT AWAY in their cloaks*; a liberty which Orofius took before him, lib. vi. 10. who explains the passage by *gladiis concidendo terram & sagulis exportando*. But it should be read *tragulisque terram exportare cogebantur*. *Tragula* was a sort of bearded dart, as appears from Gell. x. 25. and used by the Gauls, as appears above, § 35. 38. and from lib. I. 26. Markland, *Quæstio Grammatica*, p. 62.—We may in some measure judge of the form of this weapon from our English word TROWEL derived from it.

† P. 116. l. 22. *were obliged to attend them to another world*] *justis funeribus confectis*. Perhaps *mutuis vulneribus confecti*, Markland, in T. Bentley's edition.

† P. 128. l. 17. *senate's decree*] Upon the destruction of Clodius by Milo, Vol. II. P. 5. l. 11. there were so great tumults at Rome, that Ascon. Pedianus tells us, Argum. Milon. that the senate passed a decree, that the interrex, the tribunes of the people, and Pompey, who was proconsul then in the city, should take care, ne quid detrimenti Resp. caperet; and that Pompey should levy troops throughout Italy. Hottoman.

P. 10. l. 11. † P. 132. l. 39. It must be observed, that the Rutheni were two different people; one part subject to the Romans, before Cæsar's arrival, called here the *Provincial Rutheni*; the other who sided with the Gauls against them; to secure whom from insurrections, Cæsar winter-quartered one of his legions in their neighbourhood. [See B. V. § 27. p. 151.] Accordingly Pliny distinguishes the two *Rutheni*, making the one part the province of Narbonne, N. H. iii. 4. and the other bordering on it, *Narbonnensi provinciæ contermini*, N. H. iv. 19. which is agreeable likewise to Strabo, who places the *Gabali* and *Rutheni* on the confines only of the province, i. e. of the Rutheni which was not subdued, part of Gallia Celtica, afterwards made part of Aquitania by Augustus. Dom. Vaisette and the authors of the Collection of the Gaulish Historians think that the Provincial Rutheni were those whom Cæsar had conquered, and afterwards incorporated with the Roman Province; and others of the Rutheni, who had voluntarily submitted to him, were indulged with the exercise of their own laws. But it is manifest, from B. G. i. 45. that when Fabius Maximus conquered the Rutheni, he did not reduce them to a province; and from the passage before us, that a part of the Rutheni were before his arrival included in the province of Narbonne. To suppose that he passed over the conquest of them in silence, is not consistent with the exactness of the detail of his commentaries, or with the importance of such a conquest. When the Rutheni were made a province, can only be collected from historical circumstances, not from any express testimony. Livy, Epit. 73. says, *C. Cæcilius in Gallia Transalpina Sallios rebellantes vicit*, U. C. Var. 664. The king of the Sallii, Teutomalus, after his defeat by C. Sextius, U. C. 630, took refuge among the Allobroges. These drew the Arverni into their alliance, to whom the *Sallii* were probably feudatories. For, according to Strabo, the territories of the Arverni extended to Narbonne, and from thence to the territories of Marseilles. In the defeat, therefore, of the *Sallii*, other nations that joined them were probably included; and if the Arverni, we may conclude the Rutheni.

P. 13. l. 22. † P. 134. l. 19. *a town belonging to the county of Berry*] *Biturigum positum in via*. These words should possibly be omitted. See Oudendorp and Jurin.

P. 56. l. 23. † P. 164. l. 3. *between the gates of their camp*] *angustioribus portis relictis*. The Gauls, when they drew a ditch round their camp, left the gates narrower

rower than usual. Bell. C. ii. 9. *Fenestras reliquerunt*. Hirtius, B. Al. 38. *Non ita magno intervallo relicto*. D. Vossius, without reason, is for leaving out *angustioribus*. Jurin.

† P. 186. l. 34. *When they came to the interview*] Oudendorp, in his P. 92. l. 2. last edition, has given a reading, which, if it had authority, would render the place clearer. *Quum in colloquium ventum esset, et ut convenerat, manum Commii Volusenus arripuisset, centurio, vel ut insueta re permotus VEL celeriter a familiaribus protitus Commii, conficere hominem non potuit, graviter tamen, &c.* the words *vellet Commium interficere* being left out.

† P. 202. l. 12. *Cæsar's letter*] The beginning of this book is supposed P. 121. l. 1. to have been lost; and a *Fabio* at least to have been inserted. The beginning of Suetonius is likewise perished, beginning in the King of France's *Mf. annum agens septum decimum*. So that we have no account of Julius Cæsar before his xivth year. Jurin.

† P. 203. l. 20. *those of them who were of his party*] We should observe P. 123. l. 7. here a seeming difficulty in the original, which has puzzled all the commentators. "Misso ad vesperum Senatu, omnes, qui sunt ejus ordinis, a Pompeio evocantur. Laudat Pompeius, atque in posterum confirmat." So all the *Mss.* and old editions read. *Ejus ordinis* are undoubtedly of the senatorian order. As Cicero in *Catil. II. princeps ejus ordinis*. But in the first place, it cannot be supposed that ALL the senators in general were called out by Pompey, whether there were 400 or less. How then shall we restrain, OMNES qui sunt ejus ordinis? An ingenious critic would read, "omnes sui ejus ordinis—evocantur," the word *sui* being corrupted into *qui*. But the whole difficulty is removed, if the comma at *ordinis* we place after *Pompeio*. "Omnes, qui sunt ejus ordinis a Pompeio, evocantur." All, that were of Pompey's party, were called out. Then follows, in the Nominative, "Laudat Pompeius," &c. But, 2dly, say the commentators, we still want a word to oppose to "*seigniores castigat*." Why so? He calls out ALL of his PARTY, confirms the resolute of them, reproves the timid and wavering. The passage is originally right in the *Mss.* and only confounded by the commentators.

† P. 204. l. 4. *the prætorship*] Pompey and Crassus, who were consuls, Ib. l. 32. A. U. 684, when Cato stood for the prætorship, joined with Cæsar in opposing him, because he suspected he would not bear their administration, and were unwilling to strengthen him with a legal power against them-

selves, as Dio tells us, l. xxxix. p. 117. Cæsar, with some artifice, ascribes Cato's enmity to him to that opposition to him, which was formed jointly by all three, and which therefore should have made him now an enemy to Pompey as well as Cæsar. The one indeed was his competitor, but the other two opposed his interest.

P. 124. l. 29. † P. 234. l. 33. *the seventh day after the entrance upon their charge*] They were created Dec. 10, according to Liv. xxxix. 52. Dec. 5, Cicer. Pro-œm. Ver. c. 10. Dec. 13, Dion. Halic. Urfinus and Ciacconius greatly mistake, in supposing this apprehension of danger was on the seventh day from their entering on their office, which is to be understood the viiith day from the commencement of the year, which was Jan. 1. Afterwards, for towards the viiith month of their administration, should probably be the xiiith month. J. Vossius.

P. 125. l. 18. † P. 205. l. 9. *which he hoped might have reduced all differences to a peaceable state*] The proposals which Cæsar made were sent in a letter by Curio, viz. 1. That Pompey shall retire to his government in Spain. 2. That the forces the senate had raised shall be disbanded, and the garrison evacuated. That he, on the other hand, would deliver up the farther Gaul into the hands of Domitius; and the nearer Gaul into those of Confidius Nonianus; the persons to whom these provinces had been respectively allotted. That he would resign his right of suing for the consulship in his absence, and return to Rome to sue for it in person. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. xvi. 12.

Ib. l. 30. † Ib. l. 23. *Mauritania*] Not that any part of Mauritania, either Tingitana, or Cæsariensis, was subject to the Romans till U. C. 716, after Julius Cæsar's death, as appears from Dio, l. xlviii. who tells us, that the Tingitani revolting from their king Bogud, Bocchus seized the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by Augustus, and the people admitted to the privileges of the city. And that Mauritania Cæsariensis was likewise exempt from the Romans, is plain from Hirtius, Bell. Alex. c. 62. who tells us, that Pompey, the son of Pompey the Great, *went from Utica into Mauritania, and entered the kingdom of Bogud*, and, having suffered there a great defeat, was forced back to his ships. And Asinius Pollio, in an epistle written the year after Cæsar's death, says, that Balbus the quæstor, having got together a great quantity of gold in further Spain, sailed from thence *into Bogud's territories*.

territories. In this place, therefore, we must understand that part only of Mauritania which was subject to the Romans; or that Faustus Sylla was sent with a hostile intent against both kings, who were not very favourable to Cæsar. This Spanheim did not rightly understand, Numism. Diff. ix. p. 768. nor Patin on Sueton. c. 65. nor J. Vossius, on Pomp. Mela, II. c. 6. See Noris, Cenotaph. Pisana, Diff. II. p. m. 88. It is further to be observed, that Faustus Sylla is here said to be sent *Proprator*; and yet he is called, by Cicero to Atticus, l. ix. Ep. 1. *Proquaestor*. To reconcile this, we must suppose, as Cæsar says, that Philip the tribune forbade his going with that character, but that he went under an inferior one, *Proquaestor*. J. Vossius.—But as the Mss. read here *propere*, instead of *pro-præt.* that should be the true reading, which confirms the hostile intention of the senate.

† Ib. l. 29. *two consular provinces*] Under the republic the consular provinces were those which were governed by such as had been consuls; the prætorians by such as had been prætors. They were observed here to be given *privatis*, to persons who were out of office. And this was agreeable to the law procured by Pompey, U. C. 701, that no one should enter on the consular or prætorian provinces till five years after he had been consul or prætor. And yet this law was not precisely adhered to in this instance; for though L. Domitius Ænobarbus was consul, A. U. 700, five years before, yet the other, Q. Metellus Scipio, was consul with Pompey but three before, U. C. 702. Cæsar observes, that Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcius Philippus were postponed, who had fairer pretensions than the other two, having been consuls, U. C. 698, two years before the first of them. I read, therefore, with Vossius and Pighius, Marcellinus, not Marcellus as the copies print it. We may here observe, that Cardinal Noris confines the sense of *privati* too narrowly, when he supposes, Cenotaph. Pisan. Diff. ii. c. 9. that it means those who had never served any magistracy: *Si cui privato, qui nullos antea in urbe magistratus gesserat, belli administratio committebatur, is dicebatur pro prætore vel pro consule, bellum gerere.* He instances in Augustus, who was made pro-prætor at XIX years of age; and Pompey, who was sent with proconsular power against Sertorius in Spain, while he was only a Roman knight. But on the other hand, Domitius and Scipio are both here expressly styled *privati*, though they had been consuls. Lastly, we should observe, that this Scipio was father-in-law to Pompey, who had married his daughter Cornelia, the widow of Crassus who was slain by the Parthians, Paterc. ii. 54.

† P. 205.

P. 126. l. 13. † P. 205. l. ult. *The consuls, &c.*] Duncan translates it thus: *The consuls left the city, a thing unheard of till that time*: which is not true. The word *consuls* should probably be transposed, and it should be read, *departed for their several commands in a military habit; a thing unheard of till that time. The consuls left the city, and lictors, &c.* Davies and Jurin.—Suppose we were to read, *Consules, quod ante id tempus accederat nunquam, ex urbe profiscuntur privati, lictoresque, &c.* The Consuls left the city as private men, which had never happened before: and other really private persons were attended by their officers. G. A.

Ib. l. 30. † P. 206. l. 14. *opposed by arms*] When the senate decreed that Cæsar should disband his army, and Pompey keep his, only two senators dissented, Cæcilius and Curio. Dio, xli. p. 171. Notwithstanding this consent of the senate was almost unanimous, yet the tribunes, M. Antony and Q. Cassius, as they had a right, put a negative to it. This intercession of the tribunes, as it was called, being disregarded, and the tribunes themselves threatened, gave Cæsar's cause a plausible colour, which he does not fail to set in an advantageous light to his army. Yet this very man, who now defended the sacred character of the tribunes against the senate, afterwards procured the senate to depose and expel from the house two other tribunes, C. Epidius and L. Cecilius Flaccus, because they remonstrated to the public that they were abridged by Cæsar of their freedom in the exercise of their functions, and because they had prosecuted one of his party for calling him king. Dio Cass. l. xiv. p. 277.

P. 127. l. 2. † Ib. l. 18. *their ancient liberties*] *Dona etiamquæ habuerant ademisse.* *Dona* is, by Dr. Davies and Dr. Duncan, interpreted the *privileges* or *prerogatives* of the tribunes; but rights and privileges would here be called *dona*. We should probably read OMNIA with a comma after it, *etiam quæ ante habuerat, ademisse*: Pompey, who pretended to restore them to their ancient privileges, deprived them now of EVERY THING, even what Sylla had left. From the contraction oia for omnia, arose the corrupted word *dona*. Mark land, Quæstio Grammat. p. 264.

P. 131. l. 10. † P. 209. l. 13. *Cæsar's van-guard*] In the original *primo ordine* in the singular, which can denote no more than the men in the very first rank, ten or twenty; which, as Vossius observes, could not alone be supposed to begin an engagement. He therefore would read *agmine*, but it was more probably written *prim. ordin.* for *primis ordinibus*, as Livy IX. 39. *omissis equis, ad primos ordines per arma, per corpora evaserint*, as Gronovius

novius reads it from the Mss. not *ad primos ordines peditum*, as the editions have it: *ordines*, as he observes, denoting always the foot, which Cæsar expresses by *ex primis ordinibus MILITES*. Markland, Quæst. Gram. p. 265. ed. 2.

† P. 210. l. 1. *the neighbouring towns of Campania*] *Circum FAMILIARES* P. 132. l. 9. *conventus Campaniæ*, which is ill translated by Dr. Duncan, and others, *among the NEIGHBOURING towns of Campania*. But Ph. Rubenius had observed, that for *familiares* we should read *familias* Elect. l. 1. c. 8. And the use of *conventus* for the inhabitants in general of a town, has been abundantly proved by Gronovius, Obs. l. iii. c. 22. What Cæsar here calls *familias conventus Campani*, Cicero, Att. l. vii. calls, *patres familiarum qui essent Capuæ*. As the Romans divided their provinces into several districts, so that in which the præfect resided and administered justice, was called *conventus*, from the people resorting thither. *Campanus* is the adjective from *Capua*, not *Capuanus*, as appears from Varro l. ix. and Virgil, x. 145. *Et Capys, hinc nomen Campanæ ducitur urbi*. *Conventus Campani* cannot denote the towns of Campania, but the town of *Capua*, which was the head of the country, and where the præfect resided.

P. 214. l. 3. *six millions of sesterces*] about 50,000l. of our money. P. 138. l. 9.

† Ibid. l. 33. *he designed to wait upon him at Brindisi*] *quoniam ad id* P. 139. l. 5. *tempus facultas conloquendi non fuerit, atque, ad se Brundisium sit venturus, interesse Reipublicæ, &c.* The sense to the English reader is very clear; but in the Latin, one would naturally ask, how *ad se* can refer to Pompey, whether Magius is supposed to say this, or Cæsar to write it? We should therefore probably read, understanding these to be the words of Magius, *Quoniam ad id tempus facultas conloquendi non fuerit, atque (i. e. statim) ad TE Brundisium sit venturus*. [Cæsar dicit] *interesse reipublicæ, et communis salutis, se cum Pompeio conloqui: neque vero idem perfici, &c.* As it stands in the editions, *ad se Brundisi*, Pompey is expressed *ad se Brundisium sit venturus*; and Cæsar by *se cum Pompeio conloqui*; which in the same sentence is against all grammar and perspicuity. Markland, Quæst. Gram. p. 265. ed. 2.

† P. 215. l. 9. *that he might the more easily command the Adriatick*] *quo* Ib. l. 23. *facilius omne Adriaticum mare extremis Italiæ partibus regionibusque Græciæ in potestatem haberet*. It is asked, what is *extremis Italiæ partibus* governed of? Mr. Markland offers *opportunitatem* to be supplied. Quæstio Gram.

Gram. p. 266. ed. 2. If we were to suppose *EX extremis*, the first *EX* omitted by reason of the next following. But perhaps nothing need be supplied, and we should understand it as the dative governed of *poteſtatem*: *that he might have the whole Adriatic Sea ſubject to the extreme parts of Italy and the country of Greece*.—I prefer *CUM extremis*, that he might have in his power [or command] the whole Adriatic *along with*, &c. G. A.

P. 140. l. 22. † Ib. l. 37. *had not yet returned with an answer to his meſſage*] But we have now remaining a Letter from Cæſar to Oppius and Balbus, in which he ſays, *Pompey has ſent Magius to me with overtures of peace; and I have answered him what I thought proper*. Ad Attic. l. ix. ep. 16. which confirms what Afinius Pollio has told us, that theſe commentaries are not written with the ſtricteſt regard to truth. *Giacconius*.—I do not ſee the juſtneſs of this obſervation, unleſs we knew the exact date of Cæſar's letter, and the time of his ſaying this. G. A.

P. 147. l. 5. † P. 220. l. 33. *the two patrons of their country*] *Patronos civitatis; quorum alter agros Volcarum Arecomicorum et Helviorum publicos iis conceſſerit*. As theſe are the words of the Maſſilians, for *iis*, we ſhould here read *sibi*. The translators refer *iis* to *civitatis*; by a ſyntheſis for which we want authority. The miſtake aroſe from *sibi* being writ ⁱ, or *ſi*; from whence it by degrees was changed into *is*, and afterwards into *iis*. Markland, *Quæſtio Grammat.* p. 266. ed. 2.

P. 154. l. 18. † P. 226. l. 24. *had raiſed himſelf from inferior ranks*] Fulginus is here ſaid to be *ex primo haſtato legionis XIV*, which Lipſius ſays, *De Mil. Rom.* l. ii. Dial. vii. ſhould be *Centurio primi haſtati*, the *ex* formed from a miſtake of the mark 7 for *Centurio*. But Gronovius, *Obſ.* iv. c. xx. thinks this is not the meaning of the place; that *ex haſtato* ſignifies one who had been heretofore Centurion of the Haſtati, and had raiſed himſelf by his merit *in eum locum*: but that place, or office, is not mentioned, and Dr. Jurin thinks ſomewhat is left out.

P. 159. l. 18. † P. 230. l. 12. *centurions*] *fortiſſimos viros anteſignanos, centuriones*. The *anteſignani* were in general termed the ſlighteſt ſort of ſoldiers, taken from the *Haſtati*, who fought before the enſigns. But others were called ſo who ſtood more immediately before the eagle, or other chief enſigns among the *principes*, or ſecond battle. Every maniple having an enſign in the miſt of the troop, the ſoldiers that ſtood in the front before the enſign

ensign were called *antesignani*, and were the best soldiers in the company. Edmonds, p. 36.—It seems very strange that the same term should signify the best and worse men. Supposing the Romans drew up seven deep, and the colours stood in the middle rank; why should they place three bad rows in front, so as to allow the enemy to get easily at the ensigns? We know the Eagle, and to be sure all the other colours proportionally, had good men placed before them. In § XLIV. the *antesignani* being put into disorder, the whole legion retreats. I believe Edmonds is very old-fashioned in his doctrines. Though the Romans might fight in three divisions before Marius's time (see p. 215), they hardly did so afterwards. Latterly, they had to oppose armies vastly more numerous than their own. Suppose they were 30,000 against 1 or 200,000 Cimbri or Teutones, what figure would 10,000 men make acting against 200,000, and 20,000 of their men standing still? Must they not be beat *en detail*? T. F.

† P. 234. l. 20. *About midnight, &c.] Media circiter nocte iis, qui ada-* P. 164. l. 19. *quandi causa longius à castris processerant, ab equitibus correptis, fit ab his certior Cæsar, &c. Iis correptis, qui*—is not the language of Cæsar, who would rather have written *quibusdam correptis*. As some Mss. read *ii correpti sunt*; by *ii* we should understand *duo*, which is the true reading; or else interpret *iis* for *duobus correptis*, as the editions now read. Markland, *Quæst. Gram.* p. 266, 7. ed. 2. But why may not Cæsar's words very well express, *that ALL that went out for water were surprised*? Why must we suppose only two? W. B.—Because *iis* will very well represent *duobus*, as letter figures are constantly used by Davies, &c. Because two prisoners are vastly more valuable than one, as they may be examined separately, and, in case their evidence agrees, may be safely trusted. Lastly and chiefly, because, as it was midnight, it is not probable that many straggled out for water. T. F.

† P. 234. l. 36. *L. Decidius Saxa]* L. Decidius Saxa is sent to take a P. 165. l. 10. view of the country, in pursuance of his office, being at this time quartermaster in Cæsar's army; *Castrorum metator*, as Cicero contemptuously calls him, Philip. xi. To that orator's spleen against him, we are indebted for his further history, viz. that he was of Celtiberia in Spain, and from serving under Cæsar came to be tribune of the people. *Accedit Saxa nescio quis, quem nobis Cæsar ex ultima tribunum plebis dedit, castrorum antea metator, nunc, ut sperat, urbis.* Philip. ubi supra. These invectives are a

tribute to his merit at the battle of Modena, where he supported Antony with great gallantry. He was afterwards employed by him as his lieutenant to transport levies from Italy and Epirus, in conjunction with Norbanus. With these forces he made himself master of the whole country as far as Pangæum; and, fixing his camp in the plains of Philippi, defended it against Brutus and Cassius till Antony joined him. After the decisive battle there, U. C. 712, Antony appointed him the following year his legate in Syria, where Labienus, U. C. 714, joining the Parthians, defeated him; and, pursuing him to Cilicia, whither he had fled, put him to death. Dio XLVIII.

P. 165. l. 30. † P. 235. l. 11. *the dread of dishonour*] at *LUCEM multum per se pudorem omnium oculis, multum etiam tribunorum militum, et centurionum præsentiam adferre*] How can it be said, that shame and dishonour would affect the eyes of all the soldiers? Ciacconius very justly reads, *at LUCE multum per se pudorem omnium OCVLOS, multos etiam tribunorum militum et centurionum præsentiam, adferre*. In the day, each man would have that dread of shame which the eyes of spectators excite. Davies in vain cites authorities to shew that the *seat of shame* is in the *eyes*. It is not that the *eyes* of the soldiers are affected with *shame*, but that the *eyes* of the *spectators* are the instruments of creating it. MARKLAND, *Quæst. Gram.* p. 267. ed. 2.

P. 175. l. 26. † P. 242. l. 29. *out of each of the five legions*] *ex v legionibus*. Probably it should be *vi leg.* for so many Cæsar had. He mentions c. 42. three then appointed to guard the camps, and he had in his army three more. *Jurin.*

P. 190. l. 8. P. 251. l. 3. *sixty feet long*] For *LX* Lipsius reads *IX*, because it would be difficult to get timber *LX* feet long, and two feet square; and because such a length bears no proportion to the width, which was but four feet. See his *Poliorc.* l. 1. dial. ix. W. B.—Why need we suppose the beam to be all in one piece? It would do as well with 20 joinings. Galleries are not wide in proportion to their length any more than modern trenches, whose breadth and depth too are always the same nearly: but the length greater or less according to circumstances.

P. 196. l. 29. P. 255. l. 14. *one hundred and ninety thousand sesterces*] The number of these sesterces is almost incredible, considering how much they would amount to; therefore there is probably a corruption of the text: but what the certain number should be, I shall not pretend to determine.

Every

Every Sestertium, in the neuter gender, according to BUDÆUS, was of the value of five pounds sterling; or, as others will have it, seven pounds ten shillings. BLADEN: who having first translated cxc HSS. by 190,000 sesterces (much too little) confounded them with so many *sestertia*, a thousand times as much, and then was startled at a sum which amounts to 1,425,000l. of our money, reckoning what he calls Sestertium at 7l. 10s. HOTOMAN interprets it *centies nonagies*, 19,000,000 of sesterces, which at 2d. each comes to 158,333l. 6s. 8d. But why may not the reading of the old edition be the true? cxc *millia*, which I would interpret *centies nonaginta millia nummum*, 10,090,000 HS. or 84,083l. 6s. 8d. The 20,000 weight of silver by the same computation comes to 6666l. 13s. 4d.

† P. 259. l. 8. *Bagradas*] Which anciently lay betwixt *Carthage* and the *P. 201. l. 31.*
Castra Cornelia; not where we find it at present. At this river M. Bebius, and the other Roman officers, who had been sent by Scipio on an embassy to Carthage, and, being ill used by the populace there, had obtained a convoy to guard them back, were deserted by it, *in sight of the Roman camp*, [Dio, xxx. c. 25.] and saved themselves by flying to it. "This river continues winding during its whole course, through a rich and fertile country, and becomes thereby so saturated with soil, that it is of the same complexion with the Nile, and has the same property likewise of making encroachments on the sea. To this we may attribute the changes which have been made in the channel of it; and that an open creek of the sea, into which the *Bagrada* discharges itself, is now circumscribed by the mud, and become a large navigable pond." Shaw's Travels, 4to. p. 77. The whole extent of the sea-shore from Carthage to this river lies in a semi-circular form, and the land for some miles is smooth and level. But Utica, which lay on this coast, is said to have been under an eminence; Liv. xxix. 35. and there is now no promontory; which lay at a small distance to the E. or N. E. and formed the harbour.

† P. 261. l. 21. *That it was lawful, &c.*] All the rest of this paragraph *P. 205. l. 14.* is so corrupted and confused in the original, that it is impossible to make sense of it; and we cannot be sure of Cæsar's sense by any emendation.

† P. 270. l. ult. The loss sustained by either party in this stage of the *P. 219. l. ult.* war was this: Pompey was driven out of Italy, lost Marseilles, and both the provinces of Spain. Cæsar received this loss in Afric, besides that

in the Adriatic sea, where Antonius miscarried, of which no mention is made in these Commentaries.—The fortune of both parties being weighed, it appears that Pompey had the worse. *Edmondes.*

DUNCAN,
Vol. II
Part ii. p. 5

† P. 271. l. 22. *were chosen consuls*] The consuls and other magistrates having quitted Rome, and fled to Pompey at Epirus, there was no one left who could regularly hold the assembly for choosing consuls for the ensuing year; for the assemblies could not be holden by an inferior magistrate for choosing a superior one. *Lepidus*, therefore, the Prætor, got a law passed by the people, [see before, l. ii. 21.] that Cæsar should be chosen *Dictator comitiorum habendorum causa*, Dictator for holding assemblies for election of magistrates. Accordingly, having finished the ELECTIONS, and made some other regulations, he quitted this office, as it presently follows, § 2. and went to Brundisium, having obtained what he wanted, the office of *Consul*, which enabled him to carry on the war for what he called the good of the senate. See Cic. Ep. ad Attic. l. ix. ep. xi. He was, after the defeat of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, U. C. 706. made for that year *Dictator II. rei gerendarum causa*, the year after *Dictator perpetuus*. See Noris, Ep. Syromaced. Diff. III. c. p. 196.

P. 6. l. 12. † P. 272. l. 23. *the Latin festivals*] *feriis Latinis*. Feasts to Jupiter Latiaris, instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, on his conquest of Hetruria, to be kept upon Mount Alban. They were kept on such days as the magistrates thought fit; and could not regularly be celebrated when the consuls were absent, which was another reason for creating a *Dictator*, and is often mentioned as one in Livy, *Dictator feriarum Latinarum causa*. See Pighius.

P. 7. l. 14. † P. 273. l. 18. *together with Antony's soldiers*] How Antony's soldiers came to be in the service of Pompey is not mentioned in these Commentaries, from whence they are supposed to be imperfect, especially from what is said, c. 67. *T. Pulcio, who betrayed the army of C. Antony*, AS WE HAVE RELATED ABOVE, which nowhere in the book occurs. But Florus, l. iv. c. 2. tells us, that Cæsar, having sent Dolabella and Antonius to seize upon the straits and entrance into the Adriatic sea, the one possessed himself of the coast of Sclavonia, and the other of that near to Corfu; when on a sudden in came Octavius and Libo, Pompey's lieutenants, and surprised both the one and the other; where Antonius was constrained to yield up xv companies, which were the soldiers here mentioned. And see Dio, l. XLVI. XLII. *Ald. Manut. Edmondes, Davies.*

† P. 274.

† P. 274. l. 19. *the fifteenth of October*, BLADEN; *the fourth of January*, P. 8. l. 31. DUNCAN; *pridie non. Jan. CÆSAR.*] The Roman calendar was now so confused, that the kalends of Jan. fell this year on Oct. 11, of what was afterwards the Julian year; consequently *pridie nonas Jan.* or 4 Jan. was Oct. 14, U. C. Var. 706, according to the old reckoning. See more, Afric. war, 1, 2. This the ancient writers, who record these transactions some years after, were not aware of. Florus particularly, l. iv. c. 2. mentions it as an extraordinary circumstance, that Cæsar, *quamvis hyems MEDIA prohiberet tempestate ad bellum navigasse*; and Plutarch in the life of Pompey, that he [Cæsar] set sail *at the winter solstice*: Cæsar himself says, he set sail *pridie nonas Jan.* the fourth of January, as the year then was. See Usher's Annals, Per. Jul. 4665. p. m. 485.

† P. 275. l. 16. *so he might but intercept the supplies Cæsar expected.*] Si P. 9. l. ult. in *Cæsaris complexum venire posset.* The best Mss. have *si in Cæsaris CON-SPECTUM venire posset.* But, by conjecture, I would read *si Cæsaris COMME-ATUS IMPEDIRE posset.* Jurin.

† Ib. l. 22. *Cæsar had reason to bemoan, &c.*] *Se morte Curionis et P. 11. l. 18. detrimento Africani exercitus tanto. Proinde sibi, &c.* It is strange that Cæsar should speak of this loss of xx at most in Africa, with the exaggerating word *tanto*, when Pompey's loss is expressly put at cxxx cohorts. This inconsistency, and some others, will be easily removed by a little alteration: First, by inserting *illato* for *tanto*; then follows: *militumque deditione ad Corcyram, quantum in bello fortuna posset jam ipsum in commodis suis satis esse documento. Proinde sibi, &c.* Jurin.—If *illato* be admitted, should we not read *exercitui*? T. F.

† P. 279. l. 28. *the offices of ædile and prætor*, BLADEN; *ædileship and prætorship*, DUNCAN.] *inimicitiasque—cum Cæsare ex ædilitate et prætore conceptus.* That there was a quarrel between Cæsar and Bibulus about the Ædileship and Consulship, Suetonius tells us, c. 10. and 20. and Dio, l. xxxviii. p. 60. But that the same happened about the prætorship is nowhere said. Yet all the Mss. read *so*. Davies.

† P. 282. l. 12. *should compound for half they owed*] *ut sexies seni dies sine P. 20. l. 1. usuris.* The place is corrupt, and thus restored by the greatest master in this branch of learning at least, *ut semisse in dies sine usuris creditæ pecunie solvantur*: J. F. Gronov. de Pec. Vet. l. iv. c. v. p. 635.

† P. 287. l. 7. *by way of loan*] It must be observed, that the provinces usually paid the contributions imposed on them every five years. Varro, l. v.

l. v. de LL. says, *Lustrum, nominatim tempus quinquennale, a luendo, hoc est solvendo, quod quinto quoque anno vectigalia et ultro tributa per censores persolvebantur.* Cic. in Verrin. iv. *Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota censetur. Erat censa Pratore Peducco. Quintus cum te Pratore incidisset, censa denuo est.* And see ad Att. vi. ep. 2. Now Syria was made a province by Pompey, U. C. Var. 690. The fourth Lustrum consequently began, U. C. 705. when Scipio was made *Proconsul of Syria*; which province suffered greatly, it seems, under the two years of his administration, paying the taxes of two years, and advancing a third before hand. But he being obliged to quit Syria, to go to the assistance of Pompey, U. C. 706. Antioch was eased of his immediate oppression, and afterwards, U. C. 707, totally restored to its immunities, as will be observed § 102. Noris, Ep. Syromac. Diff. III. c. 5. p. m. 198, 199.

P. 28. l. 4. † P. 287. l. 36. *as a new loan*] *Quibus in rebus prolationem diei donationem esse dicebat—They are obliged to apply for a delay of payment, which at any price is still accounted a favour.* Duncan.

Ib. l. 11. † Ib. l. ult. *the next year's tribute upon interest.*] *uti in sorte fecerant.* G. Faernus, and Ciacconius, and R. Steph. in ed. 1544. read *in Syria*, against the authority of all the Mss. But Cæsar means the same thing as *they had done when they entered upon their lot the province of Syria.* Davies.

P. 38. l. penult. † P. 295. l. 32. *the corn began to ripen*] Towards the end of May corn began to ripen at Durazzo. Sueton. in Jul. c. 35. says, that Pompey, after he had been besieged near four months [at Durazzo] *was defeated at Pharsalia.* The winter was far advanced before Antony embarked the troops [see c. 25.], suppose towards the end of January; four months brings us to the end of May. Appian says, that the seventh day after Cæsar broke up his camp, he removed to Pharsalia. And we shall see, c. 82. that Pompey within a few days followed him to Thessaly. So that the decisive battle was fought in June, as Cardinal Noris has shewn against Petavius, who places it May 12. See Ep. Syromacedon. Diff. III. c. 5. p. m. 189, 190, 4to.

P. 41. l. 29. † P. 297. l. ult. *six hundred sixty six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence sterling, BLADEN; two hundred thousand asses, DUNCAN; millibus ducentis aris gravis, CÆSAR.*] i. e. Asses of the old valuation, of ten to a Denarius, at which rate they were, till reduced to one ounce alone, U. C. 500, when xvi were made equal to a Denarius. At this time the method of expressing sums was by sesterces; but the old valuation of the *as* is sometimes,

sometimes, though not very commonly, expressed by different authors. Two hundred thousand *æris gravis* amounted to 20,000 *Denarii*, or 80,000 LL.S. 640*l.* of our money, as Perizonius has clearly proved in his *Differt. de ære gravi*. Upon this occasion I will beg leave to mention an undoubted emendation I had from the mouth of the late Rev. Chancellor Taylor, of his favourite author Cornelius Nepos, in the life of Atticus, c. 13. who says of him, *Scimus non amplius quam terna millia æris peræque in singulos menses ex ephemeride cum expensum sumptus ferri solitum*, i. e. that he expended no more than three thousand asses of the old stamp, or 750 *denarii*, 3,200 LL.S. i. e. 24*l.* English per month*. And yet he kept several readers and librarians, of which nine are upon record; and we have many instances of his generosity and munificence; particularly to Cicero, when he fled his country, he gave 250,000 LL.S. How can we reconcile this, which the historian mentions as an instance of his œconomy, but by changing *in singulos menses* into *in singulas mensas*? The ordinary expence of each table was 24*l.* a month.

† P. 298. l. 2. *first centurion of the legion*] *ab octavis ordinibus ad primi-* P. 41. l. 30.
pulum duxit. i. e. who was before the viiith centurion of the *Triarii* to be the first of them, says Aldus Manutius de quæsitis per Epist. l. ii. c. 3. But the promotion was from the tenth of the *Hastati* to the tenth of the *Principes*; from the tenth of the *Principes* to the tenth of the *Primipili*. Then from the ninth, the eighth, and, lastly, to the first of each order in the cohort. Thus from the first of the *Hastati* to the first of the *Principes*, thence to the first of the *Primipili*. Vegetius, l. II. c. 8. *Vetus consuetudo tenuit, ut ex primo principe legionis promoveantur primipili*.—*Primi ordinis* are those of the first cohort, the first centurions of the *Hastati*, the first *Princeps*, and the first *Pilus*. Tacitus, l. III. c. 22. *Urgebatur maxime septima legio nupera Galba conscripta; occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones*. Six, therefore, all the centurions in the first cohort, were slain, *Lips.* de Militia Rom. l. II. Dial. 8. p. 79, 80. The *Triarii*, who are mentioned in the ancient Militia, were laid aside in the new under Marius, and before, and called *Decimus*, *Nonus*, &c. *Primi pili*. See Aquina's Lexicon Militare, voc. TRIARII. So of *Pulsio* and *Varenus*, Cæsar says, *jam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, they were very near the dignity of the first cohort. See Edmondes, p. 28.

* The reader will find this subject discussed more at large in the succeeding Tracts. J. N.

- P. 55. l. 23. † P. 307. l. 19. *apprehensive his convoys might be cut off*] Cæsar having inclosed Pompey within some works he had thrown up to facilitate the passage of his own convoys, and to hinder his enemies, c. 43. and Pompey having broken through those works, c. 65. and Cæsar having quitted them, c. 73. he was consequently now solicitous for his convoys, which the other, who was superior to him in horse, might possibly cut off. *Jurin.*
- P. 57. l. 5. † P. 308. l. 20. *eight miles*] Lipsius, upon the authority of Vegetius, l. I. c. 1. says, that *the soldiers marched xx miles in five summer hours, and with speed xxiv miles in the same time.* Lips. de Mil. Rom. l. V. c. 14. But he is confuted from this place, where Cæsar is said to have marched viii miles *istum iter*, and from B. Gall. vii. c. 7. where two days march is said to be about xv miles. See Edmondes; and Vignolius, Diff. II. Apologetica de anno primo imperii Severi Alexandri, c. l. p. 5.—Fifteen miles a day, i. e. from one town to another capable of lodging them, is the ordinary march of our soldiers in changing quarters: and there is no doubt of their performing the double in case of necessity. I believe Vegetius is only speaking of their *exercise* in the Campus Martius, or parade: and I very well remember seeing a memoir (I think) in Acad. des Inscriptions, that the French minister referred to them for a determination of this very passage, and that they answered, that the French soldiers did exactly the same, i. e. xx and xxv miles in 5 hours. T. F.
- P. 62. l. 4. † P. 311. l. ult. *Cæsar's priesthood*] This premature competition was between three who were already of the College of Priests; what each therefore wanted was to succeed J. Cæsar in the *High-priesthood*, which office was filled up by the whole College of Priests themselves, and not, as the priests now were, by the voice of the people. For this reason, the several competitors here mention their respective merit; the one his age; another his interest with the city; and the third his alliance with Pompey. See Noris, Cenotaph. Pisana, p. 61.
- P. 66 l. 5. . † P. 314. l. 22. *an hundred and ten cohorts*] Vossius and others in vain say, that cx cohorts made L thousand men, and that probably Cæsar wrote so. Legions, at different periods, consisted of different numbers of men. At the battle of Cannæ they were encreased from iv thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to five thousand foot, and three hundred horse, Liv. xxii. c. 36. Polyb. l. III. c. 107. But that in these later times they were

were sunk to four thousand is very manifest*. A cohort contained 400 men, and a legion, being ten cohorts, 4000 men, at this time and afterwards. Appian l. II. says, Pompey had xi legions, which is cx cohorts, as Cæsar himself says here, or 44000 men. The same Appian says, Cæsar had xxii thousand men, and that Pompey had double the number, xlv thousand, at 400 to a cohort. Plutarch, Life of Cæsar, p. cxlvi. is express xlv thousand men. Even in the sedition raised after the death of Augustus, at the commencement of Tiberius's reign, Tacitus says, that the sixty centuries in the legion, containing each lx men, rose against their respective centurions. Now sixty times 60 makes 3,600, besides subaltern officers. Rualdus in Plut. vol. I. ed. Bryan, p. 5. 6.

† P. 321. l. 1. *not to come near Antioch at their peril.*] The attachment ^{P. 75. l. 15.} of this city to Cæsar, whose side it espoused, was a great happiness to it, after Scipio's extortions exercised in it. For when Cæsar had staid nine months in Ægypt, arriving here he confirmed to them the privilege of using their own laws, which they had purchased at first of Pompey, and which they were apprehensive of losing, from the tyranny they had lately felt, and he remitted to them those taxes which Scipio had exacted of them. In gratitude for which favours they commenced a new æra, dating it not from the year, U. C. 707, when these immunities were granted, but from two years before, viz. U. C. 705, when their effects took place. Usher supposes it commenced U. C. 705, because that year Cæsar was first created dictator for xi days only, from whence he was made consul; but Noris thinks that was not notorious enough for the Antiochians to be acquainted with. Noris, Ep. Syromaced. Diff. III. c. 4. p. 165, ed. 4to. This æra continued many years. Two coins in the possession of Mr. Duane, one of Galba, the other of Otho, precisely determine when this æra commenced, and are a treasure the King of France would be proud to be possessed of.

† P. 339. l. 37. *Pelusium*] This city had always been famous for guard-^{P. 103. l. 16.} ing the pass into Egypt, for which reason a royal palace was very antiently built there.—It is observable, that a passage in Lament. i. 9. has been misunderstood, by interpreters taking *Pelaim* in the original for an appellative, which is no other than a difference of name of Pelusium.

* See before, p. 197. Mr. Gibbon makes the legion 12,000. B. Civ. III. c. 106. only 3200 men in two of Cæsar's legions. T. F.—In that controverted passage of Livy VIII. 8. each legion consisted of 5000 men. See Stedman on the Roman Legion, Edinb. 1773. 4to. p. 6.

P. 121. l. 15. † P. 351. l. ult. *veteran soldiers and select Spaniards*] Bétones, or Véttones, a people of the Provincia Bœtica. BLADEN, following the emendation of Hadr. Valefius. But the Mss. read *Berones* or *Barones*, which anciently signified the king's servants and attendants in the palace; whence in after-ages the word was applied to denote nobility. See Du Fresne.

P. 124. l. 1. P. 354. l. 5. *the thirtieth legion*] We are to suppose TITIUS's report was false, but occasioned by the loss of the four cohorts mentioned; else how came the thirtieth legion to attend CASSIUS at Carmona? BLADEN. The objection is just; and Dr. Jurin's emendation, if admitted, very happily clears it another way, who at the beginning of this section for *L. Titius tribunus militum in leg. Vernac. nunciat fama legionem xxx*—reads *L. Titius nunciat eam a legione xxx*, &c. i. e. L. Titius tribune of the Legio Vernacula informed him that that legion had revolted from the xxxth, &c.

P. 127. l. 4. P. 356. l. 30. *having joined to the legion, &c.*] *Adjungitque ei legionem, quam secum adduxerat; compluresque cohortes auxiliares*, i. e. and joined him with the legion he brought with him, and several auxiliary cohorts, &c. But how (as Dr. Jurin observes) could BOGUD join CASSIUS, who was surrounded by MARCELLUS's work? That ingenious critic therefore reads, *adjungit ei legioni quam secum adduxerat, complures*, &c.

P. 353. l. 13. † P. 358. l. 22. *in every country [city] of note*] Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, staid nine months in Egypt. From thence, U. C. 707, he set out on his march through Syria against Phraates. He was at Antioch May 2, of that year, as appears from Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. xi. 19. And as Laodicea was upwards of LX miles nearer Egypt, he was there probably in April, where he left such lasting impressions of his favours, that the inhabitants from this year instituted a new Epocha, beginning it from Autumn of U. C. 706, as the Macedonian year used to begin at that time. And this city bore the name of JULIA LAODICEA, as inscriptions and coins testify to this day. See Noris, Ep. Syrom. Diff. III. c. viii. 5. 2. p. 272.

Ib. l. 27. † Ibid. l. 34. *Tarsus*] *No mean city*, says St. Paul; *oppidum fere totius Ciliciæ nobilissimum fortissimumque* [f. *firmissimumque*] says our author. And, like Laodicea, it retained the name of Julius Cæsar, being called *Juliopolis*, Dio, l. xlvii. and was a free city, as appears from coins which are inscribed KOINON EΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝ ΤΑΡΣΟΥ. i. e. *Senatus libera Tarsum*; from whence many have concluded it was made a Roman Colony, or had the freedom of

of Rome given it by Mark Antony; and that St. Paul being born there was from thence entitled to that privilege, Acts xxii. 28. But it has been learnedly proved by Joseph Arntzenius, Differt. binæ, 1725, that the title of *free cities*, *liberæ civitates*, was never given to those who were free of Rome, but to such as enjoyed their own magistrates and laws; and which are likewise said to be *immunes*, when they were exempted from tribute: that this city, though favoured by Julius Cæsar, so far as to be called *Juliopolis*, and by other emperors, so as to be called by their respective names, *Hadriana*, *Severiana*, *Alexandrina*, *Antonina*, *Macriniana*, &c. was neither a colony nor municipium: that therefore St. Paul's freedom must be fetched from some other source. See the note (in next page) on *Leptis*.

P. 359. l. 14. *use his brother too severely*] What security then did P. 354. l. 9. CÆSAR give ARIARATES against the absolute power of his brother? He made him king of Armenia the less: and so this place should be supplied. See the foundation for this emendation in Dr. Jurin.

† P. 364. l. 18. *thirtieth of September*] *ad xiv kal. Jan. in Lilybæum* P. 365. l. 2. *pervenit*; i. e. December 19, according to Julius Cæsar's calendar, which was not introduced till his return from Africa. Consequently the dates are all here reckoned by the old calendars; according to which xiv kal. January, or December 17, were on September 30, the calends of January being now run back to October 13 of the Julian reckoning. The long reformation year, consisting of 445 days, was brought about the very next year, when Cæsar entered into his fourth consulship, and was Pontifex Maximus, 45 before Christ, U. C. Var. 709; Per. Jul. 4669, which the late learned Dr. Ashton has drawn out at length, in his ingenious Dissertation on that subject in Biblioth. Liter. 1722.

† P. 365. l. 25. *the eighth of October*] Cicero de Divinat. l. ii. c. 24. P. 367. l. 24. says, Cæsar set sail for Africa, *ante brumam*, which the Aruspices had forbidden him to do, understanding by *bruma* the winter Solstice, as it is often used:

Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis. Ovid. Fast. l. 163. For the intention of their stale cant, which they would have put upon Cæsar, was that no new enterprize was to be gone upon in the dead of the year, before the days began to lengthen, as is observed by Donatus on Ter. Phorm. Act. iv. Sc. 4. Now the winter Solstice was always in the old calendar fixed to viii. kal. Jan. or Dec. 25. But at this time the Kal. of Jan. were run back to the third of the Ides of Oct. i. e. to Oct. 13; and

the 6th kal. Jan. to Oct. 8, when he sailed. Consequently, as the season of the year stood fixed, though the months varied, he went out eleven weeks *ante brumam*, as Cicero says. [Dr. Ashton, Tully and Hirtius reconciled, Bibl. Lit. N° VII. p. 29.] Plutarch in Cæs. & Dio l. XLIII. though they speak of Cæsar's reformation of the Calendar, yet mention his setting sail about mid-winter, without observing that the winter months were at that time fallen down into autumn.

P. 369. l. 14. † P. 367. l. 26. *Leptis, a free town*] i. e. both in the exercise of its laws, and in its exemption from tribute to the Romans; which is implied in the word *immunem*. This epithet is carefully expressed: So Cic. in Verr. III. c. 6. *Quinque sine fœdere immunes civitates ac liberae*. See likewise pro Font. c. 8. In Verr. v. c. 21. Pro Balbo, c. 8. Suet. in Aug. XL. c. 7. and Ez. Spanheim, du usu Numism. Diff. IX. p. 676. Such cities are called *ἐλευθέρας ἡ ἀτελῆς* by Appian, B. C. l. L. p. 668. Joan. Arntzenius, Dissertat. binæ, ed. 1725. p. 140.

P. 376. l. 33. P. 372. l. 16. *Pharsalia*] The original is from *Brindisi*: but that is a palpable error; for Brindisi was in CÆSAR'S custody long before the battle of Pharsalia. BLADEN.—But the inconsistency is removed, if we translate it, "Which, after POMPEY'S defeat, he had brought along with him, "having before transplanted them from Brindisi." However; see GLANDORPIUS.

P. 393. l. penult. † P. 385. l. 8. *About this time, &c.*] *Per id fere tempus*; i. e. about the IV or III of the Kalends of February in the old calendar, or November 8 or 9th of the Julian. For after he had told us, c. XL to XLII, what Cæsar did VI kal. Feb. and also what passed in the mean time at other places, he subjoins this strange accident: *Vergiliarum signo confecto citius vigilia secunda noctis*; i. e. *about the second watch in the night*, i. e. about 9 or 10 at night; *when the winter was begun*. About November 11, a storm arose, &c. Cellarius asks, what setting of the Vergiliæ this could be; since it could not be *Cosmicus*, nor *Heliacus*, nor *Achronychus*; whereas the sun being in *Pisces*, the Vergiliæ cannot but set *vigilia secunda noctis*. But how? Not in the way of *annual* observation, mentioned by Cellarius (which all the Romans think new), but by *daily* rotation. As if Hirtius had made an astronomical calculation of the daily motion and distances of the sun and stars, and so told us, like an almanack-maker, about what hour the seven stars set. A piece of skill, which very few, if any, of the Romans then had. They had no other notion of the setting of the Vergiliæ or any

other stars, than with respect to the seasons of the year, in one or other of those ways we have mentioned. However, allowing the calculation which the Doctor has made for Hirtius to be exactly right, he has only helped him to a tautology, since, according to him, the *occasus Vergiliarum* in February, and *Vigilia secunda*, mean the same time of the night. We must then have recourse to its denoting the season of the year. The Vergiliæ, or Pleiades, it is well known, are a constellation in *Taurus*, which when the sun is in that sign rise together with him *cosmicè*, and consequently when he *rises* in the opposite *Scorpio*, they must set *cosmicè*. Now the time of the Sun's entering into *Scorpio*, according to antient observations, was about the 18th of our October, for they generally supposed the xv of the Calends, or thereabout, to be the day of the Sun's entry into every sign. The Sun then was in *Scorpio* from about October 18 to about November 17; when the Vergiliæ, being in the opposite sign, must by their account set *cosmicè*.—Now this strange thing, as we said, happened about the 4th or 3d kal. Feb. in Numa's year, which is the 8th or 9th of November in the Julian year.—But after all, I observe that the antients in fixing the four seasons, make the *Occasus Vergiliarum* to denote one particular day, that is *Initium hyemis*, Plin. ii. 47. Some place the 8th, 10th, or 11th of November, upon which day the Vergiliarum Sidus was properly said to be *confectum* (i.e. *peractum*) in the introduction of winter. And according to this, I take Hirtius's true meaning to be, that when winter was begun, about November 11, the tempest of hail and lightning was. Dr. *Astton*, ubi supra.—I cannot but observe, that the wonder of the fact consists partly in the time of year, when thunder and lightning do not so commonly happen at Rome at least, but chiefly in its adhering to the tops of their spears, and is a proof of the truth of the story; iron being a conductor of lightning, which we all know now, though Hirtius did not.

† P. 391. l. 15. *bis left wing*] *Habuit in sinistro cornu*. In the first place, P. 401. l. 17. here is no mention of the tenth legion, which Cæsar always places on the left wing. 2dly, The line is said to extend to the *middle* legion, when there were only eight legions in the wings and main body. 3dly, He had ten legions with him; we have an account of only nine; eight as I have mentioned, and the fifth to sustain the cavalry. Read the whole thus: *The ninth and xxviii form the left wing; and the xth and thirtieth the right; the thirteenth, fourteenth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-sixth, the main body.* Jurin.

† P. 391.

P. 402. l. 31. † P. 391. l. 19. *the right wing*] *Ipsū autem dextrum cornu, secundam aciem fere, in earum legionum partem collocaverat.* Read, *Ipso autem dextro cornu, secunda in acie VETERANARVM legionum partem, &c.* Mf. Leid. Oudendorp. Jurin.

P. 403. l. 21. P. 393. l. 21. *the same wind*] The *Cotbon*, or port of *Adrumetum*, was to W. or S. W. of the promontory; which as *Cæsar* in his pursuit of *Varus* was not able to double, he was obliged to lay at anchor before it, i. e. to the east of it. *Cæsar* directed his course from *Leptis*, or *Lempta*; no other than a southerly or westerly wind could have brought him hither. It is certain, an easterly wind, from the very situation of this port and promontory, would have easily conducted him within both. *Hamamet* therefore, as some pretend, could not have been the *Adrumetum*, because as that place lies nearly in the same direction with *Lempta* and *Herkla*, the same wind which brought *Cæsar* to the promontory of *Hamamet*, would have conducted them within the port that was formed by it. Neither have we a view from *Hamamet*, or the bay before it, of the coast of *Cybea*; a circumstance which agrees with the situation of *Herkla*, and is one proof among many others of its being the *Adrumetum*. See more in *Shaw's Travels*, p. 106. ed. 4to.

P. 406. l. 7. P. 394. l. 8. *caverns under earth*] It is more probable, that these pits, or *mattanores*, as they are now called, were contrived in these earlier ages, as they continue to be to this day, for the greater ease and convenience of the inhabitants. For it cannot be supposed that either the ancient *Nomades*, or the present *Arabs*, would be at the expence of erecting store-houses of *stones*, when they could at a much cheaper rate, and at every station, where they encamped together in their harvest, be served with private caves to secure it from the enemy. *Shaw* p. 140, ed. 4to. The same custom is used in Hungary, where, as *Dr. Edward Brown* observes, “they do not use
“ barns, or stacks of corns, but have many deep and large caves under
“ ground, wherein they lay it up safe, both from robbers and sudden in-
“ curSION of the enemies.” *Travels into Hungary, &c.* p. 12. ed. 4to. 1673.

P. 417. l. ult. † P. 498. l. ult. *Cæsar* began the war in Gaul with six legions, continued it with eight, and ended it with ten.—He began the civil war but with one; he arrived at *Brundisium* with six; he followed *Pompey* into Greece with 15,000 foot and 5,000 horse; and ended that war with 22,000 foot and 1000 horse.—He began the war at *Alexandria* with 3,200 foot, and ended it with six legions—He began the war in *Afric* with six, and ended it with eight legions—Thus he imitated natural motion, stronger in the end than in the beginning. *Edmondes*, p. 128.

C H R O.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANECDOTES OF CÆSAR'S LIFE.

U. C.

654 Born, Coss. M. Antonius, and A. Posthumius Albinus. Hooke, p. 301. 410.

iii. Id. Julii Julius Cæsar born, according to Macrobius, in the consulship of C. Marius, and L. Flaccus.

Thirteenth of July (but changed by the Triumvirs to the 12th as Macrobius, Saturn. xii. reports); Vignoles, in Maffon Histoire Critique vol. XII. p. 23; that is, the 20th of the Julian year, p. 25.

Caius Julius Cæsar, son of Caius by Aurelia, had for his instructor at home M. Antonius Gniphio.

664 Marius dies. Weff. Prob. ii. c. 18. p. 27.

667 Cæsar this year probably æt. 13, designed by Marius and Cinna to succeed Merula in the Priesthood of *Flamen Dialis*, but was prevented by Sylla, (Petr. Weff. Obs. ii. 18. ex Suet. i. Vell. ii. 43.) Takes the manly gown at 14, and is betrothed to Cossutia, of equestrian family, and very rich. Sueton.

669 He lost his father, when he was in his 16th year. Sueton. c. 1.

The first office he obtained by the suffrage of the people, was that of *military tribune*, Hooke III. p. 303.

Cinna iv Coss. whose daughter J. Cæsar married next year, was killed this year in his office, and Cn. Carbo his colleague held the consulship alone for the remainder of the year. Pigh. Ann. Wessél. Prob. p. 219. 221. Sueton.

670 Puts away his first wife, Cossutia, in his 18th year. Sueton.

671 The civil war between Marius and Sylla; when the latter being conqueror would have obliged Cæsar to have put away Cornelia; but on his refusal, deprived him of his estate and the priesthood of *Flamen Dialis*, which he had not yet been inaugurated into. He was now, as Velleius observes, in his 18th year. L. ii. 41. Wessél. Obs. l. ii. c. 18. Hooke, p. 161.

672 He applies to the people to be one of the college of priests, just before the Cornelian law was made this very year for the priests to fill up their own body by their own choice.

672.

U. C.

- 672 Having married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, and being nephew to the wife of Marius, he was very near being put to death among the proscribed enemies of Sylla, Hooke, p. 161. 302.
- 673 Serves first in Asia. Goes to Nicomedes king of Bithynia. Gains a civic crown, for saving a citizen's life, in taking Mitylene. Suet. c. 2.
- 674 Serves under Servilius Isauricus in Cilicia.
- 675 Hearing of the death of Sylla, quits his province, and returns to Rome. Suet. c. 3.
- 676 Composes a civil sedition: he accuses Dolabella of bribery. Sueton. In the 23d year of his age. Pigh. Annal. vol. III. p. 286.
- 677 The Greeks plundered by P. Antonius cite him before M. Lucullus the prætor, when Julius Cæsar pleaded their cause. Ascon. ad Orat. in toga candida.
- 678 Sails to Rhodes, is taken by pirates, and detained 28 days, near the isle of Pharmacusa, when Junius was prætor of Asia. Suet. c. 4. Vell. Pat. ii. 42.
- 679 Studies under Apollonius at Rhodes, a celebrated orator. Cotta dying this year or the next;
- 680 Julius Cæsar, though absent, was chosen *Pontifex* in his room. Cic. in Pison. c. 26.
- 689 Made *Ædile*. Midd. I. 143. Hooke, p. 326.
- 690 When out of Edileship is made *Judex quaestionis*. Ib. p. 327. One of the assistant judges to the prætor. Ib. p. 306. Julia died, the widow of Marius, and aunt of Julius Cæsar, who made a speech in the forum in praise of her. Ib. p. 304. His wife Cornelia dying, he made her funeral oration. Ibid.
- 691 Made *Pontifex Maximus* [nondum prætorius], in the room of Metellus Pius. Dio. l. 37. A law, says Dio, being repealed at the instance of Labienus, which restrained the choice to the college. In which Dio is mistaken, for the choice was always in the people, in their *comitia tributa*. See Noris, Diff. ii. p. 124. in which Dio is mistaken, and misleads Mr. Hooke. See p. 168. 306. Octavius Augustus born,
- 692 Prætor. Hooke, p. 380.
- 693 Had the province of Further Spain allotted him.

694 Upon his return, sues for a triumph and the consulship. But as the former obliged him to keep out of the city, while the latter demanded his presence within, he ceased his pursuit of a triumph to sue for the consulship. Hooke, p. 399. Dio.

695 Is chosen consul I. with Bibulus. Marries Calpurnia, who survived him, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, who was next year to succeed him in the consulship.

The first triumvirate formed between Crassus, Pompey, and Cæsar.

696 Sets out for the war in Gaul. B. G. i. 7.

703 Syria superior made a Roman province by Pompey (Vell. Pat. i. ii.) who was now at Ravenna, the last town in his province.

Cæsar harangues the viiith legion; next day passes the Rubicon, and arrives at Rimini, where the Tribunes waited for him. B. Civ. i. 8.

The city alarmed and deserted. Pompey went towards Campania, and designed to get into Apulia.

Proposals of peace carried by L. Cæsar and Roscius from Pompey. Ibid.

704 Several towns in Italy having surrendered to Cæsar, he lays siege to Corfinium, takes it in seven days, and marches immediately after Pompey, who was then in Brundisium. B. Civ. i. 24.

vii Id. Mart. Dec. 26, Cæsar arrives at Brundisium. Cic. ad Att. ix. 16.

705 xvi. Kal. April. = Jul. Jan. 3. Seven days after Cæsar's arrival at Brundisium, Pompey quitted it, and sailed to the other side of the Adriatic to raise all the forces he could. (Ep. ad Attic. ix. 18.) for which Cæsar allowed him a year. Next day Cæsar entered Brundisium; and having harangued the people, set sail for Rome, designing to be there before the Kal. of April, (Ib.)

After he was come to Rome, he releases *Aristobulus*, whom he sends into Syria, to secure that province: but he is poisoned by the Pompeians. Jos. Ant. xvi. 13. Bell. Jud. I. 7.

And *Alexander* his son is beheaded by Scipio in Syria. Ibid.

Cæsar leaves Rome, and having reduced Spain, returns to Rome about the autumnal equinox.

Here, by the means of Lentulus, he is created *Dictator for holding the comitia*, and the *Feria Latina*; and declares himself consul. In

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

eleven days lays down his dictatorship, and comes a second time to Brundisium before *Kal. Jan.* or *Oct.* 11 Julian. Bell. Civ. iii. 2. From the time of this dictatorship, the Antiochian æra (see p. 217) commences, according to Usher, U. C. 705. p. 484*.

Arrives at Ceranium non. Januarii, i. e. Oct. 15 of the Julian year. B. Civ. iii. 6.

705 *Kal. Jan.* [Oct. 22. 704.] Curio arrives at Rome, with a letter from Cæsar to the senate. Voff. p. 202.

vii Id. Jan. [Oct. 28.] decree of the senate to provide for the safety of the state. B. Civ. i. 5.

Next day [Oct. 29] the senate assembled out of the city, and the provinces were assigned to the several persons out of office, Syria to Scipio, and the consuls left the city. Ib. c. 6.

viii *Kal. Mart.* Dec. 11, the day of the Feralia (as in Grut. p. 153.) Cæsar set out from Corfinium for Brundisium; and Pompey from Canusium to the same place. Cic. ad. Attic. l. viii. 22. ix. 1.

Pompey sends Scipio from Brundisium into Syria to raise forces and a fleet. (Ep. ad Attic. ix. 1.) prid. nonas Mart. Dec. 23.

706 Antony embarked the troops, which Cæsar waited for, probably about the end of Jan. B. Civ. iii. 24. *See note c. 49.

719 Killed in the senate, in the 56th year of his age. Pighius iii. p. 286. His mother Aurelia died about the time that a legion of his was lost at Gergovia † in the war with Gaul. Suet. i. 26.

* It is not easy to understand what connection a dictatorship of 11 days could have with an æra of so distant a city: did he decree in it any thing in their favour? Æras are much surer settled by later scholars, particularly the Medallists, as *Noris, Boze, Belley, Froelich*, &c. T. F.

† *Q.* Boiorum, or Arvernorum? Perhaps the latter. See Bell. Civ. vii. c. 51. He owns the loss of near 700. Sueton. in Jul. c. 25. calls it *legione fusa*. See p. 217. But it is by no means clear to me that his mother's death happened just at that time; but rather that he lost her and two more relations during the nine years of his being in command. Sueton. c. 26. T. F.

LETTERS to and from Mr. BOWYER,

On the subject of ATTICUS's Expences, (see p. 215.)

I.

Mr. Chancellor TAYLOR to Mr. BOWYER.

SIR,

1762.

I FIND you very happy in calculations of Roman money. Pray untie this knot :

“ Quum imprimis lautus esset Eques Romanus, & non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret, scimus non amplius quam *terna millia aris peraeque in singulos menses** ex Ephemeride eum expensum sumtui ferre solitum.” Nepos in Attico, c. 13.

Three thousand asses (*terna millia aris*) reckoning eight-pence English to a Roman Denarius, amount to *ten pounds* sterling.

Is it possible, that Atticus, who was what we may call an hundred-thousand-pound-man, and lived handsomely (*imprimis laute*) though with good œconomy, could be supposed, to maintain his family at 120*l. per annum*?

Only consider how many he must have in family, slaves, &c. besides the *omnium ordinum homines, quos domum suam non parum liberaliter invitavit*.

What is said upon this in the notes is not to the purpose.

J. TAYLOR.

* “ I have reason for thinking that Dr. Taylor entirely changed his ground, by reading “ not *singulos menses*, but *singulas mensas*. If this is right, and the Romans sat down “ only 9 to a table, then we have more than a guinea a head, and I think the King of “ Prussia eats for a crown a cover.” T. F.—The being unacquainted with the methods of reckoning the Roman money has led some very considerable authors into great mistakes. Sir George Wheeler, in his Travels, mentioning an inscription upon an arch at *Jadera*, or *Zara*, says “ it cost 630 sesteritia, which is a piece of money that weigheth about “ two-pence halfpenny, and amounts to about twelve pounds sterling; which was a “ great deal of money in those days.” But, in his Preface, he corrects this estimate, as rather too high; that a sesteritium, or sesterlius, weighed not above two-pence of our money, so that the whole cost was about five pounds five shillings of our money. If the numerals are read right, LLS. DCXX, the sum could not be less than 5040*l.* The arch was erected by *Melia Anniana*, to the memory of her husband, and adorned with statues. See Clarke on Coins, p. 517.

II.

Mr. CLARKE to Mr. BOWYER.

DEAR SIR,

Feb. 27, 1762.

I AM a little surpris'd that Dr. Taylor did not explain the difficulty he propos'd to you, about the Roman money in Nepos. Gronovius mistook the matter quite, and I think your solution is not the true one. The passage in Paterculus is a different thing. When the sort of money is not mentioned after the numerals, it is always sesterces; but when *æris* follows, it is the old way of reckoning, *per æs grave*, or the brass pound. Though this was not so common, it was perhaps in the ephemeris of a clerk of the kitchen (where so many pence and half-pence must be brought to account) more convenient, and always as easily understood. From the time of the Papirian law, and under many of the first emperors, the As was half an ounce, and consequently 24 Ases (which made one Denarius and a half, or 6 sesterces) were a pound of brass. The passage in Nepos without an ellipsis would be, *terna millia pondo æris: mille pondo* was [*sex millia sestertiorum*, or] about 50*l.* sterling, and *terna millia* [or 3 times *mille pondo*] just 3 times as much, or 350*l.* per month; i. e. 1800*l.* per year. This was the expence of Atticus' table, and a very moderate one, considering his great fortune, 10 or 12,000*l.* a year. The passage in Cæsar is the same way of reckoning. He presented Scæva for his gallant behaviour *millibus ducentis æris*, WITH A HUNDRED POUNDS [Qu. 640?] or, as we should now say, with a hundred guineas; for an exact precision in such matters is ridiculous.—Gronovius's account of the passage in Nepos is not quite so bad as you represent it. He reckons the *terna millia æris*, not at 5*l.* 15*s.* per month; but at 12*l.* 5*s.* and consequently, the whole year's expence, at 147*l.* But Gronovius, which is not usual with him, falls here into a grammatical error, mistakes the ellipsis which he had so often had occasion to mention, and takes *terna millia æris* to be *tres mille nummi ærei*, which neither the language, nor the reason of the thing will bear.

W. CLARKE.

III.

III.

Mr. BOWYER to Mr. CLARKE.

REV. SIR,

March, 1762.

YOU have made the expences of Atticus suitable to his character. But a small objection still remains, which I doubt not but you can remove. The subject of *Æs grave* has employed the pen of Perizonius, who makes it to consist only in allowing ten Asses to the Denarius, according to the first valuation, instead of *sixteen*, which was the alteration of U. C. 537. His opinion would be but an opinion, were it not supported by the authority of Plutarch, who describes the sum, which Livy calls 15,000 *aris* [gravis] to be 1500 Denarii, in the time of Cato the Censor. At this rate no consideration is had of how many Asses made a pound, but only of the net proportion it bore to the Denarius; viz. of ten to one in the old pound in distinction to what it bore in the new pound of XVI to one. As you make the 3,000 *aris* of Atticus to be so many times 24 Asses, because 24 Asses made then a pound: so in Cato's time, the As being one ounce, we should say his 15,000 *aris* was so many times XII Asses, i. e. 180,000 Asses, or 11,250 Denarii. I want your *Pondo* to carry me through in both periods.

W. BOWYER.

IV.

Mr. CLARKE to Mr. BOWYER.

DEAR SIR,

March 27, 1762.

I FIND, by your letter, that what I did to save Atticus's credit was at my own expence, and I thank you for bringing me back again to Perizonius's opinion. The accounts of the Roman *aris* can be adjusted no other way: and there seems to be no difficulty, not even what Perizonius himself (as Mr. Ward represents him) seems to suggest. When the Asses were made *sextantarii*, the old *asses librales* passed for six; when *unciales*, the *sextantarii* were *dupondia*; and in the next reduction the *unciales* had that estimate. But the old proportion of reckoning ten asses to a denarius was never altered in their accounts; though in common currency a denarius passed for 16. My son tells me, that the Spaniards have at present an instance exactly of the same nature.—There was an old Spanish dollar, or peso of 11 rials, 2 maravedies, which, though it has been now disused for many years, and the current dollar, or piece of 8, is 20 rials; yet, in all

accounts whatsoever where the dollar is used, it is reckoned at the old estimate of eleven rials two maravedies.

What is now to be said to the passage in Nepos? Nothing more, than that this is the true reading. This seems upon the whole to be a fair conclusion. Atticus was remarkable for his frugality. His expences ran no higher in *sestertio centies*, than they did before in *sestertio vicies*. But these *terna millia aris* were the expence of his own table, not of his household. Plutarch says, that Cato, when he was prætor, and even consul, spent no more usually for *supper* than ἀσφαρί... τριάνοντα, 15*d.* English. The whole amount of this for a month would only be 2*l.* at most. Allowing half as much more for his *prandium*, which was generally *incoctum*, the whole would be 3*l.* per month. This could not possibly be his whole family expences—Atticus' *terna millia* were just *thrice* as much, and might probably support a table at that time with tolerable elegance: for as no customs or inland duties were, for a great part of that time, paid in Italy, provisions must be very cheap*. *Bina millia aris* was often given as a present by the Roman senate to ambassadors from foreign states. This made Cæsar's reward to Sceva a fashionable gratuity.

These passages suggest to me a query or two that has some relation to them from your preface to Montesquieu's *Rise and Fall*, &c. There you place the *asses sextantarii* about A. U. 490. I know it is not possible to fix the time, but surely this is placing that event rather too high. The first Punic war began A. U. 489, and lasted 24 years. Pliny says, *librale pondus aris immutatum bello Punico primo, cum impensis respublica non sufficeret*. This looks as if the war had continued some years before they were reduced to that necessity, and would induce one to fix that reduction nearer A. U. 500. Then you say, 47 years afterwards, A. U. 537, the *asses unciales* were introduced: that was certainly done, A. U. 537, when Fabius Maximus was dictator. Both Livy and the Capitoline marbles agree in this. The next step, the reducing the asses to half an ounce, is more disputed. You say, A. U. 676, when *Papirius Turdus* was tribune; Ainsworth when *Papirius CARBO* was prætor 586, ten years later: Pliny says, *max lege Papiria*; which surely does not imply that this was done at a greater distance than the former reduction, but came on sooner. Why therefore should we not place it, A. U. 543, When C. *Papirius Turdus* was tribune, according to the Capitoline marbles, 8 years after a former reduction? W. CLARKE.

* The reason given is plausible; but (I think) Dr. *Arbuthnot* has determined, that the necessities of life were much the same as with us; but the luxuries much higher. T. F.

MR. BOWYER'S PREFACE

T O

MONTESQUIEU'S REFLEXIONS

ON THE

CAUSES OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 1759,

With his final Corrections.

THE learned author of this work having fallen into two or three mistakes in relation to the Roman money, I shall take the liberty of pointing them out to the reader, to prevent his being misled by so great authority. That we may be the better understood, it will be necessary to open the subject a little from the beginning.

Pliny [a], who is the most particular on this head, tells us, that, from the time of Servius Tullius, till the year 485, brass was the only coin among the Romans; viz. the *as* of a pound weight, with some other pieces, which were subdivisions of it; as the *triens*, of four ounces; and *quadrans*, of three [b].

[a] Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

[b] Pliny says, on one side of the *as* was the head of Janus; and on the other, the beak of a ship, *Rostrum navis*; in *triente vero*, *et quadrante* RATES. And yet we find on the *asses*, which are now remaining, much the same form of the fore part of a ship, as on the *trientes*, and *quadrantes*. How then was *rates* the distinguishing mark of the two latter? The late worthy President * of two literary Societies, and an ornament of the amiable part of human Society in general, observed to me, that he was inclined to think Pliny for *rates* used the word *rationes*, or somewhat like it, to denote the rate or value, which was at first stamp'd only on those two coins, before any lower divisions of the *as* were coined. For thus we find four round balls express'd on the *triens*, signifying four ounces, and three on the *quadrans*, signifying three. The words of Pliny will thus be very clear: *Nota æris fuit ex altera parte Janus geminus, ex altera rostrum navis; in triente vero et quadrante rationes* i. e. All the brass coin had on one side the head of Janus, on the other the beak of a ship; but on the *tridens* and *quadrans* [the only subdivisions at first stamp'd] the value moreover of each was express'd. Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 229. confirms this sense, where, speaking of this very circumstance, he uses *cur navalis forma*, and *causa ratis* as terms promiscuous. He knew no difference between *navis* and *ratis*, on the coins, which was thought to discriminate them in the age of Festus.

* Martin Folkes, Esq.

When

When silver was coined, A. U. 485, viz. five years before the first Punic war, the *denarius* was so called from its being worth ten *asses*, or pounds of brass; *quinarius* worth five; and *sestertius*, worth two and an half.

In A. U. 490, the first Punic war commenced; during which the *as*, from a pound, or xii ounces, was lessened to two ounces; and the *denarius* was still worth only x *asses*; the *quinarius* v, &c. as before. This war lasted xxiv years; and whether it was at the beginning of the war, or in the progress of it, that this change was made is uncertain, since Pliny only says, it was *cum impensis respublica non sufficeret*. Perhaps the reduction of the *as* should be placed above A. U. C. Var. 500.

A. U. Var. 537, when C. Fabius Maximus was dictator, the *as* was diminished to one ounce, and the subdivisions of it in proportion; and sixteen of them were now made equal to a *denarius*, as they continued ever afterwards.

A. U. 576[c], when Papirius Turdus was tribune, the *as* was reduced to half an ounce.

From this general view of the alterations of the brass and silver coin of the Romans, the reader will naturally ask, What can the Baron mean, when, from the authority of a passage in the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, he would prove, that in the first Punic war a soldier's pay was six ounces of brass a day, which he calls in the note *three asses of ten ounces*[d]. And yet it is certain, as we have now seen, that no *asses* of ten ounces were ever coined. We must suppose then he intended to say, what some others have advanced from the same authority of Plautus[e], that the pay was at that time *three asses of two ounces*, ten of which *asses* were equal to a *denarius*.

Ubi sunt isti plagipatidæ, ferritribaces viri?

Isti, qui TRIUM NUMMORUM causa subeunt sub falas?

“Where are those fellows, who submit to be shot at for three pieces a day?” But here, if with Lipsius[f] and the Baron we suppose by *nummi* to be meant *asses* of two ounces each, it is inconsistent with the age of the poet, who wrote under the second Punic war, when the *asses* were reduced to one ounce. If with Puteanus[g], that *asses* of one ounce are

[c] The editions of Ainsworth place it 586, when Papirius Carbo was prætor. But perhaps it was in the year 543 of the Capitoline Marbles, i. e. 544, according to the Varronian account, when we find C. Papirius Turdus Q. F. Q. N. tribune in Pighius's Annals, p. 190.

[d] Ch. xvi. p. 221. [e] Act I. Sc. 2. 9. [f] Elect. i. 2. [g] De stipend. mil. c. 3. meant

meant, it is inconsistent with Polybius, who tells us (as we shall see presently) that the pay was at this time *five asses* of one ounce: and it is not likely he should speak of *asses* which prevailed in his own age, and of a pay which was in use before. Against both it is contended, that Plautus always uses *nummus* for the *stater* or two drachms-[*b*]; but undoubtedly never for the *as*. In short, the passage in Plautus has nothing to do with the soldiers pay: it is manifestly corrupted, and should probably be read thus, as a very ingenious friend has observed to me:

Ubi sunt isti plagipatidæ, ferritribaces viri?

VEL isti, qui trium nummorum causa subeunt falas?

Ubi illi, qui quindenis hastis corpus transfigi solent?

That is, "Where are the slaves, the GLADIATORS, the soldiers?" The last verse may be a compliment to the bravery of the Roman legions, which was then greatly distinguished. But whether it is so or not, the second line has not the least reference to their pay. Whatever is here meant by *nummi*, it is a sum far above the soldiers pay at that or any other time. If we take it for a *drachma* (as Plautus, we presume to say [*i*], always uses it; unless *aureus*, or *Philippeus*, is mentioned, and then it is the half *aureus*) instead of *five asses*, it is forty-eight a day. Or, if for a *didrachma*, as Gronovius imagined, then twice as much. The Baron was misled by Lipsius, or rather by the Delphin editor of Plautus, who very roundly applies this passage to the soldiers. It is strange that Gronovius, in his edition, should let Lipsius's note pass without any notice of the mistake in it, since, as we have seen, he expressly says elsewhere, that *nummi* always signifies *didrachmæ*.

Having then set aside the authority which misled the Baron, let us see what clearer light history affords us, towards forming a judgement of their pay, under different periods of the republic.

The Roman foot first received pay at the siege of the Veii [*k*], U. C. Var. 347, and (as Livy has been understood) the horse three years afterwards [*l*]. But he tells us, Servius Tullius [*m*] had designed for the horse

[*k*] See particularly Plaut. De Pseudol. iii. 2. 19. and Salm. De modo usur. c. ii. Rab. Schelius, De stipendio milit. c. iii. Gronov. De pecun. vet. p. 123.

[*i*] See this clearly proved in Mr. Clarke's Connexion of Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, p. 236, & seq.

[*k*] Liv. iv. 59. v. 4.

[*l*] Liv. v. 7.

[*m*] An equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduæ attributæ, quæ bina millia æris in annos singulos penderent. Liv. i. 43.

a yearly pay before. How shall we reconcile this? The easiest answer is, That at the siege of Veii, the horsemen or equites provided their own horses [n], as the Epitome of Livy expresses it, and as it probably should be read in the history itself. Before, a horse was supplied by the government at 10,000 *asses* for ten years (that being the time prescribed for serving in the army before they could enjoy any office [o] at home), and the horsemen's pay was 2000 *asses* yearly; but afterwards 3000 *asses* were paid to the soldier, and he procured a horse at his own expense. The full pay of the cavalry is called *triplex stipendium* [p], it being three times as much as was paid to the foot. Gronovius [q] therefore concludes the pay of the latter was originally 1000 *asses*, when they were at xii ounces each (which is two *asses* and $\frac{1}{2}$ of an *as* per day, reckoning, according to the custom of the ancients, 360 days to the year), and that this continued the pay till the second Punic war.

And yet it is not without probability that Schelius collects the yearly pay was originally, or at least before the second Punic war, 1000 *asses* in the year, somewhat more than three *asses* per day. In proof of this, it is observed, that at the end of that war, during which the horse, from a sense of the distress of the state, rejected [r] all pay for some time, Porcius Cato advised the senate to restore it to its ancient standard, and to give them 2200 [s] *ara* or *asses*. He takes no notice of the other third part of the pay, which perhaps had been continued without any interruption. Gronovius, with somewhat of diffidence, thinks *ara equestris* cannot signify 2000 *asses* to be paid to the horse, but 2000 horse, i. e. loca, or stipendia ærum, as *miles xx ærum*, a soldier who has received twenty years pay. In which sense Cato's motion was, that they should put 2200 horse on the establishment. But since *as* is sometimes used for the *as* (viz. *mille æris legasse*, Varro, L. L. viii. *Modius datur ære quaterno*, Mart. xii. 62.), circumstances

[n] Tum primum equis [suis] merere equites cœperunt. Liv. v. 7. the very words used in the Epitome.

[o] Polyb. vi. 17.

[p] Liv. v. Polyb. l. vi. 33.

[q] De pec. vet. l. iii. 2.

[r] Manavit ea privatorum benignitas ex urbe etiam in castra: ut non eques, non centurio stipendium acciperent; mercenariumque increpantes vocarent, qui acceperisset. Liv. xxiv. 18.

[s] Nunc ego arbitror restitui oportere ne, quo minus duobus millibus ducentis sit ærum equestrium, Catonis erat, ap. Priscianum, l. ii. Read *quo ne minus*, as Liv. xxxiv. 6.

particularly

particularly lead us to think it used so here. The number of cavalry varied according to the number of legions raised, 300 to a legion: since those depended on these, it was needless for Cato to propose multiplying them. There was no settled standard, except of pay, to which he could want them to be *restored*. The very necessity which induced the forces to relinquish pay, obliged the State to keep up the number of them; and we find the war carried on, during the three last years of it, with xx, xvi, and xiv legions [t]. When times were mended, the proposal was natural for restoring the pay to its former rate, not for augmenting the troops [u].

Under the second Punic war, the pay was, as Polybius tells us [x], two *oboli* a day. The *obolus* was the sixth part of a *drachm* or *denarius*, now raised to xvi *asses*; consequently two *oboli* were something above five *asses*, i. e. $\frac{1}{3}$. But this was as near as Polybius could express it in his language, and perhaps he did not intend any greater precision. So that, instead of three *asses*, or six oz. of brass in the first Punic war, the pay was five *asses*, or five oz. in the second, as the Baron describes it; in weight of brass diminished a sixth, in number of *asses* raised above a third; instead of a HS. and half an *as*, it was now a HS. and an *as*; instead of 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* in the year, now 112 $\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* Pliny [y] says the *denarius*, when raised to xvi *asses*, in the soldiers pay, was still valued at x only, i. e. in regard to their former

[t] Liv. xxx. 2. 27. 40.

[u] Here, I may be allowed to observe, Gronovius, in reply to Salmasius, says there were more *equites*, or knights, under king Servius, than under the second Punic war. He says so on a presumption that many were *knights* by *estate*, who had not pay, nor a public horse assigned them. And to the same purpose, the last learned writer on the Roman Senate, that many received pay, who were not knights. "The title of *equites* was not given indiscriminately to all those who served in the Roman cavalry, but to those only, who, by their estates, were placed in the equestrian class*." Cavalry, and not *equites*! what name then shall we find for them? He means, though they were cavalry or *equites*, they were not all of the *equestrian* order. But we will presume, against Dr. Chapman, Gronovius, Sigonius, and other great names, in the first place, that though many might have the qualification for knights, the *census equestris*, yet none were actually so, till they were placed on the establishment by the censors, and had a horse assigned them at the public expence. *2dly*, That the Roman or Legionary horse, till the time of the Social war, consisted of none but such knights so established; a standing militia, who seem to have been admitted by the censors to a third part of pay, an allowance for a public horse; till they were drawn out as occasion required, and put on whole pay, *era equestris*, by the consuls. This we have formerly observed on another occasion: but for further proof of it must now refer to Schelius, in his Comment on Hyginus in Grævius's Thesaurus, vol. ix. and to Grævius's Preface in vol. i.

[x] Lib. vi. 37.

[y] Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 13. ed. Hard.

* Dr. Chapman, p. 16.

pay of 1000 *asses*, upon every *ten* they received *six* additional *asses*; in the year 660 *asses*, and an advance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* or 40 *asses* more; making in all 1800 *asse*. Or take it in their daily pay, when the *denarius* went for *ten asses*, the soldier had *three asses* per day; when for *sixteen*, he had *five*, i. e. he was paid just in the same manner, as he was before the *asses* were reduced. Polybius and Pliny say the same thing, only in different words. If, lastly, we should say, that the pay was originally 1125 *asses*, and that 675 were added to the new pay, to make up the value of the old, viz. $112\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* it would be more exactly conformable to Pliny. So that without any variation in silver, instead of an old *den.* of x *asses*, the soldier received a new *den.* of xvi. And what hinders this from being the case? The passage in Livy, concerning the pay of king Servius's horse, admits of various interpretations, and might be no precedent for the foot 150 years afterwards. Cato, as is usual in round numbers, might designedly omit mentioning the odd parts above the hundred: in this very speech it follows, *De duobus millibus actum est*; when his words before were, *quo ne minus duobus millibus ducentis*. 'Tis certain Livy [2] alludes to the pay of $112\frac{1}{2}$ *den.* even before silver was coined. He says, the Campanian knights, who refused to join their countrymen in their revolt against the Romans, U. C. Var. 414, had each a yearly pension assigned them of 450 *denarii*; which is exactly four times $112\frac{1}{2}$; the pay of the foot, as we have seen, under the second Punic war; and we now add, perhaps under the first. Scaliger throws out *denarios*, and understands *asses*. Mr. Hooke, following him [a], says the pension was *near thirty Shillings*;—a poor reward for so signal fidelity. No, the Romans assigned them for life a quarter more than usual pay, and made the revolted raise it. See the procedure against the Latin colonies, Liv. xxix. 15. If we leave out *denarios*, it will be hard, I believe, to find *nummos* used for *asses*.

This continued to be the pay in silver through the remainder almost of the republic; though the *as*, U. C. Var. 576, being sunk to half an ounce, the pay (in number of *asses* still the same) in weight was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Julius Cæsar [b] doubled it. Accordingly the soldiers in a mutiny under Tiberius

[2] Liv. viii. 11. Denarios nummos quadringenos quinquagenos, i. e. of English money, 15*l.* sterling reckoning the denarius at 8*d.*

[a] Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 393.

[b] Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Suet. Cæs. xxi.

complain

complain that they hazarded their lives for *ten* [c] *asses* a day, or *v oz.* which is 3600 *asses*, or 225 *denarii* in the year. Harduin, strangely mistaking the passage in Pliny, makes the pay advanced to a *denarius* a day under the second Punic war: which leaves no room for Julius Cæsar's *doubling* it, and so contradicts the testimony of Suetonius as well as of Polybius. Say, Julius Cæsar raised it to a *denarius*. Then, instead of *doubling* it, he made it above *triple* to what it was. Unless we suppose, that, when the *as* was reduced to half an ounce, the pay was eight *asses*, or *iv ounces* per day; in the year 2880 *asses*, or 180 *denarii*; and that Julius Cæsar made it 360 *denarii*.

But this ill agrees with what Suetonius [d] and Zonaras [e] relate, who, compared together, prove three payments in the year of *lxxv denarii* every *four months*, *ccxxv* in the whole; and that a fourth payment was added by Domitian of *lxxv den.* in all *ccc den.* or 4800 *asses*, paid at four equal payments, every *three months*, which is, as the Baron observes, $13\frac{1}{4}$ *asses*, per day, *i. e.* twelve *aurei* per annum, as before there were only *nine*.—Here then we may reason backwards, since 225 *den.* was the pay before Domitian, it must have been only $112\frac{1}{2}$ before Julius Cæsar doubled it. It is further observable, that though we consider the pay of the ancients, as we do that of the moderns, at so much per day, yet it was paid by even portions, every three months, four months, or twelve months. The several regulations then will stand thus:

	oz.	asses per day.	per ann.	den.
From Servius Tullius	12	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1000	
First Punic war.	6	$6\frac{1}{4}$	1100	110
Second Punic war.	5	5	1800	$112\frac{1}{2}$
U. C. 576.	$2\frac{1}{4}$			
Julius Cæsar.	5	10	3600	225
Domitian.	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{4}$	4800	300

I have added the estimates of the *as* and *denarius*, because I do not see how a judgement can be formed of the value of the soldiers pay under the different periods in brass only, without taking into consideration the pro-

[c] Tacit. Annal. i. 17.

[d] Addidit et quantum stipendium militi, aureos ternos. Suet. in Domit. vii.

[e] Πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμαὶ ἑκάστῳ λαμβάνοντες ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα δίδονται. Zonar. l. xi. c. 19. p. 580. ed. Par.

portion it bore to silver. And I have pursued this subject the rather, because Mr. Kennet, who is often commended to save the trouble of examination, treats it with great inaccuracy: telling us, That after Julius Cæsar doubled the pay, Augustus raised it to *ten asses* a day; and Domitian to xxv [*f*]: he would say, Augustus to xxv *den.* per month, and Domitian to xl *asses* per day, designing to follow Lipsius [*g*], who puts the *den.* at x *asses* under Polybius, and at xii under Augustus; but to all the errors in him he adds confusion of his own.

Having entered thus far on the Roman money, shall I presume to submit one or two passages on this head, in the Baron's larger work, to his second consideration? If they are small mistakes, I am sure no writer has more excellences to counterbalance them.

He thinks [*h*], against the opinion of several authors, that the law obtained by L. Valerius Flaccus under Sylla, and mentioned by Paterculus [*i*], related to the lessening of interest, not to the dissolving part of the principal. The Romans called twelve per cent. *asses usuræ*; therefore *quadrans*, he thinks, signified a fourth part of that interest, or three per cent. He says, "Quadrans cannot signify a fourth part of the principal according to the language of the Latin writers; in that sense they said, *tertia et quarta pars*, not *quadrans*." Under favour, I would ask (1) what shall we think of this passage, *Fecit palam te ex libella, me ex teruncio* [*k*]. Whatever sum was here bequeathed (for which the reader may consult Gronovius) it is plain a principal sum is specified, not an interest. So in Martial, l. xi. 51.

Mittebas libram: QUADRANTEM, Garrice, mittis:

Saltem SEMISSEM, Garrice, mitte mihi.

Again, l. viii. 9.

Solvere DODRANTEM nuper tibi, Quincte, volebat

Lippus Hylas: nunc vult solvere dimidium.

The commentators may interpret the last two passages of interest, but he that considers them impartially will make a different judgement. For (2) so far is *quadrans*, &c. from being the language of the Latin writers for

[*f*] Kennet, p. 218.

[*g*] Elect. l. i. c. 2. op. vol. I.

[*h*] L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxii. c. 22.

[*i*] In hujus locum substitutus Valerius Flaccus, turpissimæ legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi jusserat: cujus facti merita eum poena inter biennium consecuta est. Patere. l. ii. c. 23.

[*k*] Cic. ad. Attic. vii. 2.

interests,

interests, that it is rarely or never so used in the singular number, if we may believe two great masters [1] in this and every other branch of literature; and one of them assigns a very good reason for it. The Romans computed their interest by the month, whence Horace [m], *tristes misero venere kalenda*. It was often paid, however, only half yearly, so that one payment contained the interests of several months. Thus *asses usurae* was one per cent. per month. Consequently, *quadrantes usurae* (not *quadrans*) was the fourth part of that interest, or three per cent. per annum. (3.) The conditions of this Valerian law are described in Sallust [n] thus: *Ac novissime memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, ARGENTUM AERE solutum est*. It is plain that *solvere quadrantem* in Paterculus, is the same with *solvere argentum aere* in Sallust. Now if *asses*, a brass coin, were paid for *sestercies*, a silver coin, at that time worth iv asses, a fourth part of the principal was paid for the whole. But suppose *quadrans* to signify three per cent. or a fourth part of *asses usurae*, it will be impossible to reconcile it with *ARGENTUM aere solutum*. The Romans denominated all their rates of interest by *asses*, and the subdivisions of the *as*; is it possible they should describe the lowering such *brass* interest (if I may use the term) by saying they paid brass for SILVER? A late learned Editor indeed of Cicero's *Familiar Epistles* [o] maintains, that *Sestertius* is not, as is commonly understood, the name of any particular coin. He is not the only person who has been of this opinion: Sperlingius [p] went before him in it. It is however undoubtedly a false one; the passages we have been examining are alone a clear confutation of it: the representations of this piece of money in books with the mark 11s, and the cabinets of the curious, will further give him ocular conviction; in particular, I believe, that repository of learned curiosities, which is open to all the lovers of them, and which supplied him with the MS. of these Epistles. But what I would most recommend to the Reader's admiration on this occasion is, the happiness of our numerous translators of Sallust in the passage before us. The most reputed of them discreetly slides over the difficulty:—*in consideration*, says he, *of the universal pressure of debts, public authority intervened; and with the unanimous*

[1] Salm. De modo usur. c. vii. Gronov. De pec. vet. l. iii. c. 13. p. 225.

[m] Serm. i. ver. 17.

[n] Bell. Cat. §. 34.

[o] Dr. Ross, vol. i. p. 452.

[p] De nummis non culis, p. 229, 230.

voice of every good citizen, the creditors were obliged to take a composition. He leaves out, what his original tells us,—of five shillings in the pound. The author of a free translation says, *brass was made to pass in payment for silver*, WEIGHT FOR WEIGHT. He had better have gone no further than word for word. The *as* was at this time half an ounce, the *denarius* the seventh of an ounce, and worth xvi *asses*: so that brass was to silver as 1 to 56; consequently the composition of the debtors would, at this rate, amount to not above $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ in the pound: and if the money pound was, as is usually reckoned in round sums, 100 *denarii*, it would not come to so much. A composition, which the legislature would hardly have been at the trouble of saving; but would with a better grace have cancelled the debt.

In the former law we have brass offered us for silver: a similar fraud has deceived the Baron, with many others, in the interpretation of the Voconian Law. Few monuments, he observes, have reached us of it [q], and as it has hitherto been spoken of in a most confused manner, he will endeavour to clear it up. “The Voconian law, he says, was made to hinder “the women from growing too wealthy; for this end it was necessary to “deprive them of large inheritances, and not of such as could not give “rise to luxury. Thus we find in Cicero (Orat. against Verres, l. i. 41.) “that women were rendered incapable of succeeding to those only who “were rated high in the censor’s books. *Qui census esset*, which Dio explains “of him who had a hundred thousand, i. e. of him who had the first census, as we may see in Livy, l. i. and Dion. Halicarn.” Now, with submission, here seems something of that uncertainty and confusion, which most other writers have fallen into, who have treated of this law. 1. Cicero is supposed to say, that women are prohibited from succeeding to those only who were rated high in the censor’s books, without specifying what that high rate was, which laid them under this incapacity. 2. Dio is said to explain this high rate at a hundred thousand, and yet to leave his reader in the dark whether it was so many pounds or pence. And 3. it is interpreted by the Baron (not by Dio) to be one who had the first census according to Servius Tullius’s institution. Now that was c thousand *asses æris gravis*. But Dio’s words, in the age he wrote, were clear and determinate for a different sum and a different sense; who says the law

[q] L’Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. 1.

forbad women ὑπὲρ δύο ἡμισυ μυριάδας κληρονομεῖν [r], *to inherit above two myriads and a half of DRACHMS*, for that was the coin the Greek [s] writers always understood, as the Latin writers did *sesterces*. The Romans therefore would call this sum *c thousand nummi* or *sesterces*, which, at 2 *d.* each, amount to 833 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of English money. How the learned Baron could extract from Dio *c thousand* any things, without understanding *sesterces*, as he ought, is not very conceivable. It must be observed then, 4. that the law in Dio does not limit the sum which the *testator* was to be *worth*, but that only which the *heirefs* was to *inherit*; which was absolutely (without regard to the testator's high or low rate in the cenfor's books) *c thousand HS.*

But it was Asconius, who, on the passage cited from Cicero [t], imposed on the Baron. Cicero, entering upon some arbitrary proceedings of Verres in his prætorship, says [u], "P. Annius Afellus dying when C. Annius "Sacerdos was prætor, and not being registered in the cenfor's books, made, "as nature directed, and the law allowed, his only daughter his heirefs." Of the words *neque census esset* Asconius offers two interpretations; one, that which I have now given; the other (*inconsistent* as well as *false*) that which the Baron, after many other learned men, has unwarily adopted [x]. This interpretation of Asconius is *inconsistent* with itself, because it supposes those to be meant in the Voconian law who were worth *c thousand sesterces*, and yet to be the same who under Servius Tullius had the first census, and were rated at *c thousand asses*, a sum, which, when the Voconian law passed U. C. Var. 585. would amount only to *xl thousand sesterces*. It is *false* on many accounts: 1. It is contrary to Dio's clear and determinate sense of the law. 2. It supposes *c thousand HS.* to be sufficient to raise a man to the first class,

[r] Dio, l. lvi. p. 578.

[s] If the reader doubts of this, besides the passages cited by Perizonius on this subject, Diff. ii. pp. 144. 169. 171. he may consult the learned comment on the Marmor Sandvicense, p. 29, 30. But Plutarch in Antonius is express: μυριάδας ἑκατὸν πέντε καὶ ἑκατοὶ δοχμιαὶ τὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δικαίον καλεῖται, p. 69. ed. Bryant, *twenty-five myriads* [of drachms] *the Romans called decies*, or a million HS.

[t] Cic. in Verrem, l. i. Act ii. c. 41.

[u] P. Annius Afellus mortuus est, C. Annio Sacerdote prætore. Is cum haberet unicam filiam, *neque census esset*, quod eum natura hortabatur, lex nulla prohibebat, fecit ut filiam bonis suis hæredem institueret.

[x] *Neque census esset* Neque centum millia *sestertium* possideret; nam more veterum *censi* dicebantur, qui *centum millia* professione detulissent: hujusmodi adeo facultates *census* vocabantur. Ascon.

at a time when it would scarce be sufficient to place him in the lowest. The very year in which this law was passed, it was ordered, that those citizens, who were not possessed of land in the country worth xxx *thousand sesterces*, besides money and estates in town, should be passed over unregarded in the census [y]. The next year L. Paullus, the father of Scipio Æmilianus, is said to have died not rich, though he left [z] above lx talents, or, as Plutarch, xxxvii *myriads* [of drachms.] Much less could c *thousand sesterces* be deemed a fortune in Cicero's time. Augustus, it is observed, hearing that some who were banished, lived too high, debarred them from possessing more than cxxv *thousand sesterces* [a], indulging them even under a restraint of indigence a greater sum than Asconius makes a mark of opulence. But what effectually overthrows this interpretation, P. Annii Asellus, who is here said *non census*, was, as appears from this very oration, a senator. Now the lowest qualification in Cicero's time was (if we may conclude from what it was under Augustus [b],) *ducc thousand HS.* Servius's distribution of the people into classes, upon which Asconius's interpretation is founded, had long since received great alterations [c]. Another distinction prevailed of three *orders*, Senators, Knights, and People, arising likewise from different estimates of wealth. Whence Livy [d], under the second Punic war, joins *census* and *ordines* as terms in some respect equivalent.

After all, the reader will ask, why did Cicero insert so useless a circumstance concerning Annii Asellus, that he was not enrolled, *neque census esset*? When the Voconian law passed, each citizen was obliged to be enrolled as often as a lustrum was held by the censors, that so he might be entitled to pay his just proportion of taxes. By laying then a restraint upon all who were enrolled at the last lustrum, and should be so for the future [e], it laid a restraint on every citizen. But it was soon evaded two

[y] Liv. xlv. 15.

[z] Polyb. p. 1427. 1454. 8vo. Plut. in vit.

[a] Μῆν' ὀλίαν [ὅτις δώδεκα καὶ ἡμισίαν] μυριάδας ἔχειν, ne plus quingentis millibus nummum possideret. Dio, anno 764. Sylburgius's edition has by an unlucky mistake left out the words included within crotchets.

[b] Suet. in Aug. c. 41.

[c] See Livy, i. 43. and this author, c. viii.

[d] Edixerunt consules, ut privati ex CENSU ORDINIBUSQUE remiges darent.—Hunc consensum senatus equester ordo est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs. Liv. xxvi. 35, 36.

[e] Sanxit in posterum, qui post A. Posthumium, Q. Fulvium censores census esset, ne hæredem virginem, neve mulierem faceret. Cic. in Verr. l. i. 42.

ways, either by a man's making over his estate to be held in trust for an heir, as in Cic. De finib. ii. 17. or by neglecting to be enrolled, as it is here alledged of Afellus. The inconveniencies which attended this expedient at the making of the law, the degeneracy of the times soon removed. After the Macedonian war was ended, when taxes ceased, and the censor's office was remissly executed [*f*]; when Marius enlisted into the legions citizens of the lowest class, estimated only *per capita*; when the very office of censor was intermitted for sixteen years, as it was in the time of Cicero [*g*]; when enrollment became no longer a proof of a man's being even a citizen [*h*], the law of course grew quite obsolete [*i*]; and the *Perpetual Edict* of the Prætor (which was made so U. C. Var. 686.) totally abolished it, allowing to women the right of succession without reserve [*k*]. Augustus, with a different spirit from that which occasioned the Law, revived in some measure the restraint in it. The late civil wars having exhausted the state of its subjects, that emperor passed the Julian Papian Law, by which those women only were entitled to legacies, who by being mothers had contributed to repair their country's loss. So that this was not (as the Baron

[*f*] See L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxiii. c. 27.

[*g*] See Ascon. in Cæcil. Divinat. c. 3. This intermission may be traced in the Fasti Capitolini, U. C. 667—683.

[*h*] Cic. pro Archia poet. c. 5. Here I should observe, that we have referred to a passage in Cicero to shew the decay of the censor's power, from whence Dr. Middleton proves the just and legal extent of it. Enrollment, he observes, Cicero tells us, pro Archia 5. did not confirm any man's right to a citizenship, but signified only, that he had passed for a citizen at that time. Because the power of determining that right resided always in the people.—Hard was the case of the Roman people, if enrollment was not decisive at that time when non-enrollment was punished with confiscation of goods, as Dion. Hal. says it was for some time.—But the Doctor would prove that the power of determining that right resided always in the people, from the case of Mutines, who had his freedom given him by their voice. Liv. xxvii. 5. *Mutines etiam Civis Romanus factus rogatione ab tribunis plebis ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.*—In the first place, this is an act, we see, of the whole Legislative Power, the Senate, and People, and prescribes, perhaps, nothing for or against the ordinary power of the censor. In the second place, it is unlucky on another account. L. Veturius Philo and P. Licinius Crassus were censors in that year when Mutines had his freedom given him, as appears from the Fasti Capitolini, U. C. 543. compared with the consuls mentioned by Livy. Now Livy tells us, these censors did no one public act, and when one died, the other quitted his office. *Hi censores neque senatum legerunt, nec quicquam publicæ rei egerunt; mors diremit L. Veturii, inde L. Licinius censura se abdicavit.* L. xxvii. 5. Strange that this writer should single out such an unlucky instance, when much better for his purpose might have been produced.

[*i*] Obliteratam et opertam civitatis opulentia. Noct. Att. xx. 1.

[*k*] So Tribonianus tells us, § 3. Instit. de leg. agn. Succ.

after Dio thinks) a *dispensation of the prohibition of the Voconian law* [1] then subsisting, but a branch of that obsolete law revived and new modified.

I have advanced little more than what Perizonius has observed in his *Dissertation* on this law [m], which Grævius has abridged in the oration against Verres before cited. Since their day many learned men have treated of this subject, and yet have neglected to enjoy the light afforded them. Is it not strange to see Mr. Hearne, at the end of his Livy, sweat through three or four pages under difficulties, which had been cleared up to his hands in the *Dissertation* which he had elsewhere made use of in his Notes on that historian? The prime mistake has got possession of our dictionaries, and, with many others, will probably long continue there. We are told from Asconius that *cens* signifies men possessed of c thousand *sesterces*, which, as we have seen, he says indeed, and unsays, and is not true whether we understand HS. or *asses*; but only signifies *estimated* in the censor's book, without regard to any certain *rate*.

I would here dismiss this subject; but it must not be dissembled that I see one particular will be objected to by Dr. Chapman, before cited, who maintains "that *no estate* was prescribed as a necessary qualification for a "member of the senate before the time of Augustus [n]."—He allows however, that, "as the questorship was in the *latter* ages of the common-
"wealth a kind of necessary step to the dignity of senator; and as few
"persons could obtain even that, without the assistance of that power and
"influence, which is the natural consequence of a great fortune, it is cer-
"tainly true in fact that the house was filled with men of the largest pro-
"perty [n]." A concession sufficient for our present argument against Asconius: but still, as this is a matter of new enquiry, I would beg leave to submit to that learned author one or two considerations. 1. He supposes the original qualification of the equites, *viz.* c thousand *asses*, to have continued till the time of Roscius Otho. Servius Tullius, dividing the people into six classes, placed the equites at the head of the highest, which was rated at one hundred thousand *asses*. Therefore, it is concluded, they were all along *possessed of an estate of that value* [o]. But what sort of qualifi-

[1] L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

[m] Daventriæ, 1679.

[n] Gruchius imagines it introduced by Julius Cæsar. De comitiis, i. c. 4.

[o] Dr. Chapman on the Roman senate, p. 17. It is certain, U. C. Var. 351, some qualification was prescribed to the equites. *Quibus census equestris erat.* Liv. i. 7. One would be tempted to think the knights had even now a higher census than the first class; it is not said, *primæ classis census*, but *census equestris*.

cation shall we think so small a sum was, at a time when (as we have seen before) xxx thousand *sesterces*, or cxx thousand *asses*, would entitle a citizen to be only of the lowest class; at the time this Voconian law was made, when many a common citizen was under the temptation of leaving a daughter or niece four times as much, besides a provision for his son? If the old qualification prescribed by Servius Tullius was what the censors were to attend to, it would of course have been obliterated before Roscius, just as the Voconian law was, by the growing opulence of the city. There was then, *in effect*, either no qualification required during great part of the republic, or a higher. U. C. 539, in the fifth year of the second Punic war, the consuls by an edict required all those, who at the foregoing census possessed, or had since acquired, from 50,000 *asses* to 100,000, to provide one sailor for six months; all from 100,000 to 300,000, to provide three for a year; from 300,000 to a million, five; all above, seven; and the senators eight. We see from these five *classes* (the sixth being only *capite censi*, and contributing nothing to the charges of the state) that Servius's *classes* were quite changed; and that, placing the equites next to the senators, instead of c thousand *asses*, they were worth a million, which, when the census was taken, was 400,000 HS. the very rate appointed for them *afterwards* by Roscius Otho. How then did that knight merit so well of his order, when he fixt the census of it at 400,000 HS? It must be observed, U. C. 537, before this contribution, exigences were such, that the *asses* were reduced xvi to a denarius, and the census probably (still rated by the same number of *asses*) sunk above a third; till Otho raised it to its former standard by estimating it in silver, *i. e.* reckoning ten *asses* to the denarius, as Pliny says was *always* done in the pay of the soldiers. This possibly is the key to the passage before us, which the two polite writers on the Roman Senate have turned contrary ways, that they might unlock the difficulty. Dr. Middleton says, from hence "it is certain the Senators generally, in these early times, possessed a much larger portion of wealth than even DCCC thousand SESTERCES." It is *certain* he has falsely taken HS. for *asses*, and raised every sum above twice as high as he ought [p]. Dr. Chapman fetches out the estates of the senators to

[p] — qui supra trecenta millia usque ad decies *ÆRIS*, quinque nautas; qui supra decies, septem; senatores, octo. Liv. xxiv. 11. *that those who were rated from 2400*l.* to 8000*l.* should furnish five sailors*, &c. Middleton, Rom. Senate, p. 102. He should have said *from 1000*l.* to 3333*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.**

amount at a MEDIUM to 1,040,000 *asses*, or 416,000 HS. "Now the first senatorian census (says he) under Augustus was, on the authority of "Dio, but 400,000 HS. whence the reader may judge of the *improbability* "of its being greater by 16,000 HS. at a time when the Roman riches "were so comparatively inconsiderable, as *under* the second Punic war." If he means, at the time when the contribution was made, his number of *asses* amounts only to 260,000 HS. He should have said, just *before* the commencement of the second Punic war. For it appears that the estimates here mentioned were taken U. C. Var. 534, when that war was scarce begun, and after the republic had been superior to its most formidable rival in a former. Now under Augustus, Dio says, p. 540. the *senatorian census* was *fixt*, i. e. sunk to 400,000 HS. *in consideration of the calamities of the civil wars*, which, as they pull a nation back for many years, might well induce that emperor to lower the Senatorian census to what the Equestrian was before. But low as these Senators estates can possibly be brought, it is a far more reasonable sum than that to which the stories told by Valerius Maximus will depress them; who represents the Senate in great munificence advancing out of the treasury xi thousand *asses* [q] (or 22*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) to the proconsul Cn. Scipio's daughter for her fortune. Believe it who can. When I see Asconius and Dr. Middleton confounding HS. with *asses*, I can easily imagine some such error has misled this writer of *Memorables*: we learn from unquestionable authority, that ladies in those days had much higher fortunes; that within a few years afterward, P. Scipio Africanus the elder, first cousin of the forementioned lady, promised to give, first and last, with each of his two daughters, xxv talents [r], which is two millions four hundred thousand *asses*, in our money 5000*l.*

2. It is observable, that when the Roman Senators obtained the privilege of sitting by themselves at the shews in the theatre, U. C. Var. 560, the people complained of the fastidiousness of the *wealthy* [s]; notwithstanding they had then the *equites* among them to keep them in counte-

[q] Val. Max. vi. 4. Dr. Chapman says 35*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* He is too indulgent in pursuance of his preceding mistake: the *denarius* was worth xvi *asses* then current; not only x, as he computes.

[r] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 1460. Ed. 8vo.

[s] Horum ædilitium ludos Romanos primum senatus a populo secretus spectavit—ad plviii in promiscuo spectatum esse? Cur Dives pauperem confessorum fastidiret? Liv. xxxiv. 44.

nance. About the same time T. Quinctius, in reforming the cities of Theffaly [t], in general nominated Senators and Judges according to the value of their estates. Whence shall we think he drew this plan, but from the example of his parent city, Rome? If the conformity was kept exactly, the passage may seem to imply that the censors sometimes put men of distinguished abilities on the roll without having a Senatorian estate: but it shews, that in general there was a certain census for that superior order. Thus again, among the regulations prescribed to the Halesini by C. Claudius the Prætor, and to the people of Agrigentum by Scipio, one was that the Senators should be possessed of an estate to a certain value [u]. I use here the authority, as well as argument, of Dr. Middleton, who cites this passage of Cicero to prove the Senatorian age among the Romans from what they directed to other nations. If it is good for a certain age, it is equally so for a certain estate.

3. Though we allow Asconius mistaken when he treats, as he pretends, *de more veterum*, yet his authority is good when he speaks almost of his own times. If so, his testimony is decisive for a Senatorian census prevailing at least in the latter end of the republic. A Roman citizen, says he, was specified in the censor's books, either by his prænomen, his family name, or surname; from his tribe or curia in which he was enrolled; or from his effects, as being a Senator or Knight [x]. Again; 'Tis certain, during the time of the republic, a census was prescribed for the judges by the Aurelian, Pompeian, and the Julian laws [y]. Now our Asconius tells us [z], that by the Pompeian law, the judges were to be, differently than heretefore, nominated out of the three orders of Senators, Knights, and Centurions; all of them to be of the highest census. Sigonius [a] thinks this judicial census was

[t] A censu MAXIME senatum et judices legit. Liv. xxxiv. 15.

[u] Cic. in Verrem, ii. 49, 50.

[x] Moris autem fuit, says he, ut, cum aliquis civis Romanus ostendendus esset, significaretur aut a prænordine suo, aut a nomine, aut a cognomine; aut a tribu in quo censeretur; aut a curia; aut a censu, ut si erat senator, equeve Romanus. Ascon. ad Cic. in Verrem, i. 8.

[y] Cic. Philipp. i. 8.

[z] Ut amplissimo ex censu, ex centuriis, aliter quam ante, lecti judices, æque tamen ex illis tribus ordinibus, res judicarent. Ascon. in orat. contra L. Pison. c. 39.

[a] Significat senatores legi potuisse, qui octingenta millia possiderent; equites, qui quadringenta; at judices e senatorio ordine, aut equestri, nisi qui amplissima censu essent, id est, qui supra senatorium, aut equestrem censum possiderent, constitui non licuisse. Sigon. *De antiquo jure civium Rom.* l. ii. c. xviii.

not only distinct from that of knights and senators, but higher than the lowest limits of each, i. e. that the *judicial knights* were to be possessed of more than what was prescribed to the knights in general, and the *judicial senators* of a larger census than that prescribed to the senators. This seems to me, with submission, a forced interpretation. Many had been the contests between the knights and senators for the judicial power. Pompey's law compromised the difference; it laid open the distinction of order, but with this restriction, that though the judges were not to be all senators, they should all be possessed of a senator's estate, *ex amplissimo censu lecti*: which I should interpret *ex censu ordinis amplissimi*.—But whatever was this *judicial census*, Pliny ascribes it [*b*], jointly with the *senatorian*, to the effects of luxury; and he would hardly so ill distinguish times as to jumble two institutions, which began, one, as we have seen, under the republic; the other, as Dr. Chapman imagines, under the emperors. We will apply, with this accurate writer [*c*], the particulars enumerated by Pliny to the times of affluence and of *agonizing liberty*. But we need not wait for those days till the reign of Augustus. Though it is allowed, by the conquest of Egypt [*d*], a new fund of riches flowed into his capital, yet more great fortunes seem to have been raised before the civil war broke out, when whole armies were supported by single persons, than were ever afterwards. The donations made by that emperor prove at once the immense wealth he was possessed of, and the want of it in others. He supplied not only the legal qualifications to knights and senators, but even the deficiencies of the treasury. We learn from the inscription at Ancyra, that, at four donations [*e*] only, he distributed to 250,000 men iv hundred HS. i. e. about

[*b*] *Posteris laxitas mundi et rerum amplitudo damno fuit, postquam senator censu legi coëptus, judex fieri censu.* Plin. N. H. xiv. præm.

[*c*] Rom. Senate. p. 120, 121.

[*d*] See Montesquieu's *Reflexions*, 1759, p. 235.

[*e*] The learned Mr. Chishull, under the fourth donation, is fallen into a mistake, Tab. iii. l. 14. p. 174. "*Quæ mea congiaria pervenerunt ad [sesterti]vum millia nunquam minus quinquaginta et ducenta.*" p. 191. That is, as he understands it, each donation amounted to 50,200,000 HS. and thence concludes, that since each man received cccc HS. 125,000 always partook of the donation. But *millia quinquaginta et ducenta* can signify no more than 250,000. and do not here *express* HS. but the number of receivers whom he searches for by *implication*, and should be read undoubtedly, "*pervenerunt ad civium MILLIA,*" &c. as l. 15. "*trecentis et viginti millibus PLEBEI.*" and l. 19. "*acceperunt id HOMINVM circiter centum et viginti.*" and again, l. 21. "*ea millia HOMINVM paulo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.*" [See Mr. Bowyer's Remarks on Chishull, p. 180. of these Tracts. J. N.]

3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a man; in all, near 210,000*l.* each time. In short, he is recorded there to have given away above xvii millions of pounds sterling, besides one donation which time has effaced.

4. Suetonius and Dio, compared together, lead us to think a qualification was required before the time of Augustus. Suetonius [*f*] says, "Augustus ENLARGED the senatorian census, and from eight hundred thousand HS. RAISED it to one million two hundred thousand HS." Dio [*g*], that Augustus fixed it at first at four hundred thousand HS. "in consideration of the misfortunes which many families had felt by the civil wars; and afterwards raised it to a million." Now, according to Dr. Chapman's hypothesis, the result of what is here delivered is, that the senatorian census was fixed by Augustus first at four hundred thousand HS. then at eight hundred thousand HS. then a million; lastly, at one million two hundred thousand. A strange mark of inconstancy in the emperor, and more strange inaccuracy in the historians; the former passing over in silence the first rate; the latter, the second. But we see prudence in the emperor, and method in the historians, if we suppose that Suetonius describes the senatorian census as Augustus *found* it, and as he *left* it at his death; and that Dio mentions the rate to which Augustus *first sunk* it, and *afterwards raised* it. 'Tis true indeed Dio says nothing here of Suetonius's one million two hundred thousand HS. But he mentions the occasion of that report elsewhere, telling us, "That Augustus supplied several senators and knights with the money which was wanting to their qualification, and to fourscore of them gave thirty myriads of drachms [*b*]," the very sum which in the Roman style is *duodecies*, or one million two hundred thousand HS. This munificent act of Augustus probably misled Suetonius to think that emperor ultimately raised the census to so high a rate.

I shall forbear all further enquiries except one: whence is it, that I should thus presume to differ from my betters? But as errors in money

[*f*] Senatorium censum ampliavit, et pro octingentorum millium summa duodecies HS. taxavit; supplevitque non habentibus. Suet. in *Aug.* c. 41.

[*g*] Τούτων γὰρ [δύο μυριάδων] τὸ βασιλικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἑτέρα καὶ οἱ πέντε καὶ ἑκοσι μυριάδας ἀπὸ προήγαφ. Dio, l. iv. p. 531. vid. & p. 540.

[*b*] Τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνιπλήρωσεν, ὀγδύκοντα δὲ τρισὶ καὶ ἑξήκοντα μυριάδας πέντε ἑκατομμύρια. Dio, lib. lv. p. 557.

accounts are daily adjusted without offence; it would be strange, if any should be taken where we are less interested, where the sums are Roman. If I have not transgressed the decent bounds of liberty, which is as necessary to the welfare of the literary, as of the political republic, I will trust to the Baron's natural, I may add national, humanity to pardon me. I claim no merit to myself, nor will I decide on the different titles of others to it:

Perierunt iudice formæ

Pergama.

I have only produced Gronovius, Perizonius, &c. who have varied from the Baron in computing fractions, while he has been holding the balance of kingdoms, and, no less a philosopher than statesman, accounting for the several operations of the commercial, political, and social world, on as regular principles as our Newton has fixed those of the natural: nay, what is more, has reconciled the discordancy, I had almost said madness of Religion, to the uniformity and rectitude of Reason.

N. B. I have supposed the *denarius* to weigh 62 grains troy, under the republic and the first emperors, as Mr. Greaves has proved it ought to weigh, and experience that it did weigh. He reduces it, and Dr. Arbuthnot after him, &c. to $7\frac{1}{4}d.$ English, taking our ounce at a round sum to be 5*s.* But silver being in reality at 5*s.* 3*d.* per ounce, the *denarius* amounts to 8*d.* which is thus more easily computed without any fraction, and is more exactly the truth.

Several small notes by Mr. BOWYER are interspersed throughout the volume of Montesquieu's Reflexions; most of them too minute to be here transcribed. The following, however, is added, as having not before appeared in print.

“The division into centuries,” says Montesquieu, “was a division rather of estates and fortunes, than of persons. The whole body of the people was divided into a hundred and ninety-three centuries*, which

* See Livy, lib. i. 43. & Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv. & vii.

“had

“ had each a single vote. The patricians and leading men composed the
 “ first ninety-eight centuries; and the other ninety-five consisted of the
 “ remainder of the citizens. *In this division, therefore, the Patricians were*
“ masters of the suffrages.”

The author before observes, that the claim of Servius Tullius was to *augment the power of the people, and to weaken the real dignity and authority of the Senate*, p. 118. Yet now he says in the *comitia centuriata*, the Senate, or the Patricians, were masters of the suffrages. And this by mistaking the sense of Livy, l. i. c. 43. which has been the common error of almost all writers. Livy says, he divided the people so, *ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes PRIMARIOS civitatis esset*. The *primarii civitatis* were the *dites*, mentioned before, who composed the first class, or the xcvi centuries. Now let the number of Senators be at this time 200 or 300, we cannot suppose they were so split into companies, or centuries, as to make many votes in each of the centuries. (2.) This scheme of Servius was instituted to constitute not an Aristocratical, but a Democratical government, and to take the power out of the hands of the Senators, who had opposed his being king. (3.) If the Patricians were more powerful in these assemblies than the Plebeians, neither Dionysius nor Livy would have laboured to assign a reason, whether true or false, why the people chose none but Patricians to be military tribunes, Y. of R. 309. Such a choice would have been the consequence of Patrician superiority. How consummately ridiculous would be Livy's admiration of the virtue of the Roman people for their choosing to the military tribuneship PATRICIANS only, though the *Plebeians* were qualified by law to be chosen to that magistracy. Livy, l. iv. c. 6. Hooke, vol. I. p. 369. 4to. (4.) In fact, the great points carried by the people against the Senate were in the assemblies by centuries, as the law for electing tribunes in the *Comitia Tributa*, U. C. Var. 283. The *Lex Horatia*, which gave the *Plébiscita*, made in the *Comitia Tributa*, an authority binding upon the whole Roman people, U. C. 282. And it was in *Comitia Centuriata* that Coriolanus, in his absence, and Menenius, after trial, were condemned, and Servilius, after trial, was acquitted. U. C. Var. 264. 279. 280. Hooke's Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 244. 369. 4to. His Rom. Senate, p. 137. 185.

A Dialogue between SYLLA and EUCRATES.

TRANSLATED BY MR. BOWYER.

Some days after Sylla had resigned the dictatorship, I was told, the reputation I had among the philosophers made him desirous of seeing me. He was at his house on the Tibur, enjoying the first peaceful moments he had ever known. On coming before him, I felt nothing of that confusion which the presence of great men generally occasions in us. And when we were alone, "Sylla," said I to him, "you have then voluntarily reduced yourself to that middle condition of life, which to most men is an affliction. You have resigned that command which your glory and your virtues gave you over all men. Fortune seems to be vexed that she could not raise you to higher honours."

"Eucrates," said he, "if the eyes of the whole universe are no longer fixed on me, it is the fault of human things, which have their prescribed limits, and not owing to me. I imagined I had fulfilled my destiny, when I no longer had great things to achieve. I was not made for governing in quiet an enslaved people. I love to obtain victories, to found or overturn states, make alliances, punish usurpers: but, as to the little subordinate branches of government, wherein middling geniuses shew themselves to so much advantage, the slow execution of the laws, the discipline of a tame militia, my soul could not employ itself in them."

"It is very singular," said I, "that you should have mixed so much delicacy with your ambition. We have seen many great men unaffected with the vain pomp and splendor which wait on rulers; but there have been very few insensible of the pleasure of governing, and of having that respect, which is due only to the laws, paid to their humour."

"And I, Eucrates, was never less satisfied, than when I saw myself absolute master in Rome; when I looked round me, and found neither rival nor enemy. I thought it would be one day said, that I had only chastised slaves. Would you, said I to myself, have no more men in your country capable of being affected with your glory? And since you establish despotism, don't you clearly see, that no prince can come after

"you

“ you so cowardly and despicable, whom flattery will not equal to you,
“ and adorn with your name, your titles, and even your virtues ?”

“ My lord, you have quite changed the idea I had formed of your con-
“ duct. I thought you had ambition, but not a love of glory : I saw very
“ well that you had a high spirit, but I did not suspect that you had a
“ great soul : your whole life seemed to discover you to be one preyed on
“ by lust of power, and who, full of the most destructive passions, cheer-
“ fully loaded himself with the shame, the remorse, and even the mean-
“ ness attached to despotism. For, after all, you sacrificed every thing
“ to your power ; you were feared by all the Romans ; you discharged,
“ without pity, the functions of the most terrible magistracy that ever sub-
“ sisted. The senate looked with dread on a defender so relentless. Some
“ one said to you, Sylla, how much Roman blood will you shed ? Do you
“ want to command bare walls ? You then published those Tables by
“ which the life and death of every citizen were determined.”

“ And it is the shedding so much blood that has enabled me to do the
“ greatest action of my whole life. Had I ruled the Romans with gentle-
“ ness, what wonder, that weariness, disgust, or caprice, should make me
“ resign the government ? But I laid down the dictatorship at a time when
“ every one thought I entirely owed my safety to my being invested with
“ it. I appeared before the Romans a citizen in the midst of my citi-
“ zens, and had the boldness to say to them, I am ready to give account
“ of all the blood which I have shed for the republic ; I will answer all
“ who shall come to demand of me their fathers, their sons, or their bro-
“ thers. Every Roman was silent before me.”

“ This great action which you speak of, appears to me very imprudent.
“ The astonishment, indeed, into which you had just thrown the Romans,
“ was of service to you : but how could you dare to talk of vindicating
“ yourself, and taking for judges persons who had so much to revenge
“ on you ? Supposing your actions had been only severities while you
“ was in power, they became frightful crimes the moment you was out of
“ power.”

“ Do you call crimes,” said he, “ what saved the republic ? Would
“ you have had me quietly see senators betray the senate, for that people,
“ who, imagining that liberty ought to be as extreme as slavery can be,
“ wanted to abolish all authority ? The people, kept under by the laws

“ and.

“and the weight of the senate, have always endeavoured to overturn both.
 “But he who is so ambitious as to serve them against the senate and the
 “laws, had always ambition enough to become their master. It is thus
 “we have seen an end put to so many republics of Greece and Italy.

“To prevent a like evil, the senate hath always been obliged to em-
 “ploy this untractable people in war. It has been forced, against its
 “inclination, to ravage the earth, and reduce so many nations, whose sub-
 “jection is a burden to us. At present, when the universe can furnish no
 “more enemies against us, what would be the fate of the republic? And,
 “without me, would the senate have been able to prevent the people, in
 “their blind fury for liberty, from delivering themselves up to Marius,
 “or to the first tyrant who should have given them hopes of independence?

“The gods, who have given to most men a cowardly ambition, have
 “attached to Liberty almost as many evils as to Slavery. But whatever
 “may be the price of this noble Liberty, the gods must be paid it.

“The sea swallows up vessels, and lays under water whole countries;
 “yet it is useful to man.

“Posterity will decide of what Rome has not as yet ventured to exa-
 “mine: it will find, perhaps, that I have not shed blood enough, and
 “that all the partisans of Marius have not been proscribed.”

“I must own, Sylla, you astonish me: How! was it to serve your
 “country, that you spilled so much blood? and had you no attachment
 “but to her?”

“Eucrates,” said he to me, “I had never that predominant love for
 “my country, of which we find so many examples in the first ages of
 “the republic: and I love Coriolanus, who carried fire and sword to the
 “very walls of his ungrateful city, and made every citizen repent the
 “affront which every citizen had done him, as much as I do him who
 “drove the Gauls from the capitol. I never piqued myself on being the
 “slave, or the worshiper, of a society of my equals: and this so much
 “boasted love is a passion too popular for such a high spirit as mine.
 “All my actions proceeded from reflexion, and principally from the con-
 “tempt which I entertained for men. You may judge by the manner in
 “which I treated the only great people in the world, how high my con-
 “tempt was of all others.

“I thought that, while I was on the earth, I ought to be free. Had I
 “been born among Barbarians, I should have sought to usurp the throne,
 “less

“ less to obtain command than to avoid obedience. Born in a Republic,
“ I have acquired the glory of a conqueror, in seeking only that of a free
“ man.

“ When I entered Rome with my troops, I breathed neither rage nor
“ revenge. I passed sentence, without hatred, but also without pity, on
“ astonished Romans. You were free, said I; and you want to live slaves.
“ No, Die; and you will have the advantage of dying Citizens of a free
“ city.

“ To deprive of its liberty a city of which I was a citizen, I looked on
“ as the greatest of crimes: I punished that crime; and was little concerned
“ whether I should be the good or the evil genius of the Republic. How-
“ ever, the government of our ancestors has been re-established; the peo-
“ ple have expiated all the indignities they put on the nobles; fear has
“ suspended animosities, and Rome never enjoyed such perfect tranquillity.

“ This it was which determined me to all the bloody tragedies you have
“ seen. Had I lived in those happy days of the Republic, when the citi-
“ zens, quiet in their houses, presented to the Gods a free soul, you would
“ have seen me pass my whole life in this retreat, which has cost me so
“ much blood and toil.

“ My lord, said I to him, it is well for mankind, that Heaven has been
“ sparing in the number of such men as you. Born for a middling
“ station, we are overpowered by sublime geniuses. One man's being
“ raised above humanity, costs all the rest too dear.

“ You looked on the ambition of heroes as a common passion; and
“ made no account of any but a reasoning ambition. The insatiable de-
“ fire of ruling, which you found in the heart of some citizens, made you
“ resolve to be an extraordinary man: love of liberty determined you to
“ be terrible and cruel. Who would have thought, that a heroism founded
“ on principle would be more destructive than a heroism founded on fury
“ and impetuosity? The Roman people, you say, beheld you unarmed;
“ and made no attempt on your life. You have escaped one danger; a
“ greater may await you. A grand offender may one day take advantage
“ of your moderation, and confound you in the croud of a subjected people.

“ I have acquired a name, said he, which suffices for my safety and the
“ safety of the Roman people. That name prevents all attempts; there
“ is no ambition, which does not stand in awe of it. Sylla lives; and his
“ genius is more powerful than that of all the Romans. Sylla is sur-
“ rounded

“rounded by Chæroneæ, Orchomenus, and Signion; Sylla hath given
 “every family in Rome a terrible example within itself: every Roman will
 “have me always before him, and even in his sleep I shall appear to him
 “covered with blood; he will imagine he sees the fatal Tables, and reads
 “his name at the head of the proscribed. My laws are murmured at in
 “secret; they can never be effaced but by floods of Roman blood. Am
 “not I in the midst of Rome? You will still find with me the javelin
 “I had at Orchomenus, and the buckler I wore on the walls of Athens:
 “Because I have no lictors, am I the less Sylla? I have the senate,
 “justice, and the laws for me; my genius, fortune, and glory are for
 “the senate.”

“I own,” said I, “that when a person has once made any one tremble,
 “he almost always retains something of the advantage he had over him.”

“Undoubtedly,” said he, “I struck men with astonishment; and that
 “was a great deal. Review in your mind the story of my life: you will
 “see that I have drawn all from that principle; and that it has been the
 “foul of all my actions. Call to mind my quarrel with Marius: I was
 “stung with indignation to see a man of no name, proud of the meanness
 “of his birth, attempt to pull down the first families in Rome; and
 “confound them with Plebeians; and at this time I bore all the weight
 “of a great soul. I was young, and I resolved to put myself in a con-
 “dition to call Marius to account for his insults. For this end, I fought
 “him with his own weapons, that is to say, by victories over the enemies
 “of the Republic.”

“When I was forced, by the caprice of chance, to leave Rome, I pur-
 “sued the same plan: I went to make war on Mithridates; and laboured
 “to destroy Marius by vanquishing the enemy of Marius. While I left
 “that Roman to enjoy his power over the populace, I multiplied his mor-
 “tifications, and forced him to go every day to the Capitol to return thanks
 “to the Gods for successes which drove him to distraction. I waged a war
 “of reputation against him, a hundred times more cruel than what my
 “legions made on the Barbarian king. Every word I spoke shewed my
 “daringness; and my most inconsiderable actions, always full of haughti-
 “ness, were fatal prefaces for Marius. At last Mithridates sued for peace;
 “the terms were reasonable; and had Rome been in quiet, and my for-
 “tune not still wavering, I would have accepted them. But the bad state
 “of my affairs obliged me to make the terms still harder; I demanded

“ that he should destroy his fleet, and restore to the kings his neighbours
“ the territories he had taken from them. I leave you, said I, the king-
“ dom of your ancestors ; to you, who ought to thank me that I leave
“ you the hand with which you signed an order for the execution of
“ 100,000 Romans in one day. Mithridates was struck motionless, and
“ Marius trembled in the midst of Rome.

“ This boldness, which was of such service to me against Mithridates,
“ against Marius, against his son, against Thelisinus, against the people
“ which supported my dictatorship, also protected my life the day I re-
“ signed the dictatorship ; and that day insures my liberty for ever.”

“ My lord,” said I, “ Marius reasoned in the same manner when,
“ covered with the blood of his enemies and of the Romans, he gave
“ proofs of that boldness which you have punished. You have, it is true,
“ a few more victories, and greater excesses on your side. But, in assum-
“ ing the dictatorship, you set an example of the crime which you pu-
“ nished. This is the example which will be followed ; and not that of
“ your moderation, which will only be admired.

“ When the Gods suffered Sylla with impunity to make himself Dicta-
“ tor at Rome, they proscribed Liberty from it for ever. They must
“ work too many miracles now to root out of the heart of every Roman
“ leader the ambition of reigning. You have taught them, that there is
“ a much surer way to arrive at despotism, and to maintain it without
“ danger. You have divulged the fatal secret, and removed what alone
“ makes good citizens in a Republic too rich and too great, despair of
“ being able to oppress it.”

He changed colour, and was silent for a moment. “ I am only afraid,”
said he, with emotion, “ of one man, in whom I think I see many Marius’s.
“ Chance, or perhaps a more powerful destiny, made me spare him. My
“ eyes are ever on him ; I study his soul, where he hides deep purposes.
“ But if he dare to form the design of commanding men whom I have
“ made my equals, I swear by the Gods, I will punish his insolence.”

OBSERVATIONS on the Use of the Word NUMMUS
in PLAUTUS [a].

By Mr. CLARKE and Mr. BOWYER.

IN order to do justice to the point in question, it cannot be improper to offer two or three preliminaries, which are on all sides universally admitted.

1. That Plautus uses the Greek way of computing money, by *mina*, *drachmae*, *oboli*; the sums, divisions, and valuations, are all Athenian. For he seems to lay down this as a rule,

“Hoc Poëtae faciunt in Comoediis,

“Omnes res gestas esse Athenis autumant.” Prol. Menaech.

2. *Nummus* was a word not known among the Athenians, but came to Rome from Sicily, and was used by the Romans as a term equivalent to the Greek νόμισμα, signifying *money* in general. And therefore, when *nummus* is used indefinitely in Plautus, and applied to either gold or silver, it is highly reasonable to think, that it means the most usual coin of either sort, which was understood in common conversation, and by which sums of money were computed at Athens. This is a very probable conclusion, and such as should not, without express evidence, be over-ruled. Let us see what that evidence is in the case before us.

It is plain, that Plautus uses *nummus* for the *aureus*, but then *Philippeus*, or *aureus*, is always first mentioned: Thus,

“Sunt tibi intus aurei

“Trecenti nummi Philippei.” Poenulus, i. 1. 38.

And afterwards in the third Act,

“Hic trecentos nummos numeratos habet.” iii. 2. 17.

Again,

“Quia centum nummis minus dicetur.” iii. 4. 24.

But in both these places it means *aurum*; the sense is determined by what goes before or follows: As in the first instance,

“Nos inspicere oportet istoc aurum.” iii. 2. 10.

In the last,

“Cum auri ducentis nummis Philippeis. iii. 4. 22.

[a] See Clarke on Coins, p. 196.

And so in many other places, where *aureis*, or *Philippeis*, is added, as,

“ Qui mihi mille nummum crederet

“ Philippeum.” Trin. iv. 2. 112.

“ Illo mille nummum Philippo circumducere. Ibid. 117.

But *nummus* in Plautus generally means a silver coin; it is often so expressed, as,

“ Tamen nunquam hinc feres Argenti nummum.” Afin. ii. 4. 80.

“ Dividere Argenti dixit nummos in viros.” Aulul. i. 2. 30.

“ Locare Argenti nemini nummum queo.” Mostell. iii. 1. 4.

“ Nummum nusquam reperire Argenti queo.” Pseudol. i. 3. 95.

And where neither *aurum* nor *argentum* is mentioned, it means silver only; so in the *Perfa*,

“ Ut mihi des nummos sexcentos.” Perf. i. 1. 37.

“ Ut nummos sexcentos mihi

“ Dares utendos mutuos.” i. 3. 37.

“ Nummi sexcenti hic erunt.” iii. 3. 32.

And in the *Rudens*,

“ Nummos trecentos—quadringentos—quingentos,

“ Sexcentos—septingentos—mille dabo nummos—

“ Centum et mille.” Rudens, v. 2. 36, &c.

“ auctarium

“ Adjicito, vel mille nummum plusquam poscet.” Merc. ii. 4. 23.

In all these places it is most probable, that the sums mentioned are *drachmae*; because Labrax advances just so many *nummi* every time as came to a *mina*: and it is very well known (as Dr. Taylor has shewn by several instances, *Marm. Sandvicen.* p. 29.) that the Greeks, when they said, *διακοσίας, τριακοσίας, τετρακοσίας, πεντακοσίας, χιλίας, τρισχιλίας, μυρίας*, &c. without any addition, always meant *δραχμαί*, because this was *pervulgatissima nummi species*: the addition of *nummus* could make no difference in this case; a common audience would certainly understand all these sums of *drachmae*, when the particular coin was not specified. A comic writer would scarcely introduce a language entirely different from that universally received in the forms of doing business. Terence, who lived some years before Plautus died, never uses *nummus* but in this sense, as a *drachma* only.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

But there is one passage in Plautus which seems to put this out of all doubt. The ancients, both Greeks and Romans, weighed every thing of value by the *drachma* weight : and therefore, when Plautus says,

“ Inaureis da mihi

“ *Faciundas pondo duum nummum stalgmia.*” *Menaech.* iii. 3. 18.
the *nummus* here can mean nothing but a *drachma*. It would otherwise be unintelligible, and no direction to the goldsmith. This seems to admit of no other sense. And all the other passages, where *nummus* is mentioned, fall-in with this valuation, and have a greater force and clearness by admitting it ; as,

“ *Nunquam hinc feres argenti nummum.*” *Afin.* ii. 4. 80.

“ *Non est verisimile, hominem pauperem*

“ *Pauxillum parvi facere, quin nummum petat.*” *Aul.* i. 2. 34.

“ *Eum si reddes mihi, praeterea unum nummum ne dui.*”

Captiv. ii. 2. 81.

“ *Nummum nullum habes.*” *Epid.* iii. 1. 9.

“ *Ut uno nummo plus petas.*” *Most.* iii. 1. 123.

“ *Haud nummo amplius.*” *Ibid.* iii. 3. 16.

“ *Nummum nusquam reperire argenti queo.*” *Pseud.* i. 3. 65.

All these mean, not a single cross ; and are consequently applicable to that lower species of silver, which was then commonly used. Nobody would think that, when a man said he had not a single shilling in his pocket, he always meant he had not two.

But let us now consider those particular passages from whence such great men as Salmasius and Gronovius draw this conclusion, that *nummus* in Plautus always signifies a *didrachma* : and they are these three :

1. *Pseud.* iii. 2. 20.

“ *Illi drachmis iissent miserî ; me nemo potest*

“ *Minoris quisquam nummo, ut surgam, subigere.*”

Hence, they say, it appears, that *nummus* in Plautus signifies a *didrachma*, because the *nummus* seems to be of more value than the *drachma*, and, as there was no intermediate coin, probably twice that sum. But the turn of this sentence does not lie in the difference between *drachmis* and *nummus*, but between *iissent* and *surgam*. “ These fellows, says he, would have “ tramped off with you for a *drachma* ; but, for my part, I would not so “ much as *sir off my seat* for a doit less.” This, as it is most probably the true sense, instead of shewing any difference, proves they were the same.

same. And here I should be for reading from the authority of Lambin's MS. not, as he did, *drachmiffent*, but *drachmā iiffent*. The other, viz. *drachmis iiffent*, is more ambiguous, and does not express so much contempt.

2. The next is, Trucul. ii. 7. 11.

“ Nam jam de hoc obsonio, de mina una deminui

“ Modo quinque nummos : mihi detraxi partem herculaneam.”

Here the *quinque nummos* and the *pars herculanea* are supposed to be the same thing; and, therefore, if *quinque nummi* were equal to the tenth part of a pound, each *nummus* must be a *didrachma*. But what occasion for this supposition? It is so far from being necessary, that it spoils all the spirit and humour of the passage, and makes a dull and useless tautology. It may be explained to more advantage very differently. “ Out of this *mina* “ (the sum given for buying in provisions for the family) I have already “ guttled up five *drachmae*, and put twice as many into my pocket.” This makes the speech more in character, and the sums different: *detraxi*, and *deminui*, do not seem to relate to the same thing.

3. The last is, Epid. i. 1. 52.

“ Id adeo argentum, ab danista apud Thebas, sumpsit foenore;

“ In dies minasque argenti singulas, nummis.”—

Here Salmassius says, that as the *foenus menstruum* was two *drachmae* per month; so the *foenus diurnum* must be two *drachmae* a day: but why so? The *foenus menstruum*, at two *drachmae* a month, came to twenty-four per cent. per ann. The *foenus diurnum*, at two *drachmae* a day, came to above seven times cent. per cent. Sure this is being a slave to an hypothesis with a witness! Half that favour was sufficient: above three times cent. per cent. in a year would be enough to satisfy the most execrable usurer; and, I think, might be admitted as a proof on the other side, that *nummus* could not possibly be more than a *drachma*. The similar usage of *nummus* in Plautus and Terence, is no inconsiderable argument in favour of this opinion: they lived, almost at the same time, in the same country: the plan of their dramas were both Athenian, and must be supposed to allude to the same customs. From all this, I think, we may justly conclude, that *nummus* is never used in Plautus, but for the *aureus*, or the *drachma*, and has no other valuation whatsoever.

DISSERTATION on the ROMAN SESTERCE.

By Mr. CLARKE and Mr. BOWYER.

THOUGH the method by which the Romans expressed their sums of money in SESTERCES has been often explained, yet it may not be amiss to repeat it here, that the Reader may have a clearer apprehension of the terms made use of in the table [a]. Under this head I follow Gronovius, it being a province in which he must be allowed to reign without a rival; and I appeal to his authority with the greater pleasure in the conclusion of this work, as I have differed from him so often in the former parts of it.

I. *Sestertius*, in whatever case, gender, or number, it appears, is always an adjective. The Romans borrowed this mode of expression from the Greeks; who often expressed a Fraction, not by adding it to the *Integer* preceding, but by deducting it from the *Integer* following; and denoted the Quantity of that Fraction, not by the Cardinal, but by the Ordinal Numeral; as, τρίτον ἡμιόβολον, τέμπετον ἡμιτάλαντον, &c. meaning *two oboli and a half, four talents and a half* [b]. Thus *Sestertius* originally signified *the half third As*, or *two Asses and a half*, when the *As* was really a pound, and so it became the fourth part of the Roman Denarius, which was originally worth ten Asses; and always bore that proportion to the Denarius, till the Romans changed their nummular language, and the Denarius itself sunk into a brass coin. But even then the original analogy of *Sestertius* was preserved; it was reckoned as the fourth part of this new *As* or *Den. riu*, and was no more than a farthing.

[a] Mr. Smith's, corrected and enlarged. See Clarke on Coins, p. 518.

[b] Besides this form of expression, the Greeks used τὸ ἥμισυ, or, by contraction, ἥμι, as an *Integer* not fractioned, and said τρία ἡμιόβολα, *three half-oboli*, just as we say *three half-pence*, where the word *half-penny* is considered as an *Integer*, as being of one uniform class. These two modes of expression the great Master of Northern Languages has confounded, when he makes *þreo healf* and *þriððe healf* to signify the same thing. Gram. Anglo-Sax. c. vi. vol. I. p. 33. And Is. Casaubon himself, who, with great accuracy, pointed out the difference between the two forms, did not sufficiently attend to it, when he interprets *quinus semipes* in Plin. N. H. xvii. 11. i. e. 2½ feet, to be the same with *τέμπετον ἡμιπόδιον*, or 4½ feet. He probably mistook *quinus* for *quintus*, the cardinal for the ordinal number; for *quinus semipes*, in Greek, is τρίτον ἡμιπόδιον, not τέμπετον. In Theoph. Char. c. vi.

II. As far as a thousand they used *Sestertii* or *Nummi*, jointly or separately, in the Masculine, with a numeral *Adjective* in the same Gender and Case: As, *Duo* or *bini*, *viginti* or *bis deni*, *mille Sestertii*, or *nummi*, or *Sestertii nummi*, i. e. two, twenty, a thousand Sesterces. This was so uniformly preserved, that even the excurrent parts of a sum under a thousand, when subjoined to an *Integer* above a thousand, were expressed in the Masculine, though the *Integer* was in the Neuter: As, *Sestertiū viginti millia* QUADRINGENTI. Cic. ad Att. i. 7. which Manutius was not aware of, when he explains it *quadringenta*, in the Neuter.

For a thousand Sesterces they used not only *mille Sestertii*, as above, but *mille Sestertiū* or *mille nummū*; which different constructions arose from *mille* being used either as a Substantive or Adjective; as they said equally *mille passus*, or *mille drachmarum*. Ter. Heaut. III. iii. 40.

III. But all higher sums, under a million, were expressed by *Sestertia* [c] in the Neuter Plural, without *mille* or *millia*. If *millia* was added, *Sestertia* was omitted, and *Sestertiū* (for *Sestertiorum*) was substituted in its place; or was understood; as *Millia quinque rapit*, Mart. l. iii. 62. denoting five thousand Sesterces; which might have been expressed by *quinque* or *quina Sestertia*,—or *quinque millia Sestertiū*,—or *quinque millia nummū*,—or *quinque millia Sestertiū nummū*.

But not by *quinque mille Sestertii*;—much less by *quinque millia Sestertia*,—or *Sestertia quinque millia nummū*,—or *Sestertii quinque millia*.—The first mode was rejected, because though *mille Sestertii* was used for a thousand Sesterces, yet they left off there, as the ultimate limit of the Masculine *centenary* Numeration. The Millenary numeration was by *Sestertia*, scil. *pondera*. They could not add *millia* to *Sestertia*, because that Neuter plural, being always a Substantive, would require a Genitive case after it: For though *MILLE viginti quatuor passus* is XXIV miles; *MILLIA viginti quatuor passuum* is XXIV thousand miles, i. e. XXIV *mille passus*. Gron. ad Liv. Epit. lV.—The difficulties about the Roman way of expressing sums of money are contained within these limits, between *mille Sestertii* and *decies*, or between a thousand and a million.

IV. The Romans reckoned by Decads, just as we do, till they came to ten hundred thousand, or a million, for which, having no new term or

[c] The French writers in general call *Sestertia* the *Great Sesterce*. I know not for what reason. In this, from an ill-placed complaisance, they are followed by several of our countrymen; particularly by Mr. Gordon, in his translation of Tacitus.

denomination, they multiplied their highest numeral term by the *Decad* ADVERB in *es*, and said *DECIES centena millia*, or *Decies centena*; leaving *millia* to be understood; as *Decies centena dabuntur*, Juv. x. 335. which, when fully expressed, is *Decies centena millia Sestertium nummum*. But, to avoid this circumlocution by *Centena millia*, they had recourse generally to a new term, and denoted this sum by *Decies Sestertium*; using *Sestertium*, in all numerations from *Decies*, not as a Genitive plural, which it was in the inferior numerations, but as a Neuter singular, agreeing with *pondus argenti* understood.

That in this form it is a Neuter singular appears, 1. Because *nummum* is never added to it, with which it might agree, and therefore was probably not understood; for though they used *Decies centena millia Sestertium nummum*, they never said *Decies Sestertium NUMMUM*, or *Decies NUMMUM*. *Nummum* was excluded from the Adverbial Million class. 2. Because *Decies*, *Vicies*, &c. *Sestertium* is always joined with a Verb singular, and with an Adjective and Relative both singular and neuter: As, *Sestertium sexagies, quod advexerat Domitius, allatum ad se Corfiniensibus reddit*. Caes. B. C. I. 23. *Huic Senatus decrevit Sestertium centies quinquagies—cujus honore contentus fuit*. Plin. Ep. vii. 29. where see Casaubon. 3. Because it is used in the oblique cases singular, where there can be no suspicion of its being a plural: as, *In sestertio vicies, quod a patre acceperat*, Corn. Nep. Attic. c. 14. *Sexagies sestertio,—trices sestertio*, Val. Max. ix. c. 1. 4. *Accepto centies sestertio*, Vell. Pat. l. ii. 48. and Tacitus, *disposito per mensas millies sestertio*, Ann. vi. c. 17. *Syngrapha sestertii centies*, Cic. in Philip. ii. *Libertinus sestertii ter millies possessor*, Tac. l. xii. To suppose with some, that, in these and many more instances, all the MSS. are corrupted, is begging the question, against evidence; to say with others, that, in *accepto centies Sestertium*, we must understand it in the Genitive, *centenorum millium nummorum pretio*, the question still remains, why they used the singular, not with the numeral Adjective, but with the Millionary Adverb only; why they never said *accepto binum, denum, centenum nummum* [pretio]; but *accepto decies* [pondere]. As then in the first class, *pondera* in the second, and *pondus* in the third, uniformly solve all the difficulties of construction. This is a short view of the whole; allowing for such inconsistencies as incorrect passages may possibly occasion. But see Gronovius more fully on this head, Pec. Vet. l. ii. c. 3, 4.

This

This Adverbial Decad form was regularly preserved from *Decies*, *Vicies*, *Tricies*, &c. to *Centies*, which was ten times as much as *Decies*, or ten millions; and *Millies*, ten times as much as *Centies*, or an hundred millions. If a numeral Adverb of an inferior denomination is placed before one of a higher, the former becomes the multiplier of the latter; as, *bis decies* is two millions: But if it follows, or is distinguished by the Copulative *et*, it denotes the number only of its specific class; as, *decies bis*, or *bis et decies*, is one million two hundred thousand Sesterces, as if it were, *Decies sestertium et bis centena millia nummum*. So *Decies millies* is a thousand millions; but *Millies decies* only an hundred and one millions.

The different ways of writing these larger Sums in Roman Numerals is a point that does not seem to be sufficiently explained.

REMARKS occasioned by a Dissertation on the GREEK and ROMAN Money, printed in 1772.

By Mr. B O W Y E R.

Originally printed as a Supplement to Mr. CLARKE's Book on Coins.

REGI CHRISTIANISSIMO

Guilielmus Bowyer, Typographus Anglicanus.

Judicium ut subeat magis æquum, candidiusve,
Qui poni potuit commodiore loco?

ABOUT two or three years after this book was printed in England, a very respectable gentleman*, fellow of a very honourable Society, published, in the Transactions of that learned body, *An Inquiry into the Value of the Antient Greek and Roman Money*, without taking notice of the discoveries of this Author, which surely merited his attention at least, if not his approbation. But, whether it was owing to his humanity, or to not having seen the book, I shall not enquire. As he has passed it over, however, in silence; I shall beg leave to call some things into question which he has advanced, differing from Mr. Clarke, and desire he would candidly give them a fair hearing.

* Matthew Raper, esq. See the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 444.

In Phil. Trans. vol. LXI. p. 518. the famous passage of Pliny, which has raised so many disputes, Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. § xiii. ed. Hard. that gentleman thus explains: "*Aureus nummus post annum LXII percussus est quam argenteus, ita ut scrupulum valeret sestertius vitensis; quod effecit in libras, ratione sestertiorum qui tunc erant, SESTERTIOS DCCCC.*" Now, if the Scruple was valued at xx Sesterces, the pound, instead of being worth DCCCC, must have been worth 5760 such Sesterces: but if, for SESTERTIOS 900, we read DENARIOS 900, the account will be clear and intelligible. The words, *ratione sestertiorum qui tunc erant*, imply, that the Sesterce of that age was *different from the Sesterce of Pliny's time*; but the quarter of the silver Denarius, or Nummus Sestertius of four *Asses*, was the same at both times: and we know of no other Sesterce but the ancient one of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Asses*; which, multiplied by 288 (the number of Scruples in the Roman pound), give 14,400 *Asses* for the value of the pound of gold: and, reckoning 16 *Asses* to the silver Denarius (which it passed for at the time of this coinage), 14,400 *Asses* make just 900 such Denarii; which is Pliny's number."

The learned writer (I would observe) says, "The pound, instead of being worth 900, must have been worth 5760 such Sesterces." Pliny is not here relating what the pound was *worth*; but what the state *gained* by it, *quod [scrupulum] EFFECIT in libras.* As in the Greek Testament, Mat. xxv. 16. ἐποίησεν ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα, LUCRATUS EST alia quinque talenta, Vulg. Lat. & Castel. where, in the next verse, it is ἐκέρδησεν. What a pound [or 288 Scruples] of gold gained, is a different thing, in the changeable proportion of gold to silver, from what a pound of Sesterces was worth. Thus he mistakes the object of Pliny's point in view; and then, as error errorem parit, perverts, I think, the whole sense of the passage.

A. 547, the thirteenth year of the second Punic war, Pliny tells us, the value of the Sesterce was changed, and gold was struck, by which the state gained so much; that is, by the Sesterces then in use, which continued the same till after Pliny's time; though this gentleman supposes they were different, and that the Sesterces *then*, and upon that occasion, struck, were those worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Asses* each, against the express authority of Pliny. Besides, when he is speaking of Sesterces, why should he change to *Denarios*, which always bore an uniform proportion to the Sesterce? It would

be

be as absurd, as if, after saying the state had gained a number of English Shillings, we should express the amount in Groats.

I would next observe, that *Denarios* must have been written at length, and could hardly be mistaken for *Sestertius*: and it is much more probable a transcriber should mistake in numerals than in words; as particularly this very number II. has been so [a] often changed to a V, that it seems to have been the peculiar hand-writing of the MSS. See a discourse of Vignoles, Masson, Hist. Crit. vol. XI. p. 44, 45. where a passage of Pliny [Nat. Hist. II. 13.] is expressly mentioned, in which XV. has been corrupted to XII. which is much more probable to be the case in the passage now before us.

To throw a further light on this subject, I shall give the whole of the argument, as stated by another writer, and printed in the *Gent. Mag.* for Sept. 1754; and will then subjoin, from Mr. Clarke, with whom I was at that time engaged in enquiries of this nature, what I presume is an easier and more probable interpretation.

“The difficulty has been, to make out how one Scruple of gold should be equivalent to 20 Sesterces of silver; and 288 Scruples, which make one pound, should be worth no more than 900 Sesterces; for the product of 288, multiplied by 20, is 5760, widely different from 900.

“But Pliny, having set about to ascertain the values of the several sorts of money that had been current at Rome, first distinguished them into brass, silver, and gold coins, then noted the time that each was first introduced, and next particularized their species and original values. After this, he speaks of the increased values set upon them, for some reasons of state; and, lastly, counts the profits which thus accrued to the public treasury.

“As for the brass money, he says, that it was first coined by Servius Tullius, the 6th king of the Romans. The weight of the *As* was one entire pound of brass; and that of the other species in proportion. This continued till the first Punic war. The treasury being then unable to furnish the expences of the war, it was judged expedient to cry down the old money, and to coin pieces considerably less. So that, out

[a] In Cic. Catil. I. c. 7. And in a MS. of Virgil in the Vatican Library frequently.

“ of one *As*, or one pound of brass, were made six *Asses*; and out of
 “ every one the public gained five. *Ita quinque partes factae sunt lucri.*

“ The first silver coined at Rome was in the 485th year after the foun-
 “ dation of the city, in the consulate of Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius
 “ Pictor. There are coins in being of Fabius, with this legend on one
 “ side, C. FABI. C. F. and, on the other, EX. A. PV. that is, EX
 “ ARGENTO PVBLICO. There have been also, though rarely, found
 “ *Denarii*, *Quinarii*, and *Sestertii*, which are the different species of silver.
 “ The *Denarius* was worth ten Roman pennies; the *Quinarius*, five; the
 “ *Sestertius*, two and a half. Some time after, when Hannibal advanced
 “ towards Rome, Q. Fabius Maximus being Dictator, in the year 537,
 “ the value of the *Denarius* was raised to 16 pennies; the *Quinarius*, to
 “ eight; and the *Sestertius* to four. The brass monies were raised at the
 “ same time; and, six having before been made out of a pound, they
 “ now made 12; by which the republic gained one half. *Ita resp. dimi-*
 “ *dium lucrata est.* And such was the profit which, according to Pliny,
 “ accrued to the state. It did not arise solely out of the brass money, as
 “ Budaeus and others have fancied. Otherwise this reflexion, which Pliny
 “ makes immediately after mentioning the raising the silver money, would
 “ be unnatural and out of place. But it was out of the brass and silver
 “ together that the state gained one half. So when of ten *Asses*, which
 “ weighed each two ounces, they made 20 of one ounce, and, at the
 “ same time, the *Denarius* was taxed at 16 pennies, they gave at the
 “ mint, for the *Denarius* of the antient coinage, 16 of the new *Asses*; and
 “ there remained four for profit to the public treasury, with the six
 “ pennies, or six *Asses*, which the silver *Denarius* was then worth more
 “ than it went at before. This made ten pennies, that is, the half, or
 “ once as many pennies, as ten *Asses*, of two ounces each, were worth;
 “ and this is the half which the republic gained.—Thus the difficulty is
 “ solved; and there appears no reason to accuse the copyists of altering
 “ and corrupting the whole passage, as several have too rashly done.

“ As to the gold, Pliny leaves the time when it was first coined uncer-
 “ tain. *Proximum scelus fecit*, says he in the same chapter, *qui primus ex*
 “ *auro denarium significavit; quod et ipsum latet, auctore incerto.* Livy, 'tis
 “ true, says, that gold was coined at Rome in the year 543.

“ After this 62d year which Pliny mentions, being the year of Rome
 “ 547, and the thirteenth of the second Punic war, as there was a
 “ necessity

“ necessity of augmenting the public treasury, gold was set at a very high
 “ rate in a new coinage, as brass and silver had been before. This is the
 “ extraordinary and transient, or occasional money, which Pliny speaks of
 “ in the famous passage cited above, and of which this is the natural
 “ reading and meaning: *Aureus nummus post annum LXII percussus est quam*
 “ *argenteus; ita ut scrupulum valeret sestertius vicenis; quod effecit, ratione*
 “ *sestertiorum qui tunc erant, sestertios DCCCC.* In English, LXII years after
 “ the first coining of silver, there was a coinage of gold; and it was or-
 “ dained, that each Scruple of that money should be valued at twenty
 “ Sesterces of silver [which was before at xv HSS.]; so that the republic
 “ gained 900 of the *then* current Sesterces on every pound of gold,” [*i. e.*
 1440 of the present HSS.; for 900 is to 1440 as $2\frac{1}{2}$ is to 4: this writer
 falling into the same mistake with the other gentleman, of supposing the
 Sesterce to be different from that of Pliny’s time.]

“ This rendering is not only consonant to Pliny’s meaning, but to
 “ truth, and is confirmed by two fine gold medals, now in the possession
 “ of Sir J. A. Bart. some centuries older than the first period of the Ro-
 “ man emperors. The first, fig. 6, weighs only 21 grains; which is the
 “ exact weight of the ancient Scruple. On one side is represented an
 “ eagle, with this inscription, ROMA, in the exergue; on the other, a
 “ head of Mars, with these two letters behind it, XX, signifying the
 “ value of the piece, 20 Sesterces. The other medal, fig. 7, is of the
 “ same age, and weighs 63 grains, being consequently three times the
 “ value of the former; and so, instead of the two XX, has one X and a
 “ V behind the head, denoting 15 silver Denarii; as the other was worth
 “ only five silver Denarii: it has the same figures and legend as the first.
 “ Here is a very authentic testimony of the truth of what Pliny relates.
 “ And the coin is, in all probability, the very same he there speaks of,
 “ whose Scruple was equal to 20 Sesterces, and its Denarius equal to 15
 “ silver Denarii.”

The following arguments of Mr. Clarke (p. 386 & seq.) will, I doubt
 not, be of sufficient weight to prove there is an error in Pliny.

“ What the necessary emendation should be is, I think, evident enough
 “ from the premises we are possessed of. Let us see what they are, and
 “ what the conclusion is that arises from them.

“ First of all, Pliny tells us, that, when gold was first coined at Rome,
 “ one Scruple of gold passed for 20 Sesterces. And, 2dly, it is well
 “ known,

“ known, that the number of Scruples in the Roman pound was always
 “ 288. Hence it follows, that a pound of gold, or 288 Scruples, were
 “ then current for 20 times as many Sesterces, i. e. for 5760. So far all
 “ is clear. The next point is, how many Sesterces were then in a pound
 “ of silver. If there were 84 Denarii in the pound, as there certainly
 “ were till after the Consular times, there must be 4 times as many Sef-
 “ terces, or 336. Let us now take the exchange between gold and silver,
 “ as it was then in Greece, and soon afterwards at Rome; which was ten
 “ to one: ten times 336 Sesterces are 3360; deduct this sum from 5760,
 “ the number which a pound of gold then passed for at Rome, and the
 “ remainder is 2400. This therefore was the advantage which the repub-
 “ lic made in circulating their first gold coins. They had gained five
 “ parts in six, not long before, by the first reduction of the *Asses*; and
 “ then one half more at the second reduction; and now soon afterwards
 “ seventy *per cent.* by the first circulation of their gold coins, or the dif-
 “ ference between an exchange at ten to one, and $17\frac{1}{2}$ to one. Thus the
 “ account stands. And I see no reason to question, but that this should
 “ be the true reading in Pliny: *quod effecit, ratione sestertiorum qui tunc*
 “ *erant, sestertios IICCCC* [*lucrum reipublicae*]. The numerals are not very
 “ different from the former; the four last exactly the same. The duo
 “ millia in this form $\overline{\text{II}}$, with the line over them, by a careless or ignorant
 “ transcriber, not knowing what it meant, were easily turned into a D; or,
 “ thinking the sum excessive, he might, out of pure judgement, indulge
 “ himself in the liberty of correcting it. There is no correcting nume-
 “ rals, but upon the principles by which they were formed. When we
 “ have a given quantity, from which a known proportion must be de-
 “ ducted, we need not scruple to say what the remainder ought to be:
 “ the work is easy; it proves itself; we cannot be mistaken.

“ It must, however, be allowed, that Harduin has given a very specious
 “ solution of this difficulty, approved by so considerable a judge as
 “ Graevius, which therefore ought not to be rejected without being exa-
 “ mined. He produces two gold coins from the king of France’s cabinet,
 “ as an evidence of this exchange. One of them, supposed to weigh
 “ exactly the Roman Scruple, has a Mars galeatus on one side, with these
 “ two numerals, XX, behind the head: on the reverse, an eagle, charged
 “ with thunder, and in the exergue, ROMA, without any other legend.

“ The

“ The other coin, weighing just thrice as much, has the same impress on each side, only the numerals behind the head are VX.

“ Supposing these coins genuine, and that the numerals express their value according to Harduin’s interpretation, viz. the XX signifying 20 Sesterces, and the VX, 15 Denarii, just three times as much, which is making two great concessions; yet what is it that these coins really prove? Nothing more than what is allowed on all hands, that a Scruple of gold then passed for 20 Sesterces; but nothing at all in favour of the present numerals in Pliny, the only point in dispute. But there is great reason to believe, that the coins themselves are spurious. Morell, who could be no stranger to them, as being in the king of France’s collection, and produced before his time by Savot, takes no notice of them among his Consular coins, though he exhibits even those *dubiae fidei*. Gold was not coined at Rome till A. U. 547, the very year that Scipio had driven Asdrubal out of Spain, and entirely reduced that kingdom to a Roman province. At such a juncture, the praetors, or whoever then had the direction of striking these coins, would not have suffered them to be struck without recording some of the glorious events of that year. This was agreeable to the taste and spirit of the age, as appears in the *Cornelian, Caecilian, and Afranian* coins. But here the artist durst not hazard the credit of his work. He knew not who were the praetors, or mint-masters, of that year: a legend was a dangerous thing, it might have discovered the fraud. Besides, I believe there is no such impress as a Mars galateus on any of the Consular coins; there is certainly none in all Morell’s collection. Roma galatea was then the favourite device: the other is more suitable to the Imperial than the Consular coins; and there we find it. Their exact agreement in weight, and their entire preservation, furnish other objections. It is not very credible, that two coins, struck almost 2000 years ago, should not have the least difference in their proportional weight, not even half a grain. Besides, the weight of them is so different from the proportion of the Consular Aurei, that they are not aliquot parts of their gold coins. But let the coins be what they will, is there any authority for reading the numerals on one coin, Sesterces, and on the other, Denarii? Or is there any instance, where the figures VX signify XV in the Roman arithmetick? It is contrary to the very principles of their numeration: and, upon the whole, these coins have all the appearance of fraud.

“ But

“ But still, if we suppose them genuine, they are of no use in supporting Harduin’s reasons for establishing the authority of the present reading. These are two; but neither of them appears to have the least solidity. First, he concludes, that Pliny applies this observation to the old Sesterces, viz. when ten *Affes* made a *Denarius*. But this is absolutely contrary to Pliny’s own account: the *Denarius* passed for 16 *Affes* some years before they coined any gold at Rome: Pliny expressly says, the *Sesterces* that *were then in use*; and therefore the proportion of two and a half to four, or of 900 to 1440, [which the two other gentlemen have supposed, p. 553. and p. 557.] is foreign to the purpose, and not to be admitted in this computation. Secondly, to come at this proportion, he begs the question, and establishes such an exchange as was never known at Rome, viz. fifteen to one; and therefore cannot pass in this account: the present reading is not to be supported by such reasons as these; it is quite indefensible, and must be given up.”

The last paradox, Phil. Trans. vol. LXI. p. 535. that *the Libra, which weighed but 84 Denarii when Livy wrote, should be valued at 100*, though thought so by Salmasius, Gronovius, Smith, and others, is solved by the practice of all nations; which Mr. Clarke has illustrated, p. 148.

“ This difficulty is *easily* removed, and not peculiar either to the Greek or Roman ways of reckoning; for the difference between the pound in tale and in weight has continued in some form or other, either by increase or diminution, from Solon down to the present time. It was begun and altered just as the convenience of public business, the real exigence of states, or the seeming interest of princes, directed and required. The Greek and Roman pounds in tale were, in the earlier ages, much heavier than the real pound used at the mint; by degrees they became something less; an *incrementum* was required. Our pound in tale is a mere nominal thing, very little more than a third of the original and real pound.”

Again, p. 88, 89. “ The pound of 18 ounces, or the difference between the two commercial pounds of 16 and 18 ounces, is *easily* accounted for: it is the very same that now subsists in our Averdupois weight. The Averdupois pound is only 16 ounces, the current commercial pound; but the hundred, by which the customs are rated, and the tradesmen buy their goods, is 112 of these pounds, or, what amounts

“ to

"to the same thing, a pound of 18 ounces, or cxii to the hundred." And see pp. 96. 395. 87. 495, 496.

I shall omit any further enquiry into the differences between this ingenious writer and Mr. Clarke; but have gone thus far, designing only to mention the passage of Pliny, which was never understood before, and which Mr. Clarke seems to have taken a particular pleasure in discovering; as appears from his letter to me, which I hope I may be indulged the vanity of inserting here:

"DEAR SIR,

Chichester, Dec. 16, 1761.

"I thank you for finding time and inclination to read over the papers I sent you; and am much obliged to you for all the corrections and remarks you have made upon them: I approve them all. I was pleased to find Harduin's shadowy solution of the difficulty in Pliny disappear, as soon as you examined it. Your objections are unanswerable. The exchange between gold and silver was not, that I know of, estimated in brass. The Denarius passed for xvi *Asses* some years before the Romans coined any gold at all; and therefore the question has nothing to do with the relation of 900 to 1440. The Sesterces, at the time gold was first coined, whether in brass or silver, were just in the same proportion in their currency as they were long afterwards. Pliny's words seem to imply this: *Sestertiorum qui tunc erant* (i. e. *in usu*). Had he meant a different sort of Sesterces, he had most probably said *quales*, and not *qui*. I wonder therefore how it has happened, that the expression has been so often, if not always, understood in such a manner as to imply some difference, &c."

Upon a Review of the argument, I find three ways before us of removing the difficulty. 1. That which Father Harduin advanced, that the STATE, by coining gold, GAINED 900 LL.S. which had been THEN current for ten years at 4 *Asses*, which were 1440 such Sesterces as went before for 2½ *Asses*: that these Sesterces were always meant in rating the value of any thing, *quorum sestertiorum haberi ratio solet in quovis pretio indicando* [b]. So that the proportion of gold to silver was then as 15 to 1.

[b] P. 556, 557, ed. 4to.

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2. The

2. The gentleman above, computing what a Pound of the new coinage WAS WORTH, not what the STATE GAINED by a Pound, supposes it to be 900 *Denarii* of 16 *Asses*, i. e. 14,400 *Asses*; which, divided by 288, the number of Scruples in a Roman Pound, make 50 *Asses*, or 20 of the old Sesterces of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Asses*, in a scruple; and so fixes the proportion of gold to silver as $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

That "when the *Denarius* was made to pass for 16 *Asses*, the Romans continued to reckon $2\frac{1}{2}$ to the Sesterce," I must own, I was not aware of; and I now understand what the gentleman has advanced, Ph. Tr. p. 524. But how shall we reconcile the Roman historians with the Greek, who reckoned the Roman sums, expressed by Sesterces, in Drachms of 16 *Asses* each [c]? And is not the conjecture, formed by the *uniform variation* from Pliny's MSS. of more weight than the other conjectures, supported by no precedent?

3. Mr. Clarke, at the current price of the L.L.S. at the time, makes THE STATE TO GAIN 2400 Sesterces, in the Pound of 5760; or the difference between an exchange at 10 to 1, and at $17\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

I have before cited many MSS. in which a similar mistake is found, of II changed to another number, as Mr. Clarke supposes here; and I beg leave to mention one more. In Livy, l. xxxiv. 52, III FERE DENARIORUM in *singulis argenti pondus* should probably be IIII *fere denariorum*; where *fere* does not signify, as Mr. Crevier says, *pene*, or *propemodum*, *almost*; but *plerumque*, for the most part, in general. The *Denarius* and *Drachma* were coins of nearly equal worth, by the testimony of the same Livy, l. xxxiv. 50, where *πεντακοσίους δραχμαῖς* of Polybius he translates *quingenos denarios*.

[c] See Perizonius, *Dissertationum Trias*, Diff. ii. p. 144, 169, 171. Taylor, *Marmor Sandvicense*, p. 29, 30. And Plutarch expressly, in *Antonio*, p. 69, ed. Bryant.

DISCOURSE* on the COMMERCE of the ROMANS.

Probably by Mr. CLARKE or Mr. BOWYER.

BY the Roman law, whosoever lent money to repair or rebuild a house in the city of Rome, had, without any farther agreement, a tacit pledge or mortgage (*jus tacitae Hypothecae*) of such house [a]: so as to be preferred to other creditors [b]. And this is said to be enacted for the *public uti lit*, that the aspect of the city might not be deformed by ruins; for the Romans with incredible pains and care promoted the splendour, ornament, and magnificence of their city; and to this end many laws were made by the *Decemviri*, the emperours Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus, and that remarkable law of Vespasian's, mentioned by Suetonius, in his life of that emperor [c], by which it was lawful for any one to "build up all "empty shells of houses, and enjoy them as his own, if the owners of "them left them unfinished."

Most interpreters of the civil law are of opinion, that the same law obtained in favour of commerce, and that ships, built or refitted with money lent, were tacitly pledged or mortgaged to the lender. But, with great deference to learned names, I believe the contrary may be proved to be true, and beg leave to observe, that such a law would most certainly be prejudicial to navigation; for so it might often happen that ships would be detained by creditors, and commerce hindered. Constantine the emperor, in three constitutions, which are extant in the Theodosian code, forbids the detaining or damaging of ships, so as to prevent or retard their voyage, on any pretence whatsoever [d]. And it was wisely provided by the laws of Athens, that all law-suits relating to commerce should be carried on in those six months only in which ships were not used to put to sea, that so they might not lose their voyage by the impediments of law-processes; husbandry-tools, and instruments likewise, were forbidden to be pledged, and whosoever detained them on any pretence was fined four-

* Originally printed in "Elements of the Civil Law," by the late learned Chancellor Taylor, who calls it "a curious discourse by a very good hand;" and adds, "which my reader will perceive, without my information, to be the best thing in this performance."

[a] D. 20. 2. 1. [b] D. 20. 4. 5. l. 6. cod. [c] § 8. [d] Tit. de Naviculariis.

fold the value of them, lest by such detention the lands should lie uncultivated.

It is most certain that the Romans did not take the same care of ships as they did of houses, since they appointed particular officers called Aediles, whose business it was to see that the buildings of the city were kept in good repair: but where do we find that they ever appointed any magistrate, whose particular business was to inspect the affairs of navigation? Not one law was made in favour of commerce, in the times of the Commonwealth: on the contrary, it was greatly discouraged, as introductory of riches and luxury, which were esteemed to ill suit with the severity of their manners.

Livy [e] and Cicero [f] inform us, that in the year of Rome 535, a law was made, that no senator, or the father of a senator, should have any ship above the burden of 300 Amphorae (a ship of that size was held to be large enough to carry all his own corn and fruit); and all gain was held scandalous in a senator. This law was confirmed by Julius Caesar, when he was dictator [g]. The Thebans also made a law, that no person should be capable of any office in the state, unless he had desisted for the space of ten years from all trade. The Romans went still farther, when they absolutely "forbid all merchandizing to the nobility [h]." Nay sometimes merchants themselves were compelled to refrain from trade by way of punishment, though no man could be compelled to be a merchant [i]. Moreover the Romans were prohibited to trade beyond Nisibis, Callinicus, and Artaxata [k]. And confiscation of goods, and perpetual exile, was the punishment of the offenders [l].

It may be asked, why so many laws against trade? I answer, because it was so far from being serviceable, that it was prejudicial to the Roman state. This will seem very strange to the inhabitants of this island, who every day find the benefit and advantage of commerce. It is expressly said [m], "that merchandizing is pernicious to cities." The reason of this will appear hereafter.

Commerce may be advantageous to a state for divers reasons. Plutarch says, it is of service in gaining the friendship of princes, and the good-will of foreign states; besides, it increases the public customs, and revenues of a state; and the more merchants flock to any city, the greater tribute and

[e] XXI. 63.

[f] Verr. VII. 18.

[g] D. 50. 5. 3.

[h] C. 4. 63. 3.

[i] D. 48. 19. 9.

[k] C. 4. 63. 4.

[l] l. ult. eod.

[m] l. 3. eod.

gain

gain is acquired, as Xenophon expresses it in the beginning of his book "de Reditibus." And lastly, hence proceeds plenty, and affluence of riches, and the multitude of people in a state. Diodorus Siculus [n] tells us, that Themistocles persuaded the people of Athens to build 20 new ships every year, and to grant privileges and immunities to artificers, that so the number of inhabitants might be increased, and variety of arts be introduced, for he looked upon both these as conducive towards establishing a power at sea.

But the Romans went another way to work. They, by Humanity, Terror, Triumphs, Tributes, and Taxes, imposed on the conquered countries, increased the riches of their city. They drew all nations to Rome by the Splendour of their Buildings, and the Magnificence of their Public Games and Spectacles, and the Freedom of the City, which they granted to strangers. And such was the vast concourse of people to Rome, that they sent above 160 colonies into Italy alone :

"Jampridem Syrus in Tyberim defluxit Orontes [o]."

It would be very idle to cite passages from ancient writers to prove that the Romans were an immensely rich people. It is a well-known saying of Crassus, that "no man ought to be esteemed rich that could not maintain an army out of his own revenue:" but so far was commerce from adding to their riches, that it greatly diminished them.

Pliny gives a remarkable instance of this [p], where he complains that the Indies and Arabia took away every year from the Roman empire near 30,000,000*l.* sterling of our money [Qu. not half a million?]. Add to this the great sums of money sent to so many other provinces, from whence the Romans had "in exchange the most delicate things that could in any ways contribute to luxury," according to Sidonius Apollinaris [q]. For all these things they paid silver and gold, having *nothing* of the product of their own country to exchange for merchandizes. Hence it was that the emperours forbade the people to send gold to the barbarians [r]; which law was in force before, as appears from Cicero's Oration for L. Flaccus [s]: *Exportari aurum non oportere, cum saepe antea senatus, tum me consule, gravissime judicavit.* The reason of this discouragement given to commerce was, that it carried away their money, and brought them nothing in return but luxury, the bane of virtue and destruction of empire. I need not ob-

[n] XI. 43.

[q] Carm. V. 42.

[o] Juvenal. III. 62.

[p] C. 4. 63. 2.

[r] VI. 23.

[s] § 28.

serve that, after the conquest of Asia, all sorts of luxury were introduced into Rome, and utterly enervated and overturned an empire, which seemed to be eternal.

“ Saevior armis

“ Luxuria incubuit; victumque ulciscitur orbem[*t*].”

I expect it will be objected that many passages of the Roman law, and of the antient writers, seem to contradict what is here advanced. We read in Suetonius[*u*], that the emperor granted great privileges and immunities to shipbuilders and merchants, particularly that if any trading ships were cast away, or damaged by storms, the state should bear the loss. We also find in Tacitus[*x*] mention made of a constitution of Nero's, that the ships of merchants should not be entered in the books of rates, nor any customs paid for them. Lampridius, in the life of Alexander Severus, tells us, that emperor granted to merchants divers immunities. And Ulpian[*y*], speaking of a certain privilege granted to merchants, gives this general reason, because “ Navigation is of the greatest advantage to the “ state.”

In answer to this I observe, that all these passages relate to corn-merchants, who imported provisions in their own ships for the use of the city.

Claudius gave great and certain advantages to merchants for this reason: that once, in a time of great scarcity of provisions, he was stopt in the Forum by the populace, and so disagreeably entertained with scandal and crusts of bread, that he with great difficulty got out of their clutches by a back-door; and from that time he made it his great care and concern to get corn imported even in the winter. The same Claudius granted the freedom of the city to him that built a ship capable of 10,000 *modii* of bread-corn, and had applied it to that service for six years, as Ulpian informs us[*z*]. And to this may be referred the *senatus consultum* produced in the Digest[*a*].

It is said that Nero granted privileges and immunities to merchants and traders: but what sort of merchants and traders they were, Scaevola[*b*] informs us, *viz.* such as built ships for the importation of corn, capable of 50,000 *modii*. So long as they were employed in that service, or others in their room, *such persons were exempted from public offices*. It is certain

[*t*] Juven. VI. Sat. 292.

[*u*] Claud. § 18.

[*x*] XIII. Annal. 5. 1.

[*y*] D. 14. 1. 1. 20.

[*z*] Tit. III. 6.

[*a*] D. 47. 9. 3. 8.

[*b*] D. 50. 5. 3.

that

that this privilege granted by Nero extended to none but the traders for corn, as appears from Tacitus [c].

The occasion of this constitution we learn from Suetonius [d], where he says the populace were highly incensed against that emperor, because, in a time of great scarcity, a ship from Alexandria, instead of corn was said to have brought nothing but a cargo of *dust* for the court-wrestlers.

The same may be said of the immunities granted by Alexander Severus. They extended only to corn-merchants, as appears from Callistratus [e], who lived in that emperor's time, and Paulus [f], to whose counsel Severus paid a very great regard, and from Ulpian [g], who was in good repute with that emperor. These corn traders were likewise a corporation, which enjoyed many privileges and immunities [h], which to entitle themselves to, they were obliged either to navigate ships in person, or to employ the greatest part of their substance in the corn trade.

The same immunities were granted to the same sort of people by the emperor Constantine, as appears from a whole title of the Theodosian code [i]. This law seems to have been made, that the city of Constantinople, which Constantine had built about *four* years before, might be the more readily supplied with provisions.

From what has been said it appears that these privileges were granted in favour of the corn trade, and extended no farther. But it may be asked, why so many provisions made, and encouragements given, for the importation of corn? I answer, the Roman territory did not produce sufficient for the sustenance of so great a number of inhabitants, for which reason it was imported from Sardinia, Sicily, Africa, and Spain [k]. At first the Aediles distributed corn at a very low price, in process of time *gratis*. Clodius was the author of a law by which corn was to be distributed to the people *gratis*; nor was the expence of it small. Plutarch tells us, that in Cato's time there were spent in that commodity 1250 talents. Julius Caesar, after the conquest of Africa, imported 1,200,000 bushels for the use of the people. A bushel weighed ordinarily about 25 pounds. P. Victor relates that Augustus imported yearly from Aegypt 20 000,000 bushels; double the quantity was sent from Africa, as Josephus informs us. In the times of the emperor Justinian, 8,000,000 bushels were carried

[c] XIII. Annal. 51.

[d] Ner. § 45.

[e] D. 50. 6. 5. 3.

[f] D. 50. 5. 9. 1.

[g] D. 14. 1. 1.

[h] D. 3. 4. 1.

[i] de Naviculariis.

[k] Tacit. XII. Annal. Plin. Paneg.

from Aegypt to Constantinople [1]. Of so great concern was the provision of bread-corn, that Augustus, finding in the granaries but enough for three days, determined to kill himself by poison, had not the corn fleets arrived from the provinces within that space of time.

I have but little to subjoin to these just reflections, which I have here presented to the public for the first time. I would only add, that every branch of the Roman history and character justifies the truth of these observations. A people of soldiers, whose trade was their sword, and whose sword supplied all the advantages of trade; who brought the treasures of the world into their own exchequer, without exporting any thing but their own personal bravery; who raised the public revenues, not by the culture of Italy, but by the tributes of provinces; who had Rome for their Mansion, and the world for their Farm; a people, I say, of this discipline and constitution, could have no leisure to set forwards the article of merchandize, nor were they very likely to pay any regard to the character of its professors. And we find just reason to make that conclusion, not only from the genius of the people themselves, and the national characteristic; but also from the frequent expressions, which have escaped several of their writers; and from that apprehension of the matter, which is to be gathered from some of their public constitutions. Dr. TAYLOR, p. 501.

[1] Edict. Justin. XIII. 8.

NOTES ON DR. MIDDLETON'S LIFE OF CICERO.

By Mr. B O W Y E R.

A S Censure is a Tax paid by Great Writers to Little, I desire these Strictures may be looked upon, not so much a proof of my detraction from Dr. Middleton's merit, as a testimony of my homage to it. I shall sometimes make his inquiries only an introduction to new ones; and if I am for placing his in a different point of light, I would propose to do so from the same principle which I suppose actuated him, a sincere desire after truth. But at the same time that I allow this to have been his first motive in writing, I cannot allow he always kept that motive in his sight. His heart was never open to the glory of retracting. It is the common fault of all the Literati, that Truth is a game which they never value unless of their own springing. If they lose sight of it in the smoke they have raised, they think presently they have made it their own, and will allow no one to have a right to a single feather. Let others detect them in an error, they will wind and turn a thousand ways that you may not lay hold of it.

Among the many excellencies in Dr. Middleton's writings I can easily pardon a few inaccuracies; and, to confess a truth which I ought perhaps to conceal from my readers, I point out some errors, not out of disgust to him, but to their supineness who overlook them. The world has got such an appetite for reading, that it swallows every thing which is offered to it. Careless readers have made careless writers; and, amidst a multiplicity of books, I every day see barbarity creeping in.

W. B.

PREF. 4to. p. x.

8vo. p. xxxvi.

THE tribunes, from their first number *five*, being increased afterwards to ten, never left teasing the senate with fresh demands, till they had laid open to the plebeian families a promiscuous right to all the magistracies of the republic; and by that means a free admission into the senate.]

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1. It is not probable, that FIVE tribunes were created at the first institution of the tribuneship. Livy, l. ii. c. 33. 58. tells us, that according to some authors, and particularly PISO the historian, the Commons did not begin to have FIVE tribunes before the year U. C. 283. Capit. when, by a new law, those plebeian magistrates were chosen for the first time, in *Comitia Tributa*. And Pighius, whose principal business is to find out the names of the magistrates of every year, has in no year before U. C. 283, inserted more than two tribunes in his *Fasti Capitolini*. *Hooke's Observations on the Roman Senate*, p. 212.

We should here, perhaps, mention the favourite topic which Dr. Middleton labours in his *Discourse on the Roman Senate*, p. 43. 4to. and elsewhere, viz. That the tribunes had gained an *actual admission into the senate* [in U. C. 262.], *within two years after their first creation*.—"That the intent of the Atinian law could not be (as it is commonly understood) that the tribunes should be senators in virtue of their office, for that they had been from the beginning; but that for the future they should always be chosen out of the body of the senate, or, which is the same thing, out of those who had already borne the office of quaestor." The Atinian law, supposed to have been made U. C. 623, is express: "Nam et tribunis plebis senatus habendi jus erat, quanquam SENATORES NON ESSENT, ante Atinium plebiscitum." A. Gell. XIV. 8. It is impossible to extort from these words the sense which the Doctor has above assigned. The very contests the Doctor mentions between the senate and the tribunes, and the great warmth with which the latter enforced the demands of the commons for a liberty of intermarriages with the nobles, and the choice of a plebeian consul, might have convinced him that the tribunes were not senators, U. C. 368, at the time of that contest. But the following consideration alone is sufficient to overthrow his hypothesis, that the same men were in many instances rechosen to the tribunate for many years together, which would have been a violation of the law, which declared that no senator should be elected a tribune. See the treaty between the senate and leaders, U. C. 262. *Hooke's Roman Senate*, p. 250, 251. Another express proof that tribunes anciently were not senators we have in Appian de Bell. Civ. p. 413. who tells us, it is *not certain that Sylla made that regulation which afterwards prevailed, that tribunes should be elected out of the body of the senate*. *Hooke's Rom. Hist.* vol. III. p. 167. 4to.

4to. I. 5.

8vo. I. 5.

When Atticus FIRST saw the family seat of Cicero by the river Fibrenus, he was charmed with it.] This should be, *when Atticus, according to Cicero's agreeable, but fictitious representation, first saw, &c.* Cicero lays the scene of his several treatises in different places, and brings persons and things together not agreeably to truth, but as best suited the purposes he had in view. In his book *De Legibus* [a], which is here referred to by Dr. M. he had a mind to bring in a description of his seat, as he tells us himself he did the like in other pieces. "*Tomothoeion, quam postulas, Miseni et Putcolorum in-*" cludam nationi meæ [b]." Accordingly Atticus, in the place cited, is introduced saying: "*Equidem, qui nunc primum huc venerim, latiori non*" queo." The copyists, who knew that this book was not writ till after the destruction of Clodius, could not digest that Atticus should never have been here before that time [c], especially as it was at no very great distance from Quintus's seat, the brother of Cicero, and brother-in-law of Atticus; they therefore, without grounds, changed *primum* in many copies into *potissimum*. Dr. M. on the contrary, by sticking too close to the letter, considers this as an historical testimony of Cicero's, which is no more than a fictitious representation. T. I. 57, 58.

4to. I. 16.

8vo. I. 17.

Old Scævola was so pleased with the poem of Cicero on C. Marius, that in an epigram which he seems to have made upon it, he declares *that it should live as long as the Roman name and learning subsisted.*] I imagine rather that Scævola is introduced in this poem of Cicero's on Marius, as speaking these words of the memorable oak of Arpinum, from whence Marius received his omen: "*Dum Latinæ loquentur literæ, quercus huic*" "*loco non deerit, quæ Mariona dicatur; eaque, ut ait Scævola de fratris mei*" "*MARIO* [d], *canescet sacclis innumerabilibus,*" *i. e.* as says Scævola, in my brother's Marius; *De fratris mei Mario*, being used for *ex* or *in*. Tunstall, p. 109. But in the first place I think we want authority for such use of *de*, notwithstanding what Mr. T. has produced. 2. This line, as it stands in Cicero,

[a] l. II. c. 1.

[b] *Ad Att. XIII. 1.*[c] See *De Legg. II. 16, 17.*[d] *De Leg. I. 1.*

is plainly a pentameter, and cannot make part of an heroic verse, of which sort Cicero's poem on Marius consisted.

4to. I. 24.

8vo. I. 25.

Marius's education was wholly in camps; where he learnt the first rudiments of war, under the greatest master of that age, the younger Scipio, who destroyed Carthage.] This is said upon the authority of Plutarch, who adds, that at the siege of Numantia by Scipio, Marius was then about 18 years old. But neither of these circumstances can be true, if, as Plutarch himself repeatedly tells us, Marius died at the age of 70. For it is certain, that the death of Marius happened in the year of Rome 667; consequently he was born in 597, and was twenty-three in the year 620, when Scipio besieged Numantia. And as seventeen was the age when the Romans were reckoned capable of bearing arms, and, according to both Sallust and Plutarch, Marius became a soldier about that age, we must suppose that he had served five or six years before he came under Scipio's command, who had no military employment from the year 606 to 619. It is also reasonable to think, that Marius, when Scipio pronounced him the properest person to succeed him as general in case of any accident to himself, was an officer, and had more experience in war than is to be got by serving one year, or a year and half. Hooke's Rom. Hist. B. VII. ch. 1. U. C. 634.

4to. I. 40, 41.

8vo. I. 42.

Plutarch says, that presently after this [defence of Roscius, A. U. Cap. 673.] Cicero took occasion to travel abroad, on pretence of his health, but in reality to avoid the effects of Sylla's displeasure. But there seems to be no ground for this notion: we have a clear account from himself of the real motive of this journey: "My body," says he, "at this time was exceedingly emaciated—I took a resolution of travelling into Asia, merely for an opportunity of correcting my manner of speaking; so that, after I had been two years at the bar, I left Rome, &c." Cic. Brut. p. 437.]

If Cicero, who was born Jan. 1, A. U. Cap. 647, was 28 years old when he began his travels, he did not set forward till the year 675; and if so, Dr. M. might have found a better reason than the passage in Brut. p. 437, for conjecturing that he did not leave Rome to avoid the effects of Sylla's

Sylla's displeasure: for Sylla (if indeed he was then alive) was not Dictator. He abdicated the dictatorship in 674, U. C. Cap. the year in which Cicero defended *S. Roscius Amerinus*. And though the orator boasts of his having defended this Roscius against Sylla himself, in the height of his power, and refers to his oration as extant, in proof of what he says, *quæ ut scis extat oratio*, it is highly probable that the *bold passages* of it, in which he glories, were never spoken (which was the case with regard to some other of his orations); and it may well be doubted whether they were written, *i. e.* published, before Sylla's *abdication*, or rather not till after his death. Hooke, Rom. Hist. 4to. vol. III. p. 275.

4to. I. 42.-

8vo. I. 44.

It was in this first journey to *Athens* that he was initiated, most probably, into the *Eleusinian mysteries*; for, though we have no account of the time, yet we cannot fix it better than in a voyage undertaken both for the improvement of his mind and body. The reverence with which he always speaks of these mysteries, and the hints that he has dropped of their end and use, seem to confirm what a *very learned and ingenious writer* has delivered of them: That they were contrived to inculcate *the unity of God, and the immortality of the soul*. As for the first, after observing to *Atticus*, who was one also of the initiated, how the gods of the popular religions were all but deceased mortals, advanced from earth to heaven, he bids him remember the doctrine of the mysteries, in order to recollect the universality of that truth: and as to the second, he declares his initiation to be in fact, what the name itself implied, a real beginning of life to him; as it taught the way, not only of living with greater pleasure, but of dying also with a better hope.]

Notwithstanding this grave declaration, of his having learnt so important and so pleasing a truth by his initiation, the very learned author of *the Divine Legation*, &c. (above cited) has produced probable evidence, at least, that our traveller, after his return home, did not believe the immortality of the soul in any sense, that could make him die with a better hope, than a man who believes its mortality. Book III. Sect. iii. "The several and various characters he sustained in his life and writings, habituated him to feign and dissemble his opinions. He may be considered as an Orator, a Statesman, a Philosopher; characters all equally personated; and no one more the real man than the other: but each of them

" taken

“ taken up and laid down for the occasion. This appears from the numerous inconsistencies we find in him throughout the course of his sustaining them.”—The learned writer gives an instance where “ The *Philosopher* confuted the *Statesman*[e];” he adds, “ as in another instance the *Statesman* seems to have got the better of the *Philosopher*[f]. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoics in a philosophic dissertation : but, in his oration for *Muræna*, he ridicules those paradoxes in the freest manner.”

N. B. “ Nor under one and the same character, or at one and the same time, is he more consistent. In the orations against Catiline, when he opens the conspiracy to the *Senate*, he represents it as the most deep-laid design, which had infected all orders and degrees of men amongst them : yet, when he brings the same affair before the *People*, he talks of it as only the wild and senseless escape of a few desperate wretches : it being necessary for his purpose, that the *Senate* and *People*, who viewed the conspiracy from several stations, should see it in different lights.

“ We meet with numbers of the like contradictions delivered in his own person, and under his philosophic character. Thus in his *Books of Divination* he combats all Augury, &c. and yet, in his philosophic *Treatise of Laws*, he delivers himself in their favour, and in so serious and positive a manner, that it is difficult not to believe him to be in earnest. In a word, he laughed at the opinions of state, when he was amongst the philosophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the philosophers, when he was cajoling an assembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn amongst his friends in a corner. Nor is this the worst part of the story. He hath given us no mark to distinguish his meaning : for in his *Academic Questions* he is ready to swear, he always speaks what he thinks : *Jurarem per Jovem, Deosque penates, me & ardere studio veri reperiendi, & ea sentire quæ dicerem* : yet, in his *Nature of the Gods*, he has strangely changed his tone : *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt quam necesse est*.

“ If it be asked then, in which of his writings we can have any reasonable assurance of his true sentiments ? I reply, scarce in any but his *Epistles*. It is only in his *Epistles* to his friends, where we see the man divested of the *Politician*, the *Sophist*, and the *Advocate* : and there he professes his disbelief of a future state of rewards and punishments, in the

[e] *Tusc. Quæst.* i. 13.[f] *De Leg.* ii. 14.“ *frankest*

"*frankest and freest manner.*" [The passages, cited in *Latin*, are thus translated by the very ingenious Mr. Melmoth.]

He says to L. Mescinius: "This advantage we may at least derive from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon *Death* with contempt: which, even if we were happy, we ought to despise, as a *state of total insensibility*," &c. Ep. Fam. I. v. Ep. 21.

To A. Torquatus: "I have the consolation in common with yourself, that should I now be called upon to lay down my life, I should not be cut off from a commonwealth which I can by any means regret to leave, especially, as *the same blow which deprives me of my life, will deprive me likewise of all sensibility.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 4.

To Torianus: "Now that counsel can profit nothing, and that the Republic is utterly overturned, the only rational part that remains, is to bear with calmness whatever shall be the event; especially when it is considered, that *Death is the final period of all human concerns.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 21.

The ingenious translator is of opinion, that, "admitting these several passages to be so many clear and positive assertions, that the soul perishes with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this was Cicero's real belief. It is usual with him to vary his sentiments in the letters, in accommodation to the principles, or circumstances, of his correspondents." After some instances given, the ingenious translator adds, "Other instances of the same variation from himself might be produced; but these, together with those that have already been occasionally pointed out in the course of these remarks, are sufficient perhaps to evince, that *Cicero's real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any passages in these letters.* In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere." Melmoth, Remark 6. Vol. II. p. 232. Hooke's Roman Hist. 4to. Vol. III. p. 276, &c.

4to. I. 42.

8vo. I. 44.

Atticus, being an Epicurean, was often drawing Cicero from his host Antiochus to Phædrus and old Zeno, in hopes of making him a convert.] The character of Atticus will be vindicated more hereafter, and cleared from this charge of Epicureism [g].

[g] T. p. 172.

4to.

4to. I. 60.

8vo. I. 63.

Cicero's marriage took place, probably, immediately after his return to Rome [from Greece], when he was about 30 years old; it cannot be placed later, because his daughter was married the year before his consulship [U. C. 689.] at the age only of thirteen, though we suppose her to be born this year, August 5, Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius being consuls: a year sooner according to Mamutius.] Tullia was married in the December of that year, when Piso and Glabrio [b] were consuls, three years earlier than Dr. M. computes. So that if Cicero was but now married after his return from Greece, she could at her marriage be but ten years old. The consequence is, that Cicero was married before his celebrated journey, at about 27, and Dr. M.'s observation falls to the ground, of the happy conjunction of circumstances attending Cicero in one year, increase of issue, marriage of his daughter, and rise of honours from the Equestrian to the Senatorian rank: no two of which circumstances happened in one year.

4to. I. 79, 80.

8vo. I. 84.

This had raised a general discontent through the empire, with a particular disgust to that change made by Sylla, of transferring the right of judicature from the EQUESTRIAN to the SENATORIAN order, which the people were now impatient to get reversed.] This is a mistake; Sylla transferred to the senators the right of judicature, not from the EQUESTRIAN order, but from the persons elected by the TRIBES out of the three orders. Hooke's Rom. Hist. vol. III. p. 205. 4to. and see *ibid.* 115.

4to. I. 117.

8vo. I. 123.

After the expiration of his *Ædileship*, he lost his cousin Lucius Cicero, at a juncture when he wanted his help in making interest for the *Prætorship*, for which he now offered himself a candidate, after the usual interval of *two years* from the time of his being chosen *Ædile*. Lucius did not die in the year he was candidate for the *Prætorship*, but the year before, his death being mentioned in *Epistle V.* which was writ when Cæcilius Metellus and Marcius Rex were *Coff.* U. C. 685.

[b] U. C. 686. Ep. ad Att. I. 3.

4to. I. 124.

8vo. I. 131.

Licinius Macer, of Prætorian dignity, and of great eloquence, was tried before Cicero, as Prætor; and, as Plutarch tells us, was so sure of being acquitted, upon the strength of Crassus's interest, &c. that, without *waiting for sentence*, he went home to dress himself; and, as if already absolved, was returning towards the court in a white gown; but being met on his way by Crassus, and informed that he was condemned unanimously, he took [to] his bed, and died immediately. The story is told differently by other writers: That Macer was actually in the court expecting the issue; but, perceiving Cicero *ready to give judgement* against him, he sent one to let him know that he was dead, *and stopping his breath at the same time with his handkerchief*, instantly expired; so that Cicero did *not proceed to sentence*, by which Macer's estate was saved to his son. But from Cicero's own account it appears, that after treating Macer in the trial with great candour and equity, he actually condemned him, with the universal approbation of the people. "Multo majorem fructum ex populi existimatione, illo damnato, cepimus, quam ex ipso, si absolutus esset, gratiâ cepissemus." Ad Att. i. 4.] See also Plutarch, and Valer. Max. ix. 12. This story is not easily reconciled; I can do it no otherwise than by supposing, what was perhaps true, that the judges (see Pettingal) were in reality our jurymen; and brought him in guilty; and that some time intervened before Cicero was to pronounce his condemnation: but it was plain that he must and would do so: and if you suppose also that he directed the jury to find him guilty [i], then Cicero might fairly write as he did to Atticus, who perfectly knew the forms of proceeding, and would be under no difficulty to understand how the matter ended: but to us the suppression of these circumstances, which we are forced to suppose, and are hardly sure of, occasions the appearance of two or three pointed contradictions in an affair transacted in the public streets or open courts of justice, and related by three credible witnesses, that could have no interest in misleading.

[i] But yet it is not easy to conceive, that Macer should think himself sure of being acquitted, if the jury unanimously [which, by the bye, plainly resembles our jury] brought him in guilty, and more so, if Cicero had actually directed them to do so. And from *illo damnato* of Tully we must believe that either jury or judge brought him in guilty, or condemned him: and from his sending to Cicero, when ready to pronounce sentence, which was never done, and thereby his estate preserved to his son, I think we must conclude, that sentence was never passed upon him in form.

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This instance is full in point to shew, that different writers may seize different particulars of a transaction most publicly carried on, so as to occasion seeming inconsistencies, past our reconciling, though they have no design to misrepresent or deceive; and therefore may be added to the instances of this kind brought by Bishop Newcome, in his preface, to justify the Evangelists; and by Mr. Markland, in the Preliminary Observations prefixed to Mr. Bowyer's Conjectures on the New Testament. As to St. John's dating the time, *The sun being risen, whilst it was yet dark*, 'tis plain that he must intend to record a second supernatural darkness; which he alone mentions, as he doth the wound in the side, and Thomas's being bid to feel it: and as St. Matthew only records the double earthquake, and dead quitting their graves. Mr. Asby.

4to. I. 131.

8vo. I. 138.

Catiline, who from his Prætorship had obtained the province of Afric, came to Rome this year [A. U. Cap. 687.] to appear a candidate at the election, but being *accused of extortion* and rapine in that government, was not permitted by the Consuls to pursue his pretensions to that office.] See the note on I. 138. in p. 291.

4to. I. 135.

8vo. I. 142.

Cicero had given Atticus a general commission to purchase for him any piece of Grecian art or sculpture; upon RECEIPT OF EACH parcel he still renews his orders for more. *In proof of this, he cites Ep. 8.* I have paid 164 pounds, as you ordered, to your agent for the Megaric statues; the Mercuries, which you mentioned, of Pentelician marble, give me ALREADY great pleasure; wherefore I would have you send me as MANY of THEM as you can, &c.] “*Hernæ hi Pentelici JAM NUNC me admodum delectant: quare velim ut eos et signa quam plurima quam primumque mittas.*” Not that upon the receipt of each parcel he writ for more; for the statues were not yet arrived; but Cicero, out of his eager expectation of them[i], sends three or four letters about them: “They EVEN NOW in imagination please me, wherefore I would have you send THEM, and as many OTHER statues as you can.” Some statues indeed came by two different ships;

[i] M. Falconet, in my opinion, has clearly proved, from Tully's own language in these epistles, and particularly from his famous account of Verres's gallery, that Tully had no more taste for the fine arts than a Nabob. The proof, however, is curious. T. F.

but

but he had not seen the first when he writ for the others. *Quæ mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi; in Formiano sunt*, Ep. 4. and to the same purpose, Ep. 3. Dr. M. was not aware of the chronological order of the epistles, to which Manutius had reduced them, by which Ep. 8. will appear to be writ before Ep. 3. and 4. as they stand in the common editions.

Dr. M. is so intent on embellishing this Tusculan villa, that he tells us presently, Cicero sent over to Atticus the PLANS OF HIS CIELINGS, which were of stucco-work, in order to bespeak pieces of sculpture or painting to be inserted in the compartments.] “Præterea TYPOS tibi mando quos “in tectorio atrio possim includere [k].” I give you commission to buy LITTLE IMAGES, which I may place in niches in the walls of my study; typos quos possim includere, not *typos imaginum* quos possim includere; then in *tectorio*, in the walls, not in the *cielings*. So Types [ΤΥΠΟΣ] Act. vii. 43. See Tunstall, p. 9.

4to. I. 138.

8vo. I. 146.

Catiline was now [A. U. C. 688.] brought to a trial for his oppressions in Africa: he had been soliciting Cicero to undertake his defence; who at one time was much inclined, or determined rather to do it, for the sake of obliging the nobles, &c. as he signifies in a letter to Atticus [l]: “I design,” says he, “at present to defend my competitor Catiline:—I hope, “if he be acquitted, that he will be the more ready to serve me in our “common petition.”] From these two passages compared together, we see Dr. M. through a strange degree of inattention, has represented Cicero preparing in 688 [m] a defence of Catiline, in a cause which, according to the said historian’s own account, had been tried and determined the year before.

Cicero speaks of two different trials of Catiline, in his first and second letters to Atticus. In the first he says, *Nobody but Galba has declared himself*—If Catiline should happen to be ACQUITTED, I shall certainly have him for a COMPETITOR. In the second, he says, I am thinking to defend my COMPETITOR CATILINE. The trial therefore, referred to in the first letter, was now over, and CATILINE *had been acquitted*, he being actually one of Cicero’s competitors. He was twice tried upon criminal accusations, and twice acquitted; *bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam*. Ad

[k] Ep. 10.

[l] Ad Att. I. 2.

[m] Qu. 689. as Hooke.

Att. l. i. ep. 16. That his first trial was in the Consulship of Torquatus and Cotta, for oppressions and exactions in Africa, cannot be questioned by any body who has attended to what Cicero says in his oration for Sylla, 29. and in that for Cælius, 4.

4to. I. 136.

8vo. I. 147.

Catiline was now brought to a trial for his oppressions in Africa: he had been soliciting Cicero to undertake his defence—who at one time was much inclined to do it—but changed his mind, and DID NOT DEFEND HIM.] Thus Dr. M. upon the authority of Asconius, against Fenestella. Mr. Tunstall takes the other side, upon the authority of the words of Cicero, ad Attic. l. 2. Hoc tempore Catilinam competitorem nostrum defendere cogitamus: judices habemus, quos volumus, summa accusatoris voluntate. 'Tis plain the cause was just coming on, since plaintiff and defendant had made their exceptions to the jury, and agreed upon it. It is farther observed, that Asconius's reason why he supposes Cicero did not defend Catiline is of little moment; viz. because Cicero never reproached him with it, which he very prudently omitted to do, since it would turn in reality to his own reproach. For Catiline was acquitted with so much disgrace, that he was threatened to have the cause brought to a second hearing. In a like case [n], ad Att. l. 16. "Rogatus ego sententiam dixi—his absolutum esse Lentulum, his Catilinam." Yes, thrice, says Manutius, but he passes over his acquittal upon the trial of incest, because it would revive the disgrace of Fabia, sister to his wife Terentia. Tunstall, p. 27.

4to. I. 141.

8vo. I. 149.

Cicero, a candidate for the Consulship along with six competitors—Galba and Cornificius were persons of great virtue and merit.] The character of these and the other competitors is heightened, to enhance the merit of Cicero. But Cicero's brother Quintus speaks of Galba in a very different strain [o]: *P. Galbam et L. Cassium quis est qui petere Consulatum putet?* And Cicero himself, *Prensat unus P. Galba: sine fuco ac fallaciis more majorum negatur [p]—Puto se in hoc [l. Cornificio] aut risisse aut ingenuisse:* Where Manutius observes, "*Quod Cornificius neque clarus a majoribus, neque sua virtute commendatus, tamen certus esse videatur [q].*"

[n] Quint. de Pet. Conf. 73.

[o] De Pet. Conf. l. 2.

[p] Ad Att. l. 1.

[y] Tunstall, p. 25.

4to. I. 146. 8vo. I. 154.

Cicero's father died this year, on the 24th of November, and wanted but the addition of one year more to have made him witness of the glory of his Consulship. It was in this year also, most probably, that Cicero gave his daughter Tullia in marriage, at the age of thirteen, to C. Piso Frugi.—It is certain, at least, his son was born in this same year, as he expressly tells us, L. Julio Cæsare, et C. Marcio Figulo Coss. Ad Attic. I. 2.] Not one of these facts happened in this important year. The daughter was married three years earlier, as we have seen before, from Ep. ad Att. I. 3. writ when Piso and Glabrio were consuls, U. C. 686. "Tulliolam C. Pisoni, L. F. Frugi despondimus."

The death of his father is mentioned Ep. VI. where Manutius expressly guards against Padianus's error, which yet Dr. M. follows, "hanc epistolam scripsit multo ante petitionem consulatus." The death of the father is mentioned in the next letter to that which tells us of Lucius's death, Ep. V. which was writ Metello et Marcio Coss. A. U. C. 685. and was distant from it about three months, not three years, as Dr. M. I. 117. 4to. I. 123. 8vo. So that the father wanted above three years to be a witness of the glory of the son's Consulship.

Lastly, the son, how expressly soever he is said to be born when L. Cæsar and Marcus Figulus were Coss. was undoubtedly born some months sooner. For he mentions, in that very letter, his intended defence of Catiline, which was while Cotta and Torquatus were Coss. who were the predecessors of C. Cæsar and C. Marcus. What then are we to do with the *express* testimony of Cicero? Only by Coss. understand Coss. *designati*, and the difficulty is removed. So vi. 8. *Lentulo Cof. i. e. designato*. Orat. Phil. xiv. c. 3. *Bellum inextinguibile inferi quatuor Coss. i. e. Hirtius and Pansa, Consuls; Brutus and Plancus, Consuls elect.* Here again Botius on the place guards against this error, which has deceived the Doctor, "non tempus notat, quo illi inirunt, sed quo designati sunt; idque apertius ostendit ex iis, quæ mox subjicit de instituta defensione Catilinæ, &c." Tunstall, p. 9, 10, 11.

4to. I. 199.

8vo. I. 199.

Cato accused Murena of bribery, yet *connived* at the same time at the other Consul, Silanus, who had married his sister, though equally guilty with

with his colleague.] Cato declared in the Comitia before the people, *that he would file a bill against any one that should give money, whoever he be, except Silanus, on account of the relationship between them* [r]. Which was fair and open; and shews withal, that he had not *banished*, as Dr. M. says, 4to. II. 163. 8vo. II. 347. *all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compassion.* Tunstall, p. 138.

4to. I. 253.

8vo. I. 263.

Upon which the CONSULS were ordered to *provide* a law for bringing Clodius to a trial before the PEOPLE. But Q. Fufius Calenus, one of the Tribunes, supported by all the Clodian faction, would not permit the law to be offered to the suffrage of the citizens. This raised a great ferment. Hortensius proposed an expedient, which was accepted by both parties, that the Tribune Fufius should *publish* a law for the trial of Clodius by the PRÆTOR with a SELECT BENCH of JUDGES.] Here Dr. M. follows Manutius, in supposing that the trying Clodius before the PEOPLE is what the Senate proposed: which appears from Cicero's words to be quite otherwise. The affair of Clodius, he tells us, being laid before the Senate, it was referred to the priests to enquire into the crime, who having made their report, that they had found it to be of a very heinous nature, *deinde ex S. C. consules rogationem promulgarunt* [s]. What that *rogatio* was appears expressly in the next epistle: "Fufius in concionem produxit Pompeium, quæsit ex eo, placeretne ei JUDICES A PRÆTORE LEGI, quo consilio idem Prætor uteretur. ID autem erat de Clodiana religione AB SENATU constitutum." Here we see, that the trial of Clodius by the Prætor with a Select Bench of Judges, is what the Senate decreed should be proposed to the people, and what the Tribune and the friends of Clodius were averse to, knowing that the higher the quality of the judges, the less likely they were to be tampered with, and brought over to side with Clodius.—However, it will be urged, it is certain the Senate did not carry their point, and yet Clodius was *not* tried before the people [t]. True, nor did either party propose it. The expedient of Hortensius (which they came into) was, that, whereas the Senate proposed Clodius should be tried, as in extraordinary cases, by the Prætor and such as he should chuse for his coassessors,

[r] Plut. in Cato. T. p. 138. in not.

[s] Ad Att. I. 13.

[t] Midd. I. 116.

the trial should be before the Prætor and the *stated* ordinary judges, who, according to the Aurelian law, consisted of three ranks of men, described in the present case to be "maculosi Senatores, nudi Equites, Tribuni non "tam erati, quam erarii [u]:" This latter kind of trial, says Cicero, *differed nothing from the other, except in the quality of the judges; but in that was every thing.* Tunstall, p. 28, 29.

Perhaps it would be too minute to observe, that the term which Dr. M. uses of the Senate's ordering the Consuls to *provide* a law for bringing Clodius to a trial, and the Tribune's *publishing* a law, &c. very much obscure the English reader's idea of the Roman proceedings. By the former he might think that the Consuls were ordered to *draw up* a law, and by the latter, that the Tribunes *published* what was before enacted. But the case was no more than this: It is well known, that before a law could pass it was to be proposed to the people, thence termed *Rogatio*; and the people testified their consent by a ballot, on which was inscribed *uti roga*, and their dissent by another inscribed *antiquo*. Now here the Consul's *providing* a law, and the Tribune's *publishing* another, is no more in Cicero than the *Rogatio*, the *Proposal*, of one and the other for the trial of Clodius by a *select* jury, or by a common one.

And after all, it is not true that Fufius Calenus, the Tribune, *hindered the law from being offered to the suffrage of the citizens*. The matter was agitated several times in the Senate [x]: "In Senatu acta res est: con-
"cursu OPTIMATUM comitia dimissa sunt." Fufius, as Tribune, had indeed such a power of *interposing* in the decrees of the Senate, called *Intercessio*; but we do not find he made use of it: He only took out Pompey from the Senate, to declare to the people, *in concione*, what he thought of the Senate's proposal, as Dr. M. himself mentions afterwards, p. 275. But even at the last, when that house divided upon the question about trial by Select Judges. "Fufius tr. pl. consulibus cessit." Ep. iv. T. p. 33.

4to. I. 256.

8vo. I. 266.

Plutarch says, Cicero was urged on to oppose Clodius against his will, by the importunity of his wife—*jealous of Clodius's sister*, whom she suspected of some design to get Cicero from her. The story does not seem improbable; for, before the trial, Cicero owns himself to be growing

[u] Midd. I. 16.

[x] Ad Att. XIV. 1.

every day more cool and indifferent about it.] But does not Cicero assign a better reason of his coolness; because, when he found the method of trial, which Hortensius proposed, to take place, he foresaw all the evidence in the world would be fruitless? It was upon this, he tells us, "contraxi vela, perspicuens inopiam iudicium; neque dixi quicquam pro testimonio, nisi quod erat ita notum atque testatum ut non possem præterire." Ep. XVI. The Doctor here gives up his hero with as little reason as he sometimes magnifies him. Tunstall, p. 30.

4to. I. 258.

8vo. I. 268.

But what has a clown of Arpinum to do at the Hot Wells? Ask that friend of yours, replied Cicero, who had a month's mind to yon Arpinum clown—alluding to his sister Clodia, who had been trying all arts to tamper with Cicero to put away Terentia, and to take her.] "Quid, inquit, homini Arpinati cum aquis calidis? narra, inquam, patrono tuo, qui Arpinates [i. Arpinatis] aquas concupivit. Nosti enim Marianas [i. Marionas] [y]." Say that to your patron Crassus, who wanted the baths of a certain person at Arpinum; you have heard, I suppose, of Marius's baths. This Marcus Crassus was a friend of Clodius, who by bribery got him acquitted at his trial. By the favour of Sylla's proscription he wanted to get several possessions; among the rest, the baths that belonged to Marius at Baia, which Plutarch mentions. To this Cicero alludes [z]: "Ibi sum, ubi is, qui optimas Baias habebat, quotannis hoc temporis consumere solebat." Which Dr. M. translates [a], *I am, where he, who had the best house at Baia, chose to be in this part of the year.* As if he was then living. No, where he, who had chose to be, meaning Marius then dead. Tunstall, p. 32.

4to. I. 260.

8vo. I. 270.

M. Pupius Piso, Consul—favouring neither the popular nor the aristocratical party.] Much too mild a character. "Nihil agens cum Republica, se junctus ab optimatibus." Ep. I. 13. *Doing nothing with the Republic, and yet of a separate interest from the Optimates.* No idle indifferent, but one who joined with the enemies to both. "Voluntate ita non xij, ut Pompeium post illam concionem, qua ab eo senatus laudatus

[y] Att. I. 16.

[z] Att. XII. 40.

[a] II. 182. 369.

est, odisse cœperit. Itaque mirum in modum omnes a se bonos alienavit, neque id magis amicitia adductus Clodii fecit quam studio perditarum rerum atque partium. Ep. 14. T. p. 34.

4to. I. 263.

8vo. I. 273.

The Senate passed a Decree, that Pompey on all festival days should wear his General's robe—and in the Equestrian Races—his triumphal habit: an honour which when he had once used, to shew his grateful sense of it, he ever after prudently declined, &c.]

And yet Cicero tells us I. 18. a year after this triumph, "*Pompeius togulam illam pictam silentio tuetur suam:*" which seems to imply that he had this robe on, and with a secret complacency too. If he did not wear it oftener, it was more owing to a desire of popularity, than a principle of gratitude. I. p. 39.

4to. I. 264.

8vo. I. 276.

Pompey and Cicero's seeming union was so generally agreeable to the city, they were both of them constantly clapped, whenever they appeared in the theatre, without a hiss from any quarter.] But this circumstance of being clapped Cicero speaks of himself only, I. 16. "*Noster status est hic apud bonos. Iidem sumus, quos reliquisti, apud fœdem urbis et fecem, multo melius quam reliquisti.*"—He then speaks of the advantage he received in being thought to be in Pompey's esteem. It gave him an ascendant over his enemies, who were wont to turn it into ridicule, and to call Pompey Cnæus Cicero. "*ITAQUE et ludis et gladiatoribus mirandos ἐπισκηνεύοις fine ulla pastoritia fistula auferebamus.*" He is magnifying his own popularity, not Pompey's. T. 35.

Dr. M. proceeds—Yet Cicero easily discovered that Pompey's outward civility was but feigned and artificial, that he was full of envy within, and had no good intentions towards the public, nothing candid or sincere, nothing great, generous, or free in him.] This from Ep. 13. "*Tuus autem ille amicus (scin' quem dicem, de quo tu ad me scripsisti, posteaquam non auderet reprehendere, laudare cepisse) nos, ut ostendit, admodum diliget—aperte laudat; occulte, sed ita ut perspicuum sit, invidet; nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.*" This is supposed by Dr. M. and indeed by all the commentators, to be a notion of Pompey; which yet Mr. T. observes is

Qq

impossible;

impossible; for Pompey was not yet arrived in the city after his return from the Mithridatic war; his first appearance there being mentioned in the next epistle; at least he could not have been so long arrived as to have given Atticus in Greece an opportunity of hearing of his transactions, and observing upon them *posteaquam non auderet reprehendere, laudare cepisse*. But all these reflections fall exactly on Hortensius. Cicero was before speaking of the affair of Clodius, not knowing what turn it would take, and had reason to think Hortensius privately espoused the favourable side, as it appeared afterwards he did: "Vereor ne hæc neglecta a bonis, defensa ab improbis, magnorum reip. malorum causa fit." Then follows, "tuus autem ille amicus." T. p. 37.

4to. I. 268.

8vo. I. 278.

Before Quintus Cicero went to take possession of his Province, he earnestly pressed Atticus, whose sister he married, to go along with him as one of his lieutenants; and *resented his refusal so heinously*, that Cicero had no small trouble to make them friends.] The quarrel was not now first commenced, but was an old family one, which the reader had as much right to be acquainted with, as of this renewal of it. Quintus and his wife Pomponia, who was Atticus's sister, had but ill agreed for a long while, even from before the birth of Quintus the son. ["De fratre, confido esse, ut semper volui et elaboravi. Multa signa sunt ejus rei non minimum, quod soror prægnans est."] When she was big with him, Cicero was in hopes her being so was a sign of their agreement, and to be a means to confirm it [b].

In the letter which the Doctor has given us, Cicero still hints at it: *Where the blame of all this lies, it is easier for me to imagine, than to write; being afraid lest, while I am excusing my own, I should be too severe upon yours.* Ad Att. I. 17. It come at last to a divorce. "Quintus de emendò nihil curat hoc tempore. Satis enim torquetur debitione dotis—A ducenda autem uxore hic abhorret, ut libero lecto neget esse quidquam jucundius." Ad Att. xiv. 13. T. p. 179. 180.

4to. I. 277.

8vo. I. 287.

Cicero now finished in the Greek language, and in the *style and manner* of Isocrates, Memoirs of his Consulship.] Cicero describes it in much more boasting terms [c]: "Meus autem liber totum Isocratis *μυροθήριον*,

[b] Ep. I. 10.

[c] Ad Att. II. 1.

"atque

"atque ejus discipulorum arculas, ac nonnihil etiam Aristotelica pigmenta consumpsit." My book, the very quintessence of Isocrates, has robbed all the treasures of those that have stolen from him some of the colourings of Aristotle [d]. In another place: If there is any thing written by man that exceeds it, let that have all possible praises, and let my work have none [e].

Dr. M. adds afterwards—What he says in excuse for taking that task upon himself, is, that it was not a panegyric, but a history: which makes our loss of it the greater. This is not urged in excuse for his undertaking the work, but for his speaking of it in the boasting terms above cited: "quamquam non ἐγκομιαστικά sunt hæc, sed ἱστορικά quæ scribimus [f]."

4to. I. 290.

8vo. I. 302.

In finding fault with my windows, you condemn the institution of Cyrus [the Architect], for when I made the same objection, Cyrus told me that the prospect of the fields did not appear to have advantage through larger lights.] A wrong interpretation, owing to a false reading: "Cum ego idem isthuc dicerem, Cyrus aiebat, vi radiorum [not viridariorum] διαφάσεις latissimis luminibus non esse tam suaves. Etenim ἔγω ὅψις μὲν ἢ α. τὸ δὲ ὁρώμεν βγ. αἰνέτινές δὲ δ. λ. ε. Vides enim. Cetera. Nam si, κατ' εἰδῶλον ἐπιώκεις videremus, valde laborarent εἰδῶλα in angustiis."—The Epicureans maintained, that vision was performed by rays coming from the object; Cyrus the architect, following the philosophy of Empedocles, supposed that it was by rays from the eye. Windows, says he, with broad lights are not so pleasant, by reason of the force of the rays from the eye. For let α be the sight; β, γ the object; δ, ε the rays [g]. 'Tis much Dr. M. should overlook this, when both Victorius and Manutius read radiorum for viridariorum, and so explain the passage.

4to. I. 291.

8vo. I. 304.

Bibulus, who was an Augur too, sent notice to Pompey, that he was observing the heavens, and taking the auspices, during which function it was illegal to transact any business with the people.] This is observed, to prove the illegality of Clodius's tribuneship. But this sending notice to Pompey does not seem to be a legal method of stopping any proceeding by the auspices. The Augur was to be present upon the spot, wherever the af-

[d] Ad Att. I. 19.

[e] T. p. 103.

[f] Ad Att. II. 3.

[g] T. p. 85.

sembly was held, as appears from iv. 3. where we see Milo with great joy going from the Campus Martius to the Forum, and from the Forum to the Campus Martius, to prevent any thing passing in either assembly [b].

4to. I. 293.

8vo. I. 305.

That no injury or diminution should be done to the dignity of religious rites of *either family*.] It is hard to say what the Author means. It could not be supposed, that a Patrician's being adopted by a Plebeian could injure the family he left, or a Plebeian being adopted by a Patrician could affect the family he came into. Dr. M. would say probably, that a Patrician could not be adopted by a Plebeian. But that is a mistake: it was not a circumstance alledged against Clodius, that he *could not* be adopted, but that he *acted by collusion*, and did not keep to the laws of adoption. *Adoptionem sequebatur hereditas nominis, pecuniæ, & sacrorum*, says Cicero pro Domo, c. 13. Now Clodius, he observes, when adopted by Fonteius, did not take his name (2), did not become his heir (3), did not quit his own family, and become one of the father's family that adopted him. Dr. M. p. 306, urges as an obstacle to this adoption, that he was *a senator of the noblest birth in Rome*. In which, as well as Joannes Corrafius, he confounds two different things, birth-right and nobility. The rights of birth were lost by adoption, but not nobility. *Nobilis* was opposed to *privatus: Patricius* to *Plebeius*. He might be a Senator, though adopted by a Plebeian, but he would cease to be a Patrician. Cicero observes himself, that by this means it would come to pass, *ut nemo patricius relinquatur, ut populus Rom. brevi tempore neque regem Sacrorum, neque Flamines, neque Salios, &c. habeat*. These honours belonged ONLY to Patricians. It is farther observable, that Cato maintained the validity of Clodius's Tribunate [i], though he disliked many of the laws which were passed while it lasted; which is a proof that the adoption of a Patrician into the family of a Plebeian was not a thing NULL in itself [k]; though the manner of obtaining that adoption and conforming to it might be controverted. A like instance may be seen among the Greeks in Iſæus, Orat. IV. a person of higher quality adopted by an inferior: "Maluisti pro majorum morum gloria, nostram possidere hereditatem, & Dicæogenis appellari filius, quam Harmodii, contemnens jus epulandi in Prytaneo, & primo loco se-

[b] T. p. 139.

[i] Midd. p. 367.

[k] There are instances of it. *P. Scipio*, a Patrician, was adopted by *O. Metellus*, a Plebeian, well known in history by the name of *Q. Metellus Scipio*.

"dendi,

"dendi, atque immunitatum, quæ datæ sunt iis, qui ex illis [tyrannicidis]
 "orti [l]."—This from Perizonius, Diff. I. p. 82, 3, 4.

4to. I. 296.

8vo. I. 309.

Cicero being desired by Atticus to send him the copies of two orations which he had lately made, his answer was, That he had TORN one of them, and could not give a copy; and did not care to let the other go abroad, for the praises which it bestowed on POMPEY.] "Orationes a me
 "autem duas postulas, quarum alteram non libebat mihi scribere, quia
 "ABSCIDERAM; alteram, ne laudarem eum, quem non amabam [m]."

Not for the praises it bestowed on Pompey probably, but on Hortensius, as has been observed in a like case [see p. 297]; though Manutius and others go into the same mistake.—Nor was this oration absolutely refused, for it was sent some time afterwards, as is implied in these words, which confirm the application of this formerly to Hortensius: "Quod me admones ut
 "scribam illa Hortensiana, in alia incidi, non immemor istius mandati
 "tui[n]." T. p. 37. who farther observes, after Jūnius and Popma, that for *abscideram* should be read *abscieram*, i. e. *because I had absolutely refused it*, for how should he tear, says he, what he had never writ? But quære.

F. inabscideram q̄ abscideram quia ī abscideram ī abscideram.

4to. I. 313.

8vo. I. 327.

The distribution of Provinces was, by ancient and express law, the Senate's undoubted prerogative; which had never been invaded or attempted by the people.] This, upon the authority of Cicero, in Interrog. in Vatin. c. 15. who, in his orations, often departs from the strict truth, for the benefit of his cause or his client. "Eripueras Senatui provinciæ
 "decernendæ potestatem; Imperatoris deligendi iudicium; ærarii dispensationem; quæ nunquam sibi Populus Romanus appetivit, qui nunquam
 "hæc a summi consilii gubernatione auferre conatus est[o]." That the distribution of Provinces was not always the Senate's undoubted prerogative, may be collected from the passage which the Doctor cites, concerning the Sempronian law, which confirmed that privilege, where, if

[A] "Thou hast preferred the plunder of our inheritance to the glory of being their descendant, and wouldst rather be rather be called the son of Dicaogenes than of Harmodius; not regarding the right of being entertained in the Prytaneum, nor setting any value on the precedence and privileges which the posterity of those heroes enjoy." JONES.

[m] Ad Att. II. 7.

[n] Ad Att. IV. 6.

[o] Quære, if before now or not?

he

he had gone a little farther, he would have seen that Clodius now got it repealed.—“*Provincias consulares, quas C. Gracchus ut necesse esset quotannis constitui per Senatum decretas lege sanxit; eas lege Sempronia per Senatum decretas rescidisti.*” By this very Sempronian law the Senate was restored to a power which they had some time lost, as is observed by Gravina, Heineccius, Sigonius, and others. A remarkable instance of the People’s disposal of the Consular Provinces may be seen in Livy xxviii. 40.

4to. I. 323.

8vo. I. 339.

Clodius having gained the Consuls, made his next attempt on the people, by obliging them with several new laws, which he now first promulgated, viz. II. that no Magistrates should take the auspices, or observe the heavens, when the people were ACTUALLY assembled on public business.] Not only when they were *actually* assembled was it made unlawful to take the auspices, but on *any part* of the day: “*Ne quis PER EOS DIES quibus cum populo agi liceret, de cælo servaret,*” as Asconius in Orat. in L. Pison. c. 4.

Dr. M. presently afterwards falls into another mistake concerning this law of Clodius, p. 330, 4to. 346. 8vo.

In this same assembly, [held in the Flaminian circus, p. 344,] Clodius got a NEW LAW LIKEWISE enacted, that made great alteration in the constitution, viz. the repeal of the Ælian and Fufian laws; by which the people were left at liberty to transact all public business, even on the days called *Fasti*, without being liable to be obstructed by the Magistrates on any pretence whatsoever.—Now this *new law likewise enacted*—in this new place, the Flaminian Circus, was one and the same law which was enacted at the entrance of the two consuls into their office. By enacting that no Magistrates should take the auspices on those days on which the people met for public business, the Ælian and Fufian laws were annulled. *Propter quam rogationem ait legem Fufiam et Æliam eversum esse,* as Asconius observes in Orat. in L. Pison. c. 4. T. p. 66. 67.

4to. I. 329.

8vo. I. 345.

Calling the people into the Flaminian Circus, summoned the young Nobles and Knights—he ordered his slaves to fall upon them, &c.] This attack was in the Forum, not in the Circus Flaminius. “*Cum equites*

“*Romani*

"Romani relegerentur, viri boni lapidibus e foro pellerentur." Orat. in L. Pis. c. 10. T. p. 72.

4to. I. 334.

8vo. I. 350.

Cicero called a council of his friends—The question was, whether it was best to stay and defend himself by force, or to save the effusion of blood by retreating.] A third was proposed, whether he should not kill himself? to which the words cited by the Doctor refer [p], "Lacrymæ meorum me ad mortem ire prohibuerunt," which the Doctor applies only to his taking up arms against Clodius. Thus he speaks in the same strain, when in banishment, of his resolution to kill himself, if he was not restrained by the tears of his friends. Ep. ad Att. III. 19. "Si Epirus præcisa erit, nusquam quam facilius hanc miserrimam vitam vel sustentabo, vel, quod multo est melius, abjecero. Sed quoniam cœptum est, non deferam neque optimi atque unici fratris miseras atque luctuosos preces, &c." See Ep. ad Q. Fr. I. 3. 4. ad Att. III. 3. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 16. 19. &c. It is much this Author should not see somewhat of this deliberation, which is so often hinted at in the Letters.

4to. I. 350.

8vo. I. 368.

Cicero left Rome about the end of March, for on the 8th of April we find him at *Vibo*, where he spent several days with a friend named Sica.] Cicero never came to *Vibo*, or spent any days with his friend Sica. "Non habebam," says he, "locum ubi meo jure diutius esse possem, quam in fun-
"dum Sicæ:" I had no more liberty of continuing at any particular place, than at my friend Sica's. And Plutarch, in the Life of Cicero, remarks, p. 877, that this Vibius Siculus, thence called Sica, *οὐκ ἔλαβε τὸν Ciceroν δὲ καταγράφειν ἐπηγγέλετο*, did not receive him into his own house, but PROMISED to procure another for him. He desires Atticus indeed to meet him at *Vibo*, III. 4. But in the next letter he acquaints him that he had altered his resolution of going thither: "Miseriæ nostræ potius velim quam INCONSTANTIÆ tribuas, quod a Vibone, quo te arcessibamus, subito discessimus." Not that he was departed from *Vibo*, but had changed his resolution at going thither. So Ep. 26. "Post tuum a me discessum." After your change of mind of coming to me, which expression has again deceived the Doctor, p. 377. 4to. Cicero's rout seems to have been first to

[p] Ad Att. x. 4.

the

the wood-side at the River *Nar*, from whence he dates to Atticus at his departure, April 8 [9].

But, with submission, this metaphorical sense of *discessus* wants a farther proof; for otherwise it is hard to conceive that *Discessus a me*, means only a *mental departure*. Besides, to support Mr. T's interpretation, we must carry on the metaphor, for in the same Ep. ad Att. III. 4. it follows, *Ne et Sica, APUD QUEM ERAM, periret*; i. e. At whose house I was not in reality, but intended to be.

4to. I. 373, 4.

8vo. I. 394.

The eight Tribunes, who were Cicero's friends, offered a law to the people, the third clause of which enacted, That if there was any thing in it, which was prohibited to be promulgated by any former law, *particularly by that of Clodius*, or which involved the author of such promulgation in any fine or penalty, that in such case it *should have no effect*. Cicero was surprized that his friends could be induced to propose such an act, which seemed to be against him, and *to confirm that clause of the Clodian law, which made it penal to move any thing for him*. The most probable solution, &c.]

Cautious as Cicero's friends were, they were not so weak withal as to *confirm in express terms* the very law of Clodius, which they proposed to *rescind*. While they only made this law of theirs void, with an exception to its not being contrary to any *former law*, there was a latitude left to prove hereafter that Clodius's was *no law*: But, to let the exception rest so far as to say, *if it is contrary particularly to that of Clodius*, was annulling in terms, as I said, the very law they proposed. See then the original: "Si quid in hoc rogatione scriptum est, quod per leges, Plebisve S. C. [*hoc est, quod per legem Clodiam promulgare, abrogare, derogare, abrogare sine fraude sua non liceat*] non licuerit,—ejus hac lege nihil ro-gatur." Where Malaspina was at a loss to know why, in a public act where propriety is always observed, it is not called, instead of the *Clodian*, the *Fontician* law, since Clodius was adopted at the making it into that family. But Briffonius clears up the difficulty, by observing that the words *Hoc est, quod, &c.—liceat*, are Cicero's gloss, added by him to shew more glaringly the absurdity of his friend's exception. T. 91.

[1] Ad Att. III. 2.

4to. I.

4to. I. 377.

8vo. I. 398.

Atticus, instead of answering this letter, or rather indeed before he received it, having occasion to visit his estate at Epirus, took his way through Dyrrachium, on purpose to see *Cicero*.] This interview is built on a passage in *Ep. ad Att.* III. 25. "post tuum a me discessum," which Mr. T. as we have observed before, says bears a different sense; and saves us from the absurdity of imagining that Atticus, from December 10, the date of *Cicero's* last letter, had come from Rome to Dyrrachium, and after some stay with him had left him, with a promise of paying him another visit by the first of January, for so *Ep.* 25. "Des operam, illud quod mihi affirmasti, ut "te ante Cal. Jan. ubicunque erimus fistas." T. p. 90. P. Manutius saw the difficulty, and proposes to read without "a me," and Grævius "a nostris," after your leaving our friends at Rome.

4to. I. 410, 411.

8vo. II. 11.

Cicero's Palatine house, which Clodius had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably, by demolishing the fabric, and dedicating a temple upon the area to the Goddess Liberty; where—he pulled down also the adjoining *Portico of Catulus*, that he might build it up anew, of the same order with his temple.—When he had finished the portico, and annexed his temple to it, which took up scarce a tenth part of *Cicero's* house, he left the rest of the area void, in order to plant a grove, or walks of pleasure, plans of walks, and gardens quite imaginary [r.] 1. In the first place, though Clodius pulled down the portico of Catulus, we have no proof in the world that he rebuilt it. 2. This Temple of Liberty, which *Cicero's* house makes room for, was no more than a little shrine to that Goddess, wherein her image was placed, called by *Cicero* himself an *Altar*, *Orat. pro domo* c. 46. and by Plutarch & Dio *voos*, of the nature and use of which see Hammond on *Act.* XIX. 24. These chaplets went under various denominations; being sometimes stiled *monumenta* and *sepulchra*, from their likeness to them, *Orat. pro domo* c. 37. and sometimes *Templa*. "Cum—que id quod dabatur, non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis *Templi* futurum—tamen—id—accipiendum non putavi." *Ep. ad Q. Fr.* I. 1. 3. As we intersperse a wilderness in a map with trees, so nine parts, that were

[r] T. p. 84.

R r

not

not built upon, are destined by the Doctor to groves or walks of pleasure. But Clodius sold them. "Clodius vendidit, emit, quod, conjuncta Post-humii area, in Palatio, pulcherimo prospectu, porticum cum conclavibus pavimentatum trecentum pedum concupierat, amplissimum peristylum[s]."

4to. I. 411.

8vo. II. 12.

The affair [of restoring to Cicero his house] was to be determined by the COLLEGE of Priests, who were the judges in cases relating to religion—he reckons up XIX by name.] From hence one would think that the college of priests consisted of XIX at least; whereas they consisted of XV from the time of Sylla. 2. Nor were the college of *priests* the sole judges, for Cicero in the place cited de Harusp. resp. c. 6. enumerates XIX judges present at the trial; of whom XIII were of the college of greater priests, and two *Flamines*, and one *rex sacrorum*, and lastly three of the *lesser priests*; as follows:

P. Lentulus.

P. Servilius.

M. Lucullus.

Man. Glabrio.

M. Messalla.

L. Lentulus Flam.

Dial.

P. Galba.

Q. Scipio.

C. Fannius.

M. Lepidus.

L. Clodius rex sacrorum.

M. Craffus.

C. Curio.

Sext. Caesar. Flam. Quir.

P. Cornelius

P. Albinovanus

Q. Terentius

}	Pontifices
	Minores.

Two therefore of the college of priests were absent, who were *Jul. Caesar* Pont. Maximus, [See Vell. Pat. l. ii. & Cæs. Bell. liv. l. iii. c. 83.] and *Fulvius Natta*, son of *Sempronia*, and brother of *Fulvia*, who was wife of *Clodius*. The *Pontifices minores* were not of the college of priests; any more than the *Flamines*, three of whom were at first appointed by *Numa*, viz. to *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Romulus*. Afterwards each God had his *Flamen*. See *Noris*, *Cenotaph. Pisan. Diff. i. c. 5.*

4to. I. 419.

8vo. II. 18, 19.

The Senate met next day, when *Marcellinus*, one of the consuls elect, addressed himself to the priests, and desired them to give an account of the ground and meaning of their sentence in relation to Cicero's house.] "Quid essent in decernendo secuti"—i. e. "on what part of the cause they
" had

“had given their decision,” whether as it was a matter of religion, or as matter of law [1].

4to. I. 118.

8vo. II. p. 24.

The Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take these disorders into consideration. Clodius did not think fit to appear there; but Sylla came, to clear himself probably from the suspicion of encouraging him in these violences.] The common reading here all agree to be in some degree corrupt. 2. *Flaccus eduxit viros acres—sed ille* [Clodius] *se in interiorem adium—SULLÆ, se in Senatu postridie Idus, DOMI Clodius, egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres,* Ad Att. iv. 3. Grævius makes no other alteration than reading SULLA SE, according to which Sulla came to the Senate, but not Clodius; and yet it follows; *Ille postea, si comitia non fierent, urbe minari:* where and when were those threats of Clodius, but in the Senate, when his friends *omnes acres* were there too? To reconcile all this, Mr. T. very ingeniously reads, *Sed ille se in interiorem adium Syllæ. Se ni Senatum postridie PROMIT Clodius.* T. p. 89.

4to. I. 424.

8vo. II. 24.

The Senate met on the fourteenth. Milo declared, that as long as he continued in office, the consul Metellus should make no election.] Milo did not declare, but writ his opinion, and not in the Senate. “Sextius furere—“proposita [in tabula] Marcellini sententia, quam ille de scripto ita dixit—erat ut—omnia comitiis anteferebat, proscripsit se per omnes dies comitiales “de cælo servaturum [1].”—Sextius Milo, the Tribune, was enraged, and having read the opinion of Macellinus in writing; wherein he preferred my cause and every thing that related to it to the holding the comitia for the electing Clodius, he writ underneath [on the same tablet] that he was determined to take the auspices every day the assembly was to meet, to prevent their meeting. T. p. 69.

4to. I. 428.

8vo. II. 29.

The Tribune Cato, who was perpetually inveighing against keeping Gladiators, had lately brought up a band of them.—Being unable to maintain them, he was contriving to part with them without noise.—Milo

[1] T. p. 88.

[1] Ad Att. iv. 3.

got notice of it—employed a person to buy them. And then Racilius, another Tribune, published a proclamation that Cato's family of Gladiators was to be sold by auction.] The joke half lost by putting in the word *Gladiators*, which spoils the double entendre—*se proscripsit familiam Cato-manam venditurum* [u], *That Cato's family was to be sold*; which might be understood that he was gone off, and had left his goods to be sold by one of his brother Tribunes. T. p. 93.

4to. I. 428.

8vo. II. 29.

Lupus, in his speech for annulling the act for the division of the Campanian Lands, gave great praises to Cicero, with severe reflections on Cæsar.] “Egit causam agri Campani—nihil ex nostris *actionibus* prætermisit [x]; et “materiem non ignoras.” *Actiones* here is a law term, to the sense of which the expression before *egit causam* naturally leads. Lupus did not speak of Cicero's behaviour in general; but he omitted, says Cicero, *nothing that I had pleaded upon a like subject, the substance of which you are no stranger to*; meaning his orations against Rullus De re agraria, which Cicero had some time since put together in the volume which he entitled *Consulares*, the contents of which are mentioned Ep. ad Att. II. 1. T. p. 93.

4to. I. 429.

8vo. I. 30.

Antistius, the Tribune, seconded him, and declared no business should be done before the trial.] It should be *Racilius* seconded him; who had before called upon Cicero to speak his opinion—“*Orationem meam collaudavit.*” Then follows, *Severius Antistius, isque judiciorum causam suscepit*, i. e. declared that no business should be done before the trial [y].

4to. I. 429.

8vo. II. 30.

Marcellinus proposed, upon the impeachment of Clodius, that an allotment of Judges should be made for the trial.] Here, as before, Dr. M. follows the common interpreters; but the words in the original, *Judices per prætorem urbanum sortirentur* [z], signify that the Prætor should have a select jury. See before, T. p. 29.

[u] Ad Quin. II. 6.

[y] T. p. 24.

[x] Ad Quin. I. 2.

[z] Ad Quin. II. 1.

4to. I. 436 & 476.

8vo. II. 38, 39, & 82.

Ad diem IIII Non. Febr. Milo affuit—producta dies in VIII. Id. Febr.—

A. d. IIII Non—

productus

dies in IIII Id. Febr.—

A. d. VIII. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius, five voluit. Nam ut surrexit, operæ Clodianæ clamorem sustulerunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit—Qui ut peroravit, (nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, *dixit omnia*, atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat [a]; sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius [b].

A. d. IIII Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius five voluit.

Qui ut peroravit (nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, *dixi?* *Omnia*, atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat).

The common reading.

Mr. Tunstall's correction.

4to. I. 438.

8vo. II. 40.

Pompey acquainted Cicero with his apprehensions—that it was necessary for him to look to himself, since the *meaner people* were wholly alienated, the Nobility and Senate generally disaffected.] “Ne opprimatur concionario ‘illo populo a se prope alienato [c],’ i. e. *that it was necessary for him to take care that he be not ruined by that Demagogue Clodius, when he had got the people of his side.* To give the appellation of *meanness* to the citizens of Rome, who had so much sway in the government of it, would be high treason against them. T. p. 97.

4to. I. 439.

8vo. II. 41.

Clodius was not less busy in mustering his friends against the next hearing of Milo's cause: but, after two hearings, the affair was put off by several adjournments to the *beginning of May*.] “In Nonas Maii Miloni dies ‘prodita est [d], :’ i. e. *The affair was given up to Milo's own 7th of May*; which does not relate to Milo's day of trial, but to some anniversary of his, for which purpose Cicero says he would be at Rome *pridie nonas*, the *sixth*, that he might be at Milo's house next morning. So next year he writes to Atticus [e]; Take a supper with me *postridie Kal. Maii*, the 2d

[a] T. p. 94.

[b] Ep. ad Quint. II. 3

[c] Ad Quint. II. 3.

[d] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 7.

[e] Ep. ad Att. IV. p. 12.

of

of May; on "the *first* I propose, after having supped with Crassus, " to lie that night at home, that I may pay my compliments to Milo at " his house next morning, where I shall meet you, and conduct you back " to mine. T. p. 95.

4to. I. 450.

8vo. II. 53.

Tullia was married to a second Husband, Furius Crassipes,—who appears to have been a *Nobleman of principal rank and dignity*.] Whether he was of the order of Nobility may be questioned. In the deliberation about her third marriage [*f*], two being thought of, one of the Equestrian, the other of the Patrician order, Atticus had advised to take the Equestrian, " *vellem te in tuum veterem gregem retulisses,*" *Take one out of your old flock*. Now does that mean one out of the Flock to which Cicero belonged, or to which the second Husband Crassipes belonged? T. p. 187.

4to. I. 455.

8vo. II. 59.

That the article of the sacred and religious places referred to his house, which, after a solemn consecration of Religion, was now rendered profane, Clodius charging all the displeasure of the Gods to Cicero's account, who affected nothing less than a tyranny and the oppression of their LIBERTIES.] The Decree of the Augurs Clodius would not understand to be against him; therefore exhorts the people to follow him, and defend his LIBERTY; *Hortatur ut se—sequantur, et suam LIBERTATEM ut defendant*. Orat. pro domo, c. 77. T. p. 89.

4to. I. 462.

8vo. II. 66.

Cicero seems to have composed a little poem *about this time* [U. C. 697.] in compliment to Cæsar, and excused his not sending it to Atticus, because Cæsar pressed to have it, and he had reserved no copy.] In proof of this is cited Ep. ad Att. IV. 5. " *Urgebar ab eo, ad quem misi, et non habebam exemplar, &c.*" and ad Quint. II. 15. " *Scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari.*" The passage in Ep. ad Att. relates quite to another thing, and the Ep. ad Quintum to another time. The piece mentioned in the Ep. ad Att. whether an oration or dissertation, was wrote probably in favour of Pompey, and against the Optimates, particularly Hortensius, with whom Cicero had some enmity. The letter is altogether by way of

[*f*] Ad Att. V. 4.

objection

objection and answer, which, because Dr. M. and other commentators have not quite understood, I shall give the greatest part of it: "Ain' tu? an
 " me existimas ab ullo malle mea legi probarique quam a te? *Cur igitur*
 " *cuiquam misi prius? Urgebar ab eo ad quem misi. Et non habebam exem-*
 " *plar? quid? Etiam* (dudum enim rodo quod devorandum est) *subturpi-*
 " *cula mihi videbatur esse πωλυνδία. Sed valeant vera, recta, honesta con-*
 " *silia.* Non est credibile, quæ sit perfidia in istis principibus, ut volunt
 " esse, et ut essent si quicquam haberent fidei. Senferam, noram, inductus,
 " relictus, projectus ab iis—Vix aliquando te auctore respivi. *Dices ea te*
 " *monuisse, suasse quæ facerem; non etiam ut scriberem.* Ego mehercule mihi
 " necessitatem volui imponere hujus novæ conjunctionis; ne qua mihi liceret
 " labi ad illos, qui non desinunt invidere; *Sed tamen modici fuimus ὑποβόλαι,*
 " *ut scripsi.* Erimus uberiores si et ille libenter accipiet, et hi subringentur
 " qui villam me moleste ferunt habere—Sed quid ad hoc? si quibus senten-
 " tiis dixi, quod et ipsi probarent, lætati sunt tamen me contra POMPEII vo-
 " luntatem dixisse? Finis. [1. *Sinis.*] Sed quoniam qui nihil possunt, ii me no-
 " lunt amare, demus operam, ut ab iis, qui possunt, diligamur. *Dices vellem*
 " *jampridem.* Scio te voluisse. Et [*dices*] *me asinum* [1. ἄριστον] *germanum fu-*
 " *isse.* Sed jam tempus est meipsum a me amari, quando ab illis [ἄριστοις] nullo
 " modo possum."—*Do you think I am more desirous of any one's good opinion,*
either of myself or my writings, than of yours? "Why then, you will say,
 " did not you let me see them first?" *I was pressed by the person to whom*
they were sent. "What, and had I no copy?" *Yes,* (to confess an un-
 grateful truth) *they seemed to be but a dirty recantation of my old principles.*
 "Adieu then to all true honest counsels." *Why, really, on the other hand,*
it is incredible what perfidy there is in those that went to be leaders, and who
really would be so if there was any faith in them. I felt what they were to
my cost, when I was drawn in, deserted, and betrayed by them. I resolved
still to act with them in all things, but found them the same as before; till by
your advice I came to a better mind. You will tell me, "you advised me
"indeed to act, but not to write." 'Tis true; but I was willing to put
myself under a necessity of adhering to my new alliance, and preclude the possi-
bility of returning to those, who, instead of pitying me as they ought, never
cease envying me. "But, if I did write, why so moderate?" Oh, I will
be more full, if ye shall take this well, and my enemies be irritated at it, who
envy me the house I possess of Citulus's, without considering that I bought it
 of

of Vettius.—But this is nothing, in comparison of their taking a pleasure in seeing me gain the ill-will of POMPEY, by declaring these principles which they themselves approved of. “You allow their treachery.” But since those who have no power will not love me, my business is to acquire the love of those who have. “You will say, I long ago wished you had done so.” I know you did.—“And that I was a perfect Aristocratical partisan.” But it is now time I should have some concern for myself, since these Aristocratical gentlemen have none for me. ’Tis plain this letter relates to Cicero’s ingratiating himself with Pompey, not with Cæsar [b]. The other passage in Ep. ad Quint. II. 15. mentions a poem of Cicero’s which Cæsar had approved of, and another designed for him. But from this very letter, with almost two years after the time assigned by Dr. M. for this complimentary poem to Cæsar, it is plain it was not *then* sent [i]: “Ego quoniam in isto homine [Cæsare] “colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule sæpe incitante, cursu corrigam “tarditatem, tum equis tum viris, tum vero (quoniam scribis poema ab eo “nostram probari) quadrigis poeticis.”—Having so long neglected to pay my court to him [Cæsar], notwithstanding you have so frequently pressed me to it, I will now by my zeal make amends for my delay, and will run to him with might and main, nay even with poetic feet, since you tell me he approves of my poem.

4to. I. 467, 8.

8vo. II. 72.

Atticus’s constant advice to him was, to consult his safety and interest by uniting himself with the men in power.] Atticus went more upon moderate principles, and advised him not to be too violent a party-man. When he was too much courting the men in power, he called him back: when irritated against them, persuaded him to keep on good terms with them. [“De eo quod me mones, ut et πολιτικῶς [k] me geram, et τὴν “ἑω χάριμην teneam; ita faciam. Sed opus est majore prudentia, quam “a te, ut soleo, petam.” As to what you advise me, not to fly out, but to accommodate myself to the times, as a wise citizen should, I shall endeavour to do so: but I have need of all your prudence to teach me the art.] Dr. M. has cited a remarkable passage, which shews us Atticus’s different council, which Dr. M. has mistaken the sense of in one or two instances, and has followed a false reading in more: Nam tu quidem et si natura πολιτικός, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem communi frueris sermone [leg.

[b] T. p. 107—112.

[i] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 15.

[k] Ad Att. IV. 8.

nomine].

“nomine]. Ego vero qui si loquor de rep. quod oportet insanus; si quod
 “opus est, serius existimor; si taceo, oppressus et captus; quo dolore esse
 “debeo?—Quid si cessare libeat et in otii portum confugere? Nequic-
 “quam. Immo etiam in bellum et in castra. Ergo erimus ὅπαιοι qui τὰγοὶ
 “esse noluimus. Sic faciendum est; tibi enim ipsi, cui utinam semper paru-
 “issem, sic video placere.”—*Shall I withdraw myself then from business, and
 retire to the path of ease? that will not be allowed me: Shall I follow these
 leaders to the wars, and after having refused to command, submit to be com-
 manded?—Not literally to the wars, but the metaphor still continued: Shall
 I launch out into public affairs, and dance after those whom I used to lead?*
 “—Reliqui [l. reliquia ut quidam codd.] est Σπάρταν ἑλαχες, ταύταν κόσ-
 “μεν. Non mehercule possum, et Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carce-
 “rem maluit. Veruntamen id ipsum [ut ὁπαδὸς sim] mecum in his locis
 “commentor, ut ista [i. e. utcunque] improbem, idque tu, cum una
 “erimus, confirmabis.” Or *shall I resume my post, and enter again
 into affairs? I cannot persuade myself to that, but begin to think Philoxenus
 in the right; who chose to be carried back to prison, rather than commend
 the Tyrant's verses. This is what I am now meditating to declare my dislike
 at least of what they are doing.* It is to be observed, that Atticus hereto-
 fore advising him to adhere strongly to the cause of the Senate against the
 “Triumvirate, had cited that saying, Σπάρταν ἑλαχες [1]: “Bonos viros—et
 “eam, quam mihi dicis obligasse, Σπάρταν non modo nunquam deferam, sed
 “etiam, si ego ab illa deferor, tamen in mea pristina sententia permanebo.”
 But now when he advises him to temporise a little with the men in power:
*That maxim then of yours, says Cicero, Adorn the post allotted to you, is laid
 aside. I profess I know not how to bring myself to that, viz. to dance after
 those I used to lead, but begin to think, &c. However, this art of compliance
 is what I am meditating here, howmuch soever I dislike the proceedings; and
 you will confirm me in it, when we meet.* Atticus, when he had drawn him
 to this extremity, advises him to keep the middle way. T. p. 113. 114.
 Malaspina and Grævius saw the passage in the same sense Mr. T. has given
 it, and therefore approved of the reading of some copies which read
probem, for *improbem*. “Malaspina hic est audiendus,” says Grævius. “Hoc
 “enim Cicero dicit, se rationem quærere, qua animo suo possit persuadere
 “ut hæc, quæ Cæsar et Pompeius agunt contra libertatem, quæ semper
 “improbabit, nunc probet, ut amicorum consiliis obsequentem se præ-

[1] Ad Att. I. 20.

"beat." But Mr. T's interpretation very happily preserves the same sense and the common reading.

4to. I. 485.

8vo. II. 91.

King of Comagene—preferred a petition to the Senate for some *new* honour or privilege—but Cicero made the petition so ridiculous, that the house rejected it, and at his motion reserved likewise out of his jurisdiction one of his principal towns, Zeugma.] 1. Zeugma was not the name of a town, but a district that contained several towns, as appears from Plin. N. H. VI. 26. So in the place cited here [m] it should be read, "neque solum illud extorti oppidulum, quod erat positum in Euphrate et Zeugmate;" not, as Lambinus altered it against authority, "quod erat positum in Euphrate Zeugma." Then follows, "sed præterea togam sum ejus prætextam, quam erat adeptus Cæsare Consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus. Quod nunc vult, inquam, *renovare honores eosdem*, quo minus togam prætextam *quotannis interpolet*, decernendum nihil censeo." From whence it appears, 2. That what the King of Comagene sued for was not some *new honour*, but a continuation of what had before been granted him. T. p. 116, 117.

4to. I. 486.

8vo. II. 92.

Cicero made an excursion this Spring [U. C. 699. L. Domitio et L. Claud. Pulchro Coss.] to visit his several seats and estates in the country, and in his *Cuman villa* began a treatise on politics.] He began it long before: for in the Consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, five years earlier, Atticus had put him in the head of it: "Et tamen illud probem [i. e. quod mihi suades]. Magnum quid aggrediamur et multæ cogitationis atque otii [n]." Now these are the very terms in which he expressly speaks of politics, or de republicâ [o]. "I have undertaken a work, says he, that you are no stranger to, of great importance, and such as requires much leisure. And a few months before the same Consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, he had made some preparation towards it: Bring me, says he, from among Quintus's books, Theophrastus *περί πολιτείας* [p]. To this purpose he was reading Dicaearchus [q]: you esteem Dicaearchus very justly; he is a clear writer, and understands civil policy much better than our wicked Governors. Afterwards he

[m] Ep. ad Quint. Fr. II. 12.

[n] Ad Att. II. 14.

[o] Ad Att. IV. 16.

[p] Ad Att. II. 3.

[q] Ad Att. II. 12.

takes notice, that Theophrastus prefers the practical life, Dicæarchus the theoretic[r]. That he should pay a due regard to both of them—but that at present he should lay aside this work for a time, to apply himself to the public affairs. In short, Cal. Oct. of that very year wherein Dr. M. says this work was but begun, he had drawn out the system, and added the names of the Speakers, which in dialogues was usually the last thing[s]: “Hanc ego de republicâ quam institui disputationem in Africani personam, et Juli, et Lælii, et Manilii contuli.” And before iv. Non. Nov. it was brought so near a conclusion, that he writes to Atticus then returned out of Asia to come and see it[t]: “Quid tu huc advolas, et invitis illius nostræ reipublicæ germanam;” not “germanæ” as the common Edd. and which none of the interpreters have understood; but means, no doubt, no more than come and *see the true picture of our Commonwealth*. For he tells us, in a fragment now remaining of this very book, that he would there represent the model of the Roman Government: “expositam ad exemplum nostræ reipublicæ.” T. p. 142, 143.

4to. I. 491.

8vo. II. 98.

As to M. Orfius, whom you recommended to me, I will make him even King of Gaul, or Lieutenant to Lepta. Send me another *therefore*, if you please, whom I may prefer.] Why *therefore*? A bad reading, and the whole scope of the sentence lost[u]. “M. Orfium, quem mihi commendas, vel Regem Galliæ faciam, vel hunc Leptæ delega. Si vis tu, ad me *alium* mitte quem ornem.” For *Reg. Galliæ*, should probably be read *Leg. Galliæ*, the man whom you recommended I will make my Lieutenant in Gaul, the most honourable post. But because Cicero had not recommended him in very strong terms, and Cæsar had no extraordinary opinion of him; or give HIM, says he, a less honourable Lieutenantcy under Lepta; and if you will [to shew you your interest in me] send ME another whom I may prefer. That Cicero had recommended him but faintly, appears from this very letter, which Dr. M. has translated, where recommending Trebatius: “De quo tibi homine hæc spondeo, non illo vetere meo, quod cum ad te in illo [Orfio] scriptissimè jure iussisti; sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur; probiorem hominem; meliorem virum,

[r] Ad Att. II. 16.

[s] Ad Att. IV. 17.

[t] Ad Att. XIII. 14.

[u] Ep. Fam. VII. 5.

"prudentiorem esse neminem." It must be owned indeed that here is read in the Edd. *in Milone* for *in illo*; but it could not be Milo, of whom Cicero had spoke always in high terms, and who was besides at this time busy at Rome in view of the Consulship. *In illo* is often corrupted into *Milo*, or some such word: "*Milo* cœpit *dimittere* [Senatum Lupus]" for *in illo*, as Manutius corrects it[*]. Ad Att. XI. 23. "Sed cum a Nilo [in illo] accepissem literas." So ibid. 12. "Tamen Nilo meo [in illo meo, fratre] his verbis scripsi." And after all, M. Curtius was probably the man thus recommended; not *Ortius*, as Corravus observes, and the following passage: "De tribunatu quod scribis nominatim petivi Curtio, et mihi ipse Cæsar *nominatim Curtio* paratum esse rescripit, meamque in rogando "*verecundiam objurgavi* [y]." T. p. 113, 114, 115.

4to. I. 497.

8vo. II. 105.

He had sent Cæsar (says Dr. M.) his *Greek Poem* in three books, on the History of the *Consulship*, and Cæsar's judgment upon it was, that the beginning of it was as good as any thing which he had ever seen in that language.] Whatever the poem was, which Cæsar thus approves of, it was not writ in that language; but Cæsar, to give it the highest commendation he could, says, *that the first part of it was equal to any thing he had read even among the Greeks*.—"Prima sic, ut neget se ne Græca quidem "*meliora legisse* [z]." For the Greeks were allowed even by the Romans themselves, to excell them in writing[a]. Nor was it the poem on *the History of the Consulship* which Cæsar thus approved of; for that was finished the year in which Metellus and Afranius were Consuls, as appears from a letter to Atticus of that year, wherein the conclusion of it is cited. "*Sed me κατακλείς mea ista commovet, quæ est in Libro III* [b]."

"Interea cursus, quos prima a parte juventa,

"Quosque adeo *Consul* virtute animoque petisti,

"Hos retine atque auge famam, laudesque bonorum,

"Hæc mihi cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta ἀριστοκρατικῶς;
"*Calliope* ipsa præscripserit."

[*] Ep. Fam. ii. 1.

[y] Ad Quint. Fr. III. 1. 3.

[z] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 16.

[a] Hor. de Art. Poet. 289, 290. Ep. ad Aug. II. 161. Tusc. Disp. I. 1.

[b] Ad Att. II. 3.

This

This conclusion Dr. M. has before given us under the right year; but, misled by this imaginary Greek poem, has made two poems on the *Consulship*, as elsewhere by a like mistake he raises two poems instead of one to be *addressed to Cæsar*. To proceed then; this poem on the *Consulship* was sent to Atticus before the 15th of March of the same year [c]. “*Commensarium Consulatus mei Græce compositum misi ad te,—Latinum si perfecero, ad te mittam; tertium poema expectato.*” Now it is not likely it should lie hid for six years, to receive Cæsar’s applause under the Consulship of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Claudius Pulcher: especially since we see the Greek *Comment* on his Consulship was no sooner finished than he desired Atticus to disperse it in Athens and other Grecian cities; *that it might give them, says he, some light into our affairs* [d]. The question then still remains, what this poem was, which Cæsar so much commended: No other than a poem, divided likewise into three books, *De temporibus suis*, writ after his return from his exile, as the other on his *Consulship* was, as we have seen, before it [e]. Of this poem he thus writes to Lentulus Spather, who was Consul when Cicero was recalled from banishment: *You desire me to send you what I have writ since your departure for Cilicia.—Among other things, I have writ a poem in three books “De temporibus meis,” of the late times; which I had sent you long since, if I had thoughts of publishing it. It is full of testimonies, and will always remain so, of my obligations to you, and of my just sense of them.—I shall take care to send it to you when I meet with a proper hand.* This poem was finished probably in the Consulship of Pompey and Crassus, and communicated to a few friends; for we find Atticus at this time, according to custom, soliciting him to publish it, or some other, and Cicero modestly averse to it—*You ask of the poem, what if it should get abroad?—Would you approve it should* [f]? A few days after, Cicero desires Atticus to return it by Lucceius: “*Tu Lucceio librum “dabis* [g].” In the same year we find Quintus had read it, and highly approved of it [h]; who, in the end of that year, carried it probably to Cæsar in Gaul or Britain, where having quite healed up all the old sores between those two, Cicero writes to Quintus: “*Dic mihi verum; num*

[c] Ad Att. I. 19.

[f] Ad Att. IV. 8.

[d] Ad Att. II. 1.

[g] IV. 11.

[e] Ep. ad Fam. I. 9.

[h] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 9.

“ aut res eum [Cæsarem] aut χαράνη non delectat? nihil est quod vereare
 “ —Hac de re φιλαλήθως, et, ut soles, scribe fraterne [i.]” And yet, notwithstanding this distance of time, between the writing of these two poems, *De Consulatu* and *De Temporibus*, Dr. M. has confounded them together, and tells us in the former *he carried down the history to the end of his exile* [k], thinking that a history of *his own times* must contain a history of his *Consulship*: whereas *De temporibus suis* only means of *the late troublesome times*, as we used to speak of *the late civil wars*; and as the letter above cited to Lentulus Spinther plainly explains it.

The three books, Dr. M. says in the last cited place, after some other authors, are severally inscribed to *three of the Muses*; that *Urania* was the title of the second book, and *Calliope* of the third.—This is only pursuing the same confusion: the three books of the *Consulship* were so inscribed, the third of which was styled *Calliope*, as we have seen before from Att. II. 3. But there is no proof that the poem of *His Times* was so inscribed, unless this: “ Quod me admones de nostra *Urania*, suadesque ut meminerim Jovis orationem, quæ est in extremo illo libro [l]:” where *Ma-laspina* reads *Urania* for what the MSS. and editions have *de non curantia*, from whence I would propose to read *de nominum curatione*. *Quintus* some time since, upon going to *Sardinia*, had recommended our *Marcus* to take care of some debts for him [m]: “ Videris de nominibus *Pomponianis* in otio recogitasse.” As *Gracchus the Augur*, says *Marcus*, when he got into his province, remembered all the ill omens against him in the *Campus Martius*: so you seem, now you are got to *Sardinia*, to recollect all your old debts. *Quintus* here so pursues the same subject, and so reminds his brother of *Jupiter’s* speech, which seems to have been upon justice, and to have concluded the poem of *His Times*, as *Calliope’s* speech did the poem on his *Consulate*. Now if this latter was inscribed to the *Muses*, because the *Muses* speak in the three several books, we might then rather imagine that the poem on *His Times* was inscribed to three Gods, because *Jupiter* we see speaks in the third book, as *Apollo* does in the second [n]. “ Mirificum ἐμβόλιον cogito, in secundam librorum meorum includere, dicentem *Apollinem* in concilio deorum.” T. 102—109.

[i] Ad Quint. Fr. II. 16.

[l] Ep. ad Quint. Fr. II. 9.

[n] Ep. ad Quint. III. 1.

[k] 4to. I. 278. 8vo. I. 289.

[m] Ep. ad Quint. II. 2.

4to. I. 497.

8vo. II. 105, 106.

He began *another* poem, at his brother's request, to be *addressed to Cæsar*, But after some progress was so dissatisfied with it, that he tore it. Yet Quintus still urging—he was obliged to resume it, and actually finished an *Epic poem* in honour of Cæsar.] Here the poem in honour of Cæsar is mentioned in the right year, which, by having been mentioned by Dr. M. in a wrong one, increased into two. But it is now not only multiplied in number, but increased in dignity. It is here said to be an *Epic Poem*, before a *little* one. And yet it was such an one, as Cicero tells us he finished again in a few days after he had first torn it [o]. Dr. M. was deceived by Cicero's description of it: “Habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem ubi videtur, *ἔπος* ad Cæsarem,” which is no more than some *Heroic verses*. T. p. 134.

4to. I. 500.

8vo. II. 109.

Memonius and Domitius made a strange contract with the Consuls—to procure for them what provinces they delivered; and gave a bond to provide three Augurs, who should testify that they were present at the *making a law for granting them those provinces* when no such law had ever been made; and two Consular Senators, who should affirm that they were present likewise at passing a *Decree of the Senate*, for furnishing the same provinces with *arms and money*, when the Senate had never been consulted about it. Ad Att. IV. 8.

And so indeed the Doctor had before said that *the provinces of the Consuls elect had been furnished with MONEY and TROOPS by a Decree of the SENATE* [p]: And still, as we have often seen in another place, that the *assignation of PROVINCES* was a prerogative of the Senate's, which had never been invaded: so that, according to him, the Senate had both branches of power, viz. of nominating and furnishing money, which yet again are the more divided. Both accounts cannot be right; and unluckily the division of power between Senate and People was just contrary, neither are they just in the inverted order. For the Senate allotted the *Consular Provinces*, and the Lex Curiata gave *authority, arms, and money*. To give one instance instead of many [q]: “Appius dixit in Senatu palam, sese—

[o] Ad Quint. III. 8.

[p] 4to. I. 375. 8vo. I. 396.

[q] Ad Fam. I. 9.

“ si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibi que successurum
 “ legem curialem Consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse, se—quoniam
 “ ex *Senatus Consulto* provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habi-
 “ turum quoad in urbem introiisset.” So that, says Mr. T. the province was
 granted by the Senate, and the *command* by the Lex Curialia; which law,
 if Appius could not obtain, he determined to have recourse to the Corne-
 lian law. A slight mistake sure still—to gain that *command*, which, for
 want of the Lex Curialia, he could not obtain? No, that he had, he said,
 by being Consul: “ Legem curialem Consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non
 “ esse.” But the Cornelian law, it seems, secured a continuance of that
 power till he returned to the city; not “ quoniam ex S. S. provinciam
 “ haberet lege Cornelia;” but “ lege Cornelia imperium habiturum quoad
 “ in urbem introiisset.” T. p. 117. 118.

’Tis further to be observed, that Dr. M. has fallen into a mistake, which
 both Salmasius and Grævius abundantly cautioned him against, when he says
 Memmius and Domitius GAVE A BOND to provide Augurs, &c. [r]. “ Hæc
 “ pactio, says Cicero, non verbis, sed *nominibus* et *perscriptionibus* multo-
 “ rum, tabulis cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est.” *Nomen*
scribere and *perscribere* is to enter his name in a cash book, as debtor and
 creditor. Memmius and Calvinus did not give bonds to the Consuls; but
 in their books of account gave the Consuls credit for so much money;
 and the Consuls entered them debtors in their books for the same sums,
 and this witnessed by several others. A very pardonable mistake, if Sal-
 masius and Grævius had not so very clearly pointed it out.

4to. I. 50 L.

8vo. II. 110.

Quintus sent his brother word from Gaul [s], that it was reported there,
 that he was present at the contract; but Cicero assures him that it was
 false.] And yet it had been worth while to have enquired how this re-
 port came to be spread so far abroad, that it should even reach his bro-
 ther Quintus in Britain. There are some passages that make it very
 suspicious that Cicero was privy to the agreement [t]. “ S. C. quod
 “ hi consules de provinciis fecerunt, quicunque posthac [fecerint] non
 “ mihi [fecerint] ut qui jam intelligebamus enuntiationem illam Memmii
 “ valde Cæsari displicere.” As to the Decree of the Senate, which these

[r] Ad Att. IV. 17.

[s] T. p. 119.

[t] Ad Att. IV. 16.

Consuls

Consuls forged, whosoever shall make such an one, will not do it by my consent, who am aware how displeasing it was to Cæsar when it was told. So that the fear of displeasing Cæsar was what kept him from coming to such an agreement. We may farther discover the very name of the province he was to have had [u]: "*Perspice æquitatem animi mei et ludum et contemptionem Seleucianæ provinciæ mehercule cum Cæsare suavissimam conjunctionem. Hæc enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat.*" *Behold my tranquillity of mind, my contempt of the province of Seleucia, and intire friendship with Cæsar, the only bottom that saves me in this shipwreck.* So that it was out of fear or affection to Cæsar that made him give up his pretensions to Seleucia. Take this key, and all is plain, which to Victorious seemed dark and mysterious. T. p. 120. How far this proves the point, must be left to the reader to determine.

From a reflection on these corruptions, Cicero, Dr. M. observes, foretells the approaching ruin of the Romans, and when he bewails the wretchedness of the times, usually joins the wickedness of their morals as the source of it. He tells us, however, lest these corrupt candidates should escape, they were all publicly impeached by different prosecutions, but conceals, in the mean time, that they were all defended by this very Cicero: "*Candidati Cos. quatuor omnes rei: causæ sunt difficiles; sed emitemur, ut Messalla noster salvus sit, quod est etiam cum reliquorum salute conjunctum* [x]." Again: "*Messallam—reliquosque molestia levatos vehementer gaudeo* [y]." Nay, what is more, we have his own testimony upon record, that he did not know what to say for them. "*Quid poteris pro iis dicere? Ne vivem si scio. In illis quidem tribus libris [De Oratore] quos tu dilaudas non reperio.*" This is a remarkable proof what lengths he would go in undertaking causes. If we wanted this, we have further proof from his own testimony: "*Cur autem laudarim [Vatinius] peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo, neve in aliis requiras* [z]." *I wish you would tell me for what reason I undertake the praise of Vatinius: I ask it of you, that you may never put it to me either in the present case, or in any other.* A practice, this, that might be defended from our own times, but not from his principles: "*Cumque nihil tam incorruptum esse debeas*

[u] Ep. IV. 18.

[y] Ep. 24.

[x] Ep. ad Quin. Fr. III. 3.

[z] Ep. ad Fam. I. 9.

“ in rep. quam suffragium, quam sententia, non intelligo, cur, qui ea pecunia corruperit, poena dignus sit, qui *eloquentia*, laudem etiam ferat. “ Mihi quidam hoc plus mali facere videtur, qui *oratione*, quam qui pretio corrumpit, quod pecunia corrumpere prudentem nemo potest, dicendo potest.” *Fragm. de Rep. ap. Marcell. [a]*—*As nothing ought to be so unbiassed as one's judgment, I don't see why it should be criminal to corrupt it with money, and yet praise-worthy to pervert it with ELOQUENCE. A method, which seems to me to be attended with the greater malignity, since common prudence is a guard against the one, against the other a weak defence.*

4to. I. 506.

8vo. II. 116.

Gabinus bragged every where that he was going to the demand of a triumph, and, to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates, till, perceiving how odious he was to all within, he stole privately into the city by night, to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by the populace.—Three *different impeachments* provided against him; 1. For treasonable practices; 2. plunder of his province; 3. bribery and corruption.—The *first indictment* fell to Lentulus, who accused him *the day after he entered the city*. Gabinus durst not venture to shew his head for the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the senate.] It is said Gabinus durst not venture to shew his head the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate. Yes, in the city he did, where he had like to have been killed: “Gabinus “ ad iv Calend. Octobr. [b] nocte in urbem introivit, et hodie hora octava “ cum edicto C. Alfi de majestate eum adesse oporteret, concursu magno “ et odio universi populi pene afflictus est [c],” hodie Sept. 29. *the day after his entry*, for Cicero, after he had begun his letter, kept it by him, and writes down the events just as they happened. Dr. M. has mistaken the passage which mentions his first coming to the Senate for his first coming into the City: “Cum Gabinus, quacunque veniebat, triumphum se possulare dixisset, subitoque bonus Imperator noctu in urbem hostium “ plane invasisset in Senatum se non committebat interim [not—Interim “ ipso decimo die]. Ipso decimo die—inrepsit [not as the Edd. have it “ in ræ hæsit] summa infrequentia [d].” *Having given out that he was coming to demand a triumph, this mighty General possess himself of the city, as if*

[a] T. p. 121.

[c] Ad Quint. III. 1.

[b] Sept. 28.

[d] Ad Quint. III. 2.

it had been an enemy's, but durst not yet venture into the Senate by night, till after ten days, when there was a very thin house, he crept into it.

2. He was not charged at first with *three different impeachments*, but by three different parties, L. Lentulus, Tiberius Nero, and C. Memmius, who all accused him of *treason*. It is said expressly, "quod Cato non volebat, *ad*huc de pecuniis repetundis non erat postulatus [e]." *Because Cato was not well, he [Gabinus] was not impeached of plundering the provinces.*

3. *Lentulus* might first lay the indictment before the Prætor; but it was *Memmius* that first accused him before the people; "Gabinium ad populum *luculenter calefecerat* Memmius [f]." Afterwards they all accused him of *plundering* his provinces: "Apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium *futura inter* Memmium et T. Neronem et C. et L. Antonios [g]." The third impeachment was of *bribery*, by P. Sylla [h]. This Dr. M. makes the *first*, whereas it was the last, probably the consequence of the other trials, in which he bribed his judges to get acquitted, and so, as was said of Catiline, came off from the trial as poor as his judges were before it. Cicero seems to intimate this, where, having mentioned his acquittal and the corruptness of his judges, he adds, "Candidati Cos. omnes rei ambitus. *Accedit etiam* Gabinius, quem Q. Sulla, non dubitans quin *feris esset*, *postularat.*" *All the Consuls were accused of bribery; to these I may add Gabinius, against whom Sylla not doubting but he was far gone in debt preferred a bill. "Feris esse" is an expression the commentators are much at a loss about, and yet Cicero uses it to the same purpose elsewhere, "egere, "feris esse* Gabinium, sine provincia stare non posse [i]."

Dr. M. observes, that Cicero, out of regard to Pompey, refrained in the indictment of treason from being Gabinius's accuser; but gives us the passage ill read and ill understood. "Ego tamen me teneo ab accusando *vix mehercule. Sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare* (satis est, quod instat de Milone), vel, quod iudices nullos habemus, *ἀπέτευμαι* formido [k]." Which should be "vel quod *nibi* cum Pompeio pugnare satis est, quod instat, de Milone, vel quod iudices nullos habemus, *ἀπέτευμαι* formido." *I have much ado to forbear undertaking the accusation of Gabinius: however I do forbear, as well because it is enough to have contended with Pompey about Milo, as because from want of good*

[e] Ad Quint. Fr. III. 1.

[f] Ad Quint. III. 2.

[g] Ibid.

[b] Ad Quint. Fr. III. 3.

[i] Orat. in L. Pison. c. 6.

[k] Ad Quint. III. 2.

judges I have reason to be diffident of success. As Cicero thought, Gabinius, by the industry of Pompey, was acquitted: but how? “Omnino *πρώτος* “ *πρώτος* [l].” By a tumultuary proceeding, every thing carried in the wrong way [m].

4to. I. 523.

8vo. II. 134.

— yielded that Calvinus and Messala should be consuls. These are agreeable likewise to Cæsar: *Cicero had particularly recommended Messala to him*; of whom he says, in a letter to his brother, As to your reckoning Messala and Calvinus sure consuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be answerable to Cæsar for Messala.] It should be *Cæsar had particularly recommended Messala to Cicero*, who therefore would be answerable to Cæsar for his success. Dr. M. was misled by the modern custom and phrase, of being answerable *for his behaviour*. T. p. 121.

4to. I. 5.

8vo. II. 140.

The *priests of all kinds* were originally chosen by their colleges, till Domitius, a tribune, transferred the choice of them to the people.] Not the priests of ALL KINDS were chosen by their colleges: the Pontifex Maximus never was, but by XVII of the tribes, a majority of which decided the choice, as Cicero tells us in his Second Agrarian Oration, and is abundantly proved by Gruchius de Comitibus l. ii. c. 2. by Gutherius l. i. c. 8. and by Noris, Cenot. Pisan. Diff. II. c. 5. p. 124.

4to. II. 8.

8vo. II. 173.

At Athens Cicero and his brother spent their time very agreeably—abroad in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was *much delighted*.] Not so very much: Dr. M. has mistaken the words of Atticus for those of Cicero. “Quid est præterea [n]? Nihil “ sane nisi illud, *Valde* [dicis] *me Athenæ delectarunt*. Urbs duntaxat et “ urbis ornamentum et hominum amoris in te—*Sed multum* [inquis] *et “ philosophia*. “ *Αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ* si quid est, est in Aristo.” Have I omitted any thing in answer to yours? Nothing, unless to reply to your supposal, That Athens gave me great satisfaction. No, nothing but the mere shell of the city. The ornaments of it, and the great affection the people expressed for you.—Well, but, did not the philosophy?—Really if there is any left here and there, it is chiefly

[l] Att. IV. p. 16.

[m] T. p. 123, 4, 5.

[n] Ad Att. V. 10.

concentered

concentered in Ariffus. The Greek Dr. M. has omitted as unnecessary, and many others take *ἀνὰ νότον* to signify the uncertain doctrine of the Academics, who affirm nothing. But Atticus did not enquire after that sect only, but of philosophy in general, which, in Cicero's opinion, was at a low ebb even there. For want of the Doctor's hitting on this, we have lost a reflection on the migration of learning. Our once barbarous isle would have risen superior to Athens, as upon another occasion it does to Rome. See 4to. I. 495. 8vo. II. 102. T. p. 126.

4to. II. 12.

8vo. II. 178.

On the 21st of May a report was spread through the Forum and the whole City, that you were killed *on the road by Q. Pompeius*: but I, who knew him to be then at *Bauli*, and in such a starving condition that I could not help pitying him, being forced to turn *pilot for his bread*, was not concerned about it.] “*Maximus rumor fuit a Q. Pompeio in itinere occisum [o];*” which should be rendered, *A report was spread, which came from Q. Pompeius, that you was killed on the road [p]*. Had Cicero intended Dr. M's sense, he would have confused the report by shewing how inconsistent it was with the rout of Cicero to fall in the way of Q. Pompeius. I, he would have said, *who knew him to be at Bauli in banishment, and that you before this time was to meet Cn. Pompey at Tarentum, and from thence was to go to Brundisium, was not concerned about it*: whereas, to shew the unlikelihood of the report, he only dwells on the character of the reporter. *I, who knew Q. Pompey, was learning the art of fasting at Bauli, insomuch that I even pitied his hunger, was not concerned at his invention of a lie for a dinner, &c.*—“*Qui scirem empeneticam facere (as Turneb reads), et usque eo ut ego miserer ejus esurici, non sum commotus; et hoc mendacio, si qua pericula tibi impenderent, ut defungerentur optavi.*” I have altered the turn of the English; whereupon Cicero puns [a little obscurely] upon the words *Mendicus* and *Mendax*, both derived from the same root, and which would here comprehend the idea of the word *Empenetica*. T. p. 101.

4to. II. 13.

8vo. II. 178.

How! was it this, think you, that I charged you with; to send me the making of Gladiators; the adjournments of causes; and *Chreffus's News-*

[o] Ad Quint. Fr. I. 8.

[p] T. p. 101.

letter ?]

letter ?] As if a news-paper was published at Rome, as now-a-days with us. No, Cœlius, as the former letter tells us, was to send Cicero an account of all the news of the town. But as he had too much business of his own to take a journal of whatever passed, he deputed Chrestus (a freed-man probably) to that office, who made up a volume of such sort of materials. This is what Cœlius sent, without so much as reading it over. Cicero desires him to excuse himself that trouble and charge for the future, and only to send him an account of the most material transactions in the state. T. p. 100.

4to. II. 14.

8vo. II. 179.

The Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts to see a man so celebrated through the empire for the fame of his *learning* and *eloquence* [q]. “Cum decumanis, ac si venissem cum imperio, Græci, quasi Ephetio Prætori, se alacres obtulerunt; ex quo se intelligere certo scio, multorum annorum ostentationes meos nunc in discrimen esse adductos. Sed, ut spero—omnibus satisfaciemus; et eo facilius, quod in nostra provincia confectæ sunt pactiones.” The Greeks admired his eloquence much about the same as the farmers of the taxes. Cicero was now entering into his province, and he tells us, *before he came to it at Ephesus the farmers of the taxes and the Græcians came about him as if he had even jurisdiction there; from whence you will understand, says he, that all my boasts [of lenity and justice] will now be put to the trial. But I hope to satisfy all parties, the provincials and the taxers, and the rather, because in my province an agreement has been already made for one year.* T. p. 128, 9.

4to. II. 19 and 24.

8vo. II. 185.

When Ariobarzanes came to offer Cicero the same present of money which he had usually made to every other Governor, he *generously refused it*, and desired only, that instead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus.] “Mandatorum mihi libellum [Brutus] dedit; iisdemque de rebus tu mecum egeras; omnia sum diligentissime persecutus. Primum ab Ariobarzane sic contendi, ut talenta, quæ mihi pollicebatur, ille daret [r].” Which Dr. M. thus translates: *Brutus gave me a memorial of the particulars, which you had talked over with me before: I pursued your*

[q] Ad Att. V. 13.

[r] Ad Att. IV. 1.

[his]

[his] *instructions exactly*. In the first place, I pressed Ariobarzanes to give that money to Brutus, which he promised to me,—yes, had promised to pay me on the account of Brutus. Brutus had given Cicero some commissions in writing: Among the rest, one was to get-in this debt of Ariobarzanes for him. Cicero says, he had pressed Ariobarzanes to pay that money, which he had promised on his account. Nothing of offering a *present of money* to Cicero in the case; and Dr. M's translation might have passed for right, if he had not, by his comment, cleared up his own meaning ~~against~~ the author's. Dr. M. afterwards observes, Cicero never left urging king Ariobarzanes, till he had squeezed from him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, the same sum probably which had been destined to Cicero himself; the same mistake still; the talents were no other than those he owed Brutus. T. p. 128 [5]. We have more proofs of Cicero's generosity.

The city of Salamis owed to two of Brutus's friends, as he pretended, Scaptius and Matinius, above twenty thousand pounds sterling upon bond, at a most *extravagant interest*; and he begged of Cicero to take their persons and concerns under his special protection.—He enjoined the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bonds in his province should carry above *one per cent. by the month*. Scaptius insisted on *four per cent.* as the condition of his bond expressed; while the Salaminians, as they protested to Cicero, could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it out of *his own dues*, that he had remitted to them.—Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, what he had *all along dissembled*, that the debt was in reality his own, and Scaptius only his agent.] 1. If Cicero did not understand that this money was in reality owing to Brutus, it is certain he had intimation that he was nearly concerned in the loss of it [t]. For in the written instructions Brutus had given him, it was said the Salaminians were indebted to Scaptius and Matinius, and that he was bound for both of them in a great sum. So that their payment of him depended in a great measure on Cicero's success with the Salaminians. 2. It should be remembered, that the exorbitant interest with which Cicero and Dr. M. are so much offended, was the legal interest as far as an act of the Senate could make it so. The case was this [u]: The Salaminians wanted to

[t] Ad Att. IV. 3.

[t] Ad Att. VI. 1.

[u] Ad Att. V. 21. VI. 2.

borrow money of some persons at Rome to enable them to pay their taxes, which was contrary to the Gabinian law: These friends of Brutus were ready to advance the sum, could they have an act of the Senate to indemnify them. By Brutus's influence they got one passed; still they thought themselves not safe, because the Gabinian law had made all bonds in such cases void, upon which a second act was passed to confirm such bonds. All this Cicero tells us himself, so that there was no underhand dealing in the case; I may add, nothing in demand of interest that was unusual. For those that lent money contrary to the Gabinian law *used* to take four per cent. per month, on account of the hazardous security, for it might admit of a dispute, whether an act of Senate could set aside the Gabinian law, and the Provincial prætor could exercise his jurisdiction more arbitrarily than the city one. But as the Senate had now allowed a bond to be good that carried four per cent. interest, it will be asked, how came Cicero in the present case to take but one?

As to the dues that Cicero remitted to these Salaminians, it should have been observed, that they were no other than those extortions which former prætors used to exact of particular cities to be exempted from having soldiers quartered en them [x]. Cicero forbore to demand, as with the greater justice he ought, now the army was sent under Quintus in Cilicia. A proof therefore of his humanity, not of his justice [y].

4to. II. 25.

8vo. II. 191.

In the suspense of the Parthian war, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for the safety of his success: but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of acting the general, he seems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced leader.] He talked big indeed upon his first setting out to his province [z]. “*Ἀφρονί, Rhodiorum et dicrotum Mitylenorum habebam, et aliquid ἐπὶ κωπον. [1. ἐπὶ κὼν δέ.]*” *I had some Rhodian pinnaces, and Mitylenian galleys; and some heroic action must be undertaken.* But if we examine into his conduct against the Parthians, it will be found very suspicious. *As our army, says he, is in a weak condition, and I have but a small number of allies [a] whose fidelity I can depend upon, my greatest security is, that we shall shortly go into winter quarters. I am*

[x] Ad Att. V. 20.

[z] Ad Att. V. 11.

[y] T. p. 128.

[a] Ad Att. V. 18.

only afraid, if the enemy before that season does not advance into my province, that the Senate will then forbear sending Pompey. And though his fear makes him distrust these allies, his vanity, in the same letter, makes him represent them to Atticus as more firmly attached to him, than they ever were to any governor. Well, Cicero had not yet done with the Parthians, though Dr. M. disperses them, and says, the danger from them was over for this season, and so makes him engage with a new enemy. But Cicero tells us [b], that, understanding the Parthians were posted upon the borders of Cilicia, he fell upon them at Amariûs, and took some strong forts. But how? "*Nocturno Pontinii adventu, nostro matutino.*" So that the surprise, which he mentions in another letter [c] as the cause of their defeat, was owing probably to Pontinius. Five days after he departed for Pindenissum, having heard perhaps of another approach of the Parthians. For 'tis certain, while Cicero was there, Bibulus received an *unlucky defeat at Amanus*. "*Venit interim Bibulus—cohortem primam totam perdidit —plagam odiosam acceperat cum re, tum tempore* [d]."

The next campaign Cicero was in terrible apprehensions again from the Parthians [e]: *He knows the Senate will send somebody against them, and that he shall be called home. He dreads June and July: but those two months Bibulus may hold out against them. But what will become of him, says he, whom I shall depute in my stead?* In short, he left his province to Cælius, a giddy-headed boy, as he knew very well, of no conduct or solidity in the world. "*Puerum, inquires, et fortasse fatuum, et non gravem, et non continentem* [f]." T. p. 133—136. It must be owned, however, he makes some apology for this; that the Parthians, just at that juncture, by great good fortune, were retired; that he should otherwise have staid himself, even against the decree of the Senate, &c. And he deputed Cælius for the present.

To proceed: Cicero made a point, it seems, of gaining a thanksgiving, if not a triumph, for his victory at Amanus. Cato voted against it; and his letter of excuse to Cicero, though Dr. M. thinks a little otherwise, shews with what genteel address he kept up to the rules of *friendship*, at the same time that upon a principle of conscience he opposed his friend. Dr. M. says, in his speech to the Senate he extolled both Cicero's *civil and*

[b] Ad Att. V. 20.

[e] Ad Att. VI. 1.

[c] Ad Fam. XV. 4.

[d] Ad Att. V. 20.

[f] Ad Att. VI. 6.

military administration. Yes, "Dedit integritatis, justitiæ, clementiæ, fidei testimonium[g];" but not a word of *military* conduct. That Cato, though he voted against the decree, yet *assisted in drawing it up, and had his name inserted in it, which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing*: which is more sure than Cato apprehended; for he might as well have *voted* his approbation, as *testified* it in writing. T. p. 136, 137.

4to. II. 40.

8vo. II. 208.

Tullia parted from her second husband, probably by divorce—for Crassipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under *Cicero's displeasure*, who mentions him as the only Senator, besides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his supplication. Ad Att. VII. 1.] Cicero did not write to Crassipes, probably because he concluded he would vote for him without it, as it is plain he did; for he says only Cato, Favonius, and Hirrus voted against it [b]. Tullia was divorced from Crassipes before Cicero went to his province [i]; and a good understanding was kept up between them while he was abroad [k]. T. p. 188.

4to. II. 49.

8vo. I. 218.

U. C. 703. Cof. L. Æmilius Paulus,
C. Claudius Marcellus.

Dr. M. here rightly calls the former consul L. Æmilius Paulus; who was the brother of the triumvir M. Æmilius Lepidus. But both he and Dr. Tunstall afterwards, through mistake, call him Paulus Æmilius Lepidus [l]; the former Ep. Cic. ad Brut. p. 21. the latter in Observations, p. 309. This distinction has been clearly made out by Perizonius, Anim. Hist. c. III. who observes, that M. Æmil. Lepidus 2. fil. Cof. 676. had three sons, 1. M. Lepidus, who was adopted by Scipio; 2. L. Æmilius Paulus Cof. 703. who was proscribed by his brother; 3. The triumvir M. Æm. Lepidus. The youngest bore the prænomen of the father, which was given him probably because the eldest by adoption exchanged his own prænomen for that of the father who adopted him. This Lucius Æm. Paulus, the second son, having himself only one son, was willing to perpetuate in him the two

[g] Ad Att. VII. 2.

[b] Ad Att. VII. 9.

[i] Ad Att. VII. 9.

[k] Ad Fam. XIII. 9.

[l] M. Æmil. Lepidus's brother (says Dr. M. ad Brut. p. 21) was PAULUS Æmilius Lepidus, who had been consul with Marcellus, 703. No, he should have said LUCIUS Æmilius Paulus.

most honourable names of the family, that of Paulus, who, by conquering Perseus, brought so much money to the treasury, that the city was eased of any tribute to it; and the name of *Lepidus*, who was Pont. Max. at the same time. He is called therefore *L. Æmilius Paulus Lepidus*, or *L. Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*; but the father always *L. Paulus*, or *L. Æmilius Paulus*, without the addition of *Lepidus*. His son Paulus Lepidus, having two sons, divided again the honourable appellations of the family, naming the eldest *L. Æmil. PAULUS*; the younger *M. Æmil. LEPIDUS*.

4to. II. 52.

8vo. II. 223.

Upon taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a visit to *Rhodes* [*m*]—here he received the news of Hortensius's death.] This upon the seeming express testimony of Cicero: “Cum e Cilicia *Rhodum* venissem, et eo mihi “de *Q. Hortensii* morte esset allatum [*n*].” And yet, from a better testimony of the very same Cicero it may be proved, he heard of Hortensius's death before he set out from Cilicia: “Ego dum in provincia omnibus “rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris ejus frater.” In the same letter follows, “De Hortensio te certo scio dolere: equidem “excrucior: decreram enim cum eo valde familiariter vivere [*o*].” The scene of his several treatises, where he introduces different persons, he lays, not agreeable to truth, but just as it most suits the plan of his drama. In this of Brutus, that he might bring in the mention of Hortensius to the best advantage, he represents the news of his death coming to him at Rhodes, a place famous for eloquence, and whence he would naturally call to mind Milo, who was of this city, and when at Rome was præceptor to them both in eloquence. Accordingly he thus introduces him: “Eodem “anno etiam Miloni Rhodio Romæ dedimus operam, et actori summo “causarum et magistro.” T. p. 156.

4to. II. 54.

8vo. II. 224.

These two rivals lived always with great civility and respect towards each other, till Cicero in the case of his exile discovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity.] Almost four years before this there was a jealousy between them, as we have before observed; those words of Atticus, *Posteaquam non auderet reprehendere laudare cœpisse* [*p*] being spoken

[*m*] T. p. 56.[*n*] Brut. init.[*o*] Ad Att. VI. 6.[*p*] Ep. ad Att. I. 13.

of Hortensius. And it is probable the glory that Cicero gained by his consulship might be the occasion of Hortensius's envy, which he frequently cried up more according to the sense of the times than from the affection of his heart. T. p. 38.

4to. II. 54.

8vo. II. 225.

From Rhodes he passed on to Ephesus. T. 144.

4to. II. 55.

8vo. II. 226.

In his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro happened to fall sick, and was left behind at *Patra* to the care of friends and physicians.] Tiro was left behind at two places [*q*], as it should seem, on account of sickness; the first very manifestly before he was got out of Cilicia, and was come to Laodicea [*r*]. “Tiro ad te dedisset litteras, nisi cum graviter ægrum Iffi “ [al. Eteæ] reliquissent;” for which should probably be read ἀσπρία, i. e. sick for want of appetite. Hence he writes, “Plane curationes ejus [medici] “ non probo: jus enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum κακὸς ὁμαχὸς ἔσσης [*s*].” Again, “*Inedia* [the very word in Latin, which before in Greek ἀσπρία,] “ et purgationibus et vi ipsius morbi consumptus [*t*].” In the second illness he was left at *Patra*. T. 144, 145. The first Dr. M. has omitted: Mr. T. says, he has confounded the two seizures together, and made the first sickness to happen at *Patra*: but I see no reason for that charge. He may be guilty of an *omission*, if it is to be called one, but not of *confusion*.

4to. II. 62.

8vo. II. 60.

They had got with them the copy of a speech, which Antony made to the people four days before—a perpetual invective on Pompey's conduct—complaints against the arbitrary condemnation of citizens, and *the terror of his arms* [*u*]. “In qua erat accusatio Pompeii usque a toga pura, que- “ rela de damnatis, terror armorum [*x*].” *In which was set forth the terror of his arms*, i. e. his own and Caesar's, as Corradus has observed, not *Pompey's*, as Manutius and Dr. M. It follows, “IN QUIBUS [armis], “ quid censes (aiebat) facturum esse ipsum [Cæsarem] si id possessionem “ reip. venerit, cum hæc quæstor ejus infirmus et inops audeat dicere.”

[*q*] T. p. 146.[*r*] Ad Att. VI. 7.[*s*] Ep. ad Fam. XVI. 4.[*t*] Ib. Ep. 10.[*u*] T. p. 146.[*x*] Ad Att. VII. 8.

T. 146. But it is at least matter of doubt still : for *IN quibus armis quid facturum censes*, is scarce Latin, WITH *which arms what think you will be not attempt ?* Rather, *Upon which things*, [reflecting on what had passed in Antony's speech] *what think you*, says Pompey, *Cæsar will do, if his little Quæstor can talk at this rate ?* And then Manutius's observation may hold, as far as I see, that Antony did not *threaten* in his speech, but *accuse*, and therefore spoke of the terror of Pompey's arms, not Cæsar's.

4to. II. 55.

8vo. II. 225.

His predecessor Appius, who passed also through Athens on his return, had *ordered* a new portico to be built at his cost to the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres ; which suggested a thought likewise to Cicero of adding some ornament of the same kind to the academy. In all probability it was *never executed*.] Appius only *thought* of building a new portico, and so did Cicero of a temple ; it is certain neither of them executed it. “ Me tamen de Academiæ *ὑποπόδιον* jubes cogitare, cum jam Appius de “ Eleusine non cogitet [y] ? ” *Would you have me think of the portico to the academy, when Appius has given over his thoughts of one at Eleusine.* T. p. 140.

4to. II. 56. 581.

8vo. II. 226. III. 378.

How much we are indebted to Tiro for preserving and transmitting to posterity the *precious collection of Cicero's letters*—Not a single letter of Atticus's was ever published ; which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having *withdrawn them from Tiro after Cicero's death*, and suppressed them with singular care.] If this collection of letters had been owing to Tiro Cicero's servant, we should have had them delivered down to us in the order in which Cicero *sent them* : whereas there are some evidently published out of time in the order Atticus revived them. Ad Att. II. 12. Of this we have a remarkable instance in that dated from the Three Taverns, which, in the 13th he tells him, *being put into a wrong packet, was brought back to Rome, and thence to his Formian Villa, instead of being sent on : That he had now sent it along with the present.* And so it stands in the editions of this day, “ *Negent illi,*” &c. preceding the XIIIth, whereas it should be before the VIIth. Other instances there are of the like nature [z]. That none of Atticus's letters remain, and so many of

[y] Ad Att. VI. 6.

[z] See note of Mongault II. 11.

Cicero's,

Cicero's, may easily be accounted for, from the carelessness of the latter to preserve what he received: whereas Atticus was careful of Cicero's, with a view to complete his collection, and afterwards to make a penny of them. For that Atticus had a passion for money is plain, from his keeping a number of Gladiators, to let out for hire to the public shews [a]: and for the same end kept *Transcribers, Collators, and Embellishers, &c.* "Pueros literatissimos, anagnostas optimos, plurimos librarios [b]." Not that all the Epistles are now published in the order Atticus received; some dislocations having happened from various other accidents. T. p. 15, 16.

4to. II. 69.

8vo. II. 241.

Cicero had Capua with the inspection of the sea coast from Formiæ: he would not accept any greater charge, for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating peace; and for the same reason, when he perceived his new province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong garrison, he resigned his employment, and chose not to act at all.] Cicero labours so much for reasons for resigning, or rather declining the post of defending Capua, that it is plain he could assign no good one: Among the rest he gives this, *that, after conditions of peace had been sent by L. Cæsar and Fabius [c], he would give no umbrage to one to whom Pompey, even since arms had been taken up on both sides, offered a Consulship and a triumvir.* Thus it is he uses to lay the blame of all his compliance with Cæsar on Pompey's example [d]. And yet this very man, in his letter to Cæsar, tells him, *that he thought him injured in the war raised against him; that it was owing to envy and malice that some endeavoured to deny him the honour the people of Rome had decreed him; that he, for his part, did not only promote his pretensions to the Consulship [e], but engaged the interest of several others.* So little grounds had Dr. M. to imagine, that whereas Cælius's opinion [f], *that in a public dissension, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honest side; but when it came to arms, the stronger.*—Cicero thought, *that where our duty and safety interfere,*

[a] Ad Att. IV. 4. 8.

[b] Corn. Nepos, Vit. Att. See likewise Ad Att. II. IV. 4. &c.

[c] Ad Att. I. 9.

[d] Ad Att. VII. 1. VIII. 3.

[e] Pont. IX. 11.

[f] Vol. II. 102, 103.

we should adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.

T. p. 137.

In what fear is he, in another place, left, by consulting the safer side rather than the honest, he had lost the opinion of the Good? And almost wishes a misfortune to them, to *justify* his conduct in not following them to Africa [g]. T. p. 156, 7, 8.

4to. II. 93.

8vo. II. 268.

If we did *not know* from Cæsar himself that *he will do* what we think he ought to do, treat about a reconciliation between him and Pompey, *we should give over* exhorting you to come and take part in those deliberations, that by your help the whole affair might be settled with ease and dignity. Or if, on the contrary, we believed that Cæsar *would not do it*, &c. But since at present we can only *guess*, rather than *know*, what Cæsar will do.] Strange, that they should rather *guess* than *know*, when before they said they *knew from Cæsar himself*. Read, without the word *not*; *if we knew from Cæsar himself*, &c. [b]. “Nos si [not nisi] id—eum facturum ex ipso cognovissemus, te hortari defineremus: aut si ex contrario putaremus Cæsarem id non facturum,” &c. T. p. 153. But still I will presume to say, the passage is not right; for what sort of reasoning is that, *we should give over exhorting you to come, that the whole might be settled with ease and dignity?* It should be read undoubtedly “Nos non, si—id eum facturum ex ipso cognovissemus, te hortari defineremus ut velles iis rebus adesse, quo facilius,” &c. *If we knew from Cæsar himself that he will do what we think he ought to do, we should not give over exhorting you to come and take part in those deliberations.* They put it in all possible lights, but still all of them to shew that Cicero ought to come. The *non* was omitted by the librarian by reason of a contraction *n̄ si*; or from the nearness to *nos non si*.

4to. II. 99.

8vo. II. 273.

I should not be concerned at the report which is spread of you, *especially* when I take it to be *but false*. But, out of the excess of my affection, I cannot dissemble, that even a report, though false, makes some impression on me.] “— non possum dissimulare mihi famam quoque, quam

[g] Ad Att. IX. 7.

[b] Ad lin. IX. 8.

“vis

"vis fit falsa, magni esse [i]." A pithy sentence! *Though I should not be concerned at a report spread of you that is false, yet I must own I am concerned at it.* The MSS. brighten up the sentence wonderfully:—"famam quo-
que, quamvis fit falsa, falsam agnoscere magni esse:"—*I cannot dissemble, that though it is false, yet that it is a part of friendship to own it so.* T. p. 154.

4to. II. 112.

8vo. II. 289.

Cato, whom Pompey had sent to possess himself of Sicily, thought fit to quit that post, and yield up the island to Curio, who came likewise to seize it on Cæsar's part.—Cicero was much scandalized at Cato's conduct.] And yet it is somewhat strange that Dr. M. should pass by an instance of Cicero's, which betrayed greater cowardice. He had been egged on by Atticus to erect a standard, as Cælius had done heretofore for Marius, to which the honest men might likewise resort. "Nos a te admoniti de Cælio cogita-
bimus—Quod optas, Cælianum illud maturefcit—vexillo opus est; con-
volabunt [k]." Again: *I am often resolving to do somewhat like Cælius, and if opportunity offers, shall not slip it [l].* And yet it no sooner offered, than in the midst of his resolutions he run away; then tells Atticus that he thought of Cælius's miscarriage, not of his bravery, which was what he before had been talking of imitating [m]. *I went privately to my house near Pompeii, to remain there while every thing was got ready for my voyage. I was no sooner come, than our friend Minnius told me that the captains of the three cohorts that were at Pompeii would speak with me the next day, and would deliver up to me the place. But I slunk away before day, that I might have no interview with them. For what were three cohorts? and if there had been more, what provision was there? I thought of the event of Cælius, which you mentioned in your letter, which I that day received upon my coming to Cumæ. Possibly it may be only a feint to try me: but by getting away I secured myself from being suspected.* T. p. 135. 'Tis strange Dr. M. should pass this over, when Mongault had pointed out Cicero's mean conduct, and says, we may apply to him what Jupiter in Homer says to Venus.

An instance of the like behaviour we have seen before in the affair of Capua.

[i] Ad Att. X. 8.

[l] Ad Att. X. 12.

[k] Ad Att. X. 14. 15.

[m] Ad Att. X. 16.

4to. I. 280, 1.

8vo. I. 291, 292.

As all Patricians were incapable of the Tribunate by its original institution, so Clodius's first step [in order to be chosen Tribune] was to make himself a Plebeian, by the pretence of an adoption into a Plebeian house, which could not be done without the suffrage of the people. This case was wholly new—The solicitor of it was one Herennius, an obscure hardy Tribune, who *first moved it to the Senate*, and afterwards to *the consul*—The Consul Metellus opposed it, and declared that he would strangle him sooner with his own hands, than suffer him to bring such a disgrace upon his family.] Here Dr. M. falls into a mistake with Manutius and others; Metellus was not against the adoption, but against the form in which Herennius proposed it should be done. *Metellus est Consul egregius, sed imminuit auctoritatem suam, quod habere dicit causam promulgatum illud idem Clodio [n].* “Metellus, says Cicero, lessens his authority, in saying that “the law that was proposed to the people concerning Clodius's adoption “into a Plebeian family was founded on justice and reason.” But what the Consul strenuously opposed was, that it should not be proposed to the people in the *Campus Martius*, but in the *Comitia Curiata*, held in a part of the Forum, the court to which, as Gellius tells us, causes of adoption particularly belonged [o]. Cicero says, *id præclare Metellus impediēbat. II. 1.* What is that but what he told Atticus before; Herennius laboured “ut “*universus populus in campo martio suffragium de re Clodii ferat.*” I. 18. Dio is clear, ἀρόφασιν δὲ ἐποίησατο, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάτριον—ἐγγόνων. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ εἰσφορᾷ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν νόμων μόνως ἔξῃν γίνεσθαι [p].

But what was it the Tribune Herennius *first moved* to the Senate? An affair that did not belong to them: “Genus hoc in alienam familiam “transitus per populi rogationem fit—Comitia arbitris Pontificibus probentur, quæ *curiata* appellantur.” Gellius. T. p. 41, &c.

4to. II. 131.

8vo. II. 311.

Cicero, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a sufficient settlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all her fortune,

[n] Ad Att. I. 18.

[o] Ad Att. IV. 1.

[p] Hist. p. 53.

which it was usual to do at three different payments within a time limited by the law : he had discharged the two first, and was now preparing to make the *third* payment—but a *divorce* ensued not long after.] Not the *third* payment, but the *second*, as appears from the very words cited by Dr. M. “ De pensione altera oro te omni cura considera[*q*].” And, though there was some deliberation about a divorce, it is probable it did not come to that, though several of the learned have thought so, against the authority of Plutarch and Asconius ; the former of whom says, ἀνέθουε τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΕΝΤΑΩ, —the latter “ P. Lentulo collocavit, APUD QUEM “ illa ex partu decessit [*r*],” i. e. *while she was Lentulus's wife* ; for it cannot well mean *at Lentulus's house*, because Cicero mentions his Tusculan villa, as the scene that renewed the remembrance of her, where probably she died, which we shall mention again presently.

4to. II. 149.

8vo. II. 331.

Cicero now at last parted with his wife Terentia—This drew upon him some censure, for putting away a wife, the FAITHFUL partner of his bed. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit, expensive and negligent in her private affairs, &c. Id. et supra p. 21, 8vo. The petulant humour of his wife, which BEGAN to give him frequent occasions of chagrin.] These, I fear, are too soft words for her ill temper or extravagance. That she was not the faithful partner of his bed *only*, is pretty plainly hinted at in the following passage, Ep. Fam. IV. 14. “ nihil intra suos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum videbat :—novarum necessitudinum “ fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam muniendum.” When husbands complain of the *intrigues* and *perfidy* of their wives, it is to be understood unfaithfulness of the worst kind. It is farther to be observed, that their disagreement was probably of longer standing than the Doctor is aware of, even before Cicero's banishment. For it is remarkable, that when he mentions to Atticus, upon his return, all the comforts he was restored to, among the rest the tenderness of his daughter, Ad Att. IV. 1, he says not a word of his wife. And soon after, in another letter, having mentioned his selling his Tusculan villa, though against his inclinations, he adds,

[*q*] Ad Att. IX. 3.[*r*] Orat. in L. Pis. in init.

“ Cætera

"Cætera quæ me sollicitant, *μυζηκώτερά* sunt; amamur a fratre et a filia."
T. p. 181.

4to. I. 299.

8vo. II. 312.

But to say the truth, Publius has been treated somewhat rudely by them, since he who was lately the *only man with Cæsar*, cannot now find a place among the twenty.] The salt of the original is here quite lost: "Qui cum in domo Cæsaris *UNUS VIR* fuerit, who was the *ONLY* man in CÆSAR'S HOUSE," alluding to his being the only man at the Mysteries of the Bona Dea, which were kept at Cæsar's house. It is strange Dr. M. should overlook this piece of raillery, which Manutius has likewise clearly pointed out.

Ibid. And while they bestow the rich ones upon Drusus or Vatinius, reserve this barren one for him, whose Tribunate was proposed to be of such use to them.] Here a difficulty in the original is slid over, which Mr. T. very happily corrects: "illa opima ad exigendas pecunias Druso, ut opinor, *Pesaurensia Neptiloni Vatinio* reservatur," some books read; for which Manutius reads Druso—*PESAURENSIAN*—and Mr. T. for *Neptiloni*, *Puteoleno*, as Vatinius was sent to Puteoli: "Missusne sis a Consule Puteolos, ut inde aurum exportari argentumque prohiberes?" Interrog. in Vatin. c. 5. T. p. 43.

4to. I. 310. 315. 319. n. c.

8vo. II. 324. 330. 333. c.

But though it was difficult for Pompey to find a remedy, Cicero pressed the only one which could be effectual, an immediate breach with Cæsar, who, on the other hand, to gain over Cicero, offered to put him into the commission for distributing the lands of Campania, with which the xx Senators were charged. Cicero did not think it for his dignity to accept it; nor cared on any account to bear a part in an affair so odious. He then offered, in the most obliging manner, to make him one of his lieutenants in Gaul, and pressed it earnestly upon him; yet Cicero, after some hesitation, declined this also. He was unwilling to owe the obligation of his safety to any man, and much more to Cæsar.] And Dr. M. a little afterwards endeavours particularly to vindicate Cicero from the charge of

X x 2

temporising

temporising against a French and an English author. And yet what will become of this hero if it shall be proved that he accepted of these honours, nay, perhaps, sued for some of them? The first in point of time, though mentioned the second by Dr. M. was the lieutenantancy; which Plutarch, in Cic. p. 875, expressly says he asked for, Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξίεναι—ὕπὸ τῆτον ὑποδύς ὁ Κικέρων—ἤξίωσε πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συστατέμεν. Cicero himself says that he accepted, Ep. ad Att. II. 18.—“A Cæfare invitor
 “in legationem illam, sibi ut sim legatus: atque libera legatio voti causa
 “datur. Sed hæc et *præsidii apud pudorem* Pulchelli non habet satis, et a
 “fratris adventu me ablegat; illa et munitior est, et non impedit, quo
 “minus adsum, cum velim: HANC EGO TENEO; sed usurum me non putō.
 “Neque tamen scit quisquam—tu hoc filebis. I am invited by Cæsar
 “to be his lieutenant, and I have the offer of an honourary lieutenantancy; but
 “as the latter is not security enough against Clodius, and will separate me
 “from an interview with my brother, I have taken a commission for the
 “former, but don’t think to make use of it: and yet nobody knows of
 “this—you will keep it a secret.” From this secrecy of both, we may
 charitably conclude, the orator was ashamed of the thing, and the historian was not aware of it; and when we have found him guilty thus far, it is possible he went farther—as Plutarch says, made in some shape or other applications to Cæsar for it. Will it be objected, that in the following letter to Atticus, he says: “Cæsar me sibi vult esse legatum—sed ego
 “hoc NUNC repudio.” What does that mean, but *that he now refused* what he before accepted [s]? Plutarch clears the whole matter, who says, that Cicero asked Cæsar for a lieutenantancy, by the enjoyment of which, Clodius, finding he would escape out of his hands during his Tribuneship, shewed a pretended disposition to be friends with him. Upon this, Cicero was so weak as to fling up his commission; which was the occasion of his ruin, for Cæsar, he tells us, was so irritated, that he set both Clodius and Pompey against him [t].

This lets us into another reason than what Dr. M. assigns, why he refused being a commissioner for distributing the lands of Campania, viz. because it would the more exasperate the Clodian faction against him, the appre-

[s] Vit. Cic. p. 876.

[t] T. p. 45, 46.

hension of which, we just now learnt, fate very uneasy upon him. And Cicero assigns this very reason himself. Ad Att. I. 19. "Cosconio mortuo, sum in ejus locum invitatus—nil mihi turpius, neque vero ad istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν quicquam alienius; sunt enim illi apud bonos im-vidiosi [u]." Upon the death of Cosconius, I am invited to succeed him.—Nothing can add less to my reputation, or indeed to my security.

Whether he had not more than some random thoughts of accepting of some post from the Triumvirate, the reader must determine from his frequent deliberations about it, before it was offered him. Ad Att. II. 5. I have been long desirous, and still *am so*, of seeing Alexandria and Egypt.

But considering the juncture, and the persons that may give the offer of going, *I fear the Trojans, and my long robbed friends*. For what will the Optimates, the better party, if any of them are left, say?—Cato, &c. But, I had better stay, and wait to see if this Egyptian embassy is offered me. If it should, I may then say it will be in my power, and it will be time enough to deliberate. And some glory there will be in refusing it. Whereupon if Theophones shall speak any thing to you about it, do not say I shall not accept of it.—But the great bait was the Augurship, with which he owns he might be taken: "*quo quidem uno, ego ab istis capi possum.*" This was somewhat more than *a sudden start of an unweighed thought, no sooner thrown out than retracted*, for we find him putting it to Atticus as a case of conscience, VIII. 3. "Qui etsi multis rebus significat se nobis esse amicum—tamen utrumque considerandum est, et quanta fides ei sit habenda, et, si maxime exploratum eum nobis amicum fore, fitne viri fortis et boni civis esse in ea urbe, in qua, cum summis honoribus imperiisque usus sit, res maximas gesserit, *sacerdotis sit amplissimo præditus, non futuris sit sui juris.*" Though Pompey gives me many testimonies of his friendship, yet I am to consider, in the first place, whether it is sincere; in the second place, whether it is consistent with a true patriot, to continue in that city, in which he cannot be free, where he has borne the highest honours, and now bears the most sacred. His letter to Cato, therefore, is a sort of an apology to a man whose rigid virtue he stood in awe of, as he confesses, and who, he was sensible, knew his weakness.

[u] Ad Att. II. 19.

Lastly,

Lastly, as to what Dr. M. urges, that it is certain he might have had it, *if he had thought it worth asking for*; at first, no doubt, he might; but, from what Plutarch above tells us, when he had fallen out with Cæsar, it is very probable he could not.

4to. I. 425.

8vo. II. 25.

From these facts (viz. from Milo the Tribune taking the auspices, and so obstructing the Comitia tributa from being held for the election of an Ædile) it appears that Clodius's new law extended no farther than to hinder the magistrates from dissolving an assembly after it was *actually convened* and had entered on business; for it was still unlawful, we see, to convene an assembly, while the Magistrate was in the act of observing the Heavens.] See on p. 339. Dr. M. supposes that Clodius's new law for abrogating the Ælian and Fufian law was *perpetual* as far as it extended: but that the sense of it was *limited* to hinder the Magistrates from dissolving an assembly when met, allowing them still a power to obstruct the convening one. But it is more probable that Clodius's law was only *temporary*, a suspension of the Ælian and Fufian laws for that juncture, *ut per eos dies, quibus cum populo agi liceret, ne quis de cælo servaret*, i. e. that for those FIVE following comitial days, which were then open for doing business, no one, by observing the Heavens, should alter the quality of them. This occasional suspension of a law is not without precedents. Two years before this, Cicero tells us [x], that *Lurco*, a Tribune of the people, who entered on that office at the time the Ælian law took place, was exempted from the impediments of the Ælian and Fufian law, to propose one concerning bribery. And, which is a further proof that Clodius's law was only temporary, he tells us [y], when they were deliberating concerning recalling him from banishment, it was decreed that no one should *interrupt their proceedings by observing the Heavens*: “vel, quod est postridie decretum “in curia,—ne quis de cælo servaret? ne quis moram ullam afferret.” A decree, for which there was no occasion, if Clodius's law was then subsisting.

Cicero speaks tragically of Clodius's law, as if it not only abolished the Ælian and Fufian law, but the whole commonwealth. “*Qua una rogati—*“one,” says he, “*quis non intelligat universam remp. esse deletam?*—Mitto

[x] Ad Att. I. 16.

[y] Pro Sextio, c. 61.

"eam legem, quæ omnia jura religionum, auspiciorum, potestatum; omnes leges, quæ sunt de jure et de tempore legum rogandarum, una rogatione delevit." Orat. pro Sextio, c. 26. These expressions, says Dr. Tunstall, must be understood with abatement, and considered only as strokes of oratorical colouring. p. 67—70. For my part, some liberties I can allow to oratory; but can never think Cicero could with any face make such an outcry against a five days suspension of a law, be it ever so sacred. If it be said, he was the more enraged at this suspension, because it was done to procure his banishment, it will be answered, it must then be supposed to have been again *suspended* to procure his restoration: And let the good effects of it be set against the bad. 2. Cicero, in his Oration *De Provinciis Consularibus*, c. 19. A. U. 697, two years after Clodius's law was passed, speaks of that law in terms which imply it then subsisted in full force. "Aut vobis statuendum est legem Æliam manere, legem Fufiam non esse abrogatam; non omnibus fastis legem ferri licere; cum lex feratur de cælo servari, obnunciari, intercedi solere," &c.—aut mihi "concedant homines oportet," &c. § 19.—To solve this difficulty, Manutius imagines, that the Senate looking on Clodius's law concerning the auspices as a bad one in general, would not, in the instance of recalling Cicero, take notice of its restriction; a restriction which they could at any time supply the want of by their unanimous consent.

As to Dr. M. and Mr. T. my humble opinion is, that neither of theirs is right. The law which Clodius passed was, that no one should take the auspices during the *comitia centuriata*, where laws were passed, but left the custom of electing the minor officers at the *Comitia Tributa* as before. Hence Cicero justly inveighs, "omnes leges, quæ sunt de jure et tempore LEGUM rogandarum una rogatione delevit."

4to. II. 160.

8vo. II. 344.

His friends advised Cicero not to be too explicit in Cato's praise. But should I give a slight commendation only of his constancy and gravity, even this may be more than they will care to hear.—But the man cannot be praised, as he deserves, unless it be particularly explained, &c.] The friends that Dr. M. speaks of were none of Cicero's, but such as he knew were against any thing in Cato's praise [z], "Non assequor ut scribam, quod tui convivæ non modo libenter sed etiam æquo animo legere pos-

[z] Ad Att. XII. 4.

"sim.—

“*fin.*—Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi hæc [gravitas constantia-
 “*que*] ornata sit. Quòd ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne
 “*fierent* contenderit, et facta ne videret vitam reliquerit; horum quid est,
 “*quod* Aledio probare possimus.” *I don't propose to write any thing which
 your friends can read with pleasure, or even with patience. Should I mention
 that he foretold all that has happened to us; that he took arms to prevent its
 happening, and parted with life rather than see it happen, which of these cir-
 cumstances would be agreeable to Aledius, i. e. to Balbus; his name being thus
 expressed in a Greek word of the same signification with the Latin, for
 αἰρηδῖος and ἀλλήδιος signify, according to their etymology, one that has an
 impediment in his speech, the opposite to διαφρήδην: “De Hillo [i. e.
 “Hirro] balbus enim sum [a].” Thus in the preceding Epistle he is
 denoted by Ἀτυπος, another made name, one that could not form his let-
 ters: “Ac vereor ne iste jam auctionem nullam faciat, sed ludis factis
 “ἀτύπω subsidio currat, ne talis vir ἀλογηθῇ.” I fear he will make no
 auction; but, when the shews are over, will run to those arts that require
 no noise (that is, to building, see Ep. 2.) that men of his eminence may
 not be passed over in silence. T. p. 160, 161.*

4to. II. 161.

8vo. II. 346.

Brutus, in *his Piece on Cato*, had made some mistakes in his account of
 the Debates on Catiline's Plot; in which he had given him the first part
 and merit, in derogation even of Cicero himself.—*From whence* we may
 observe, that Sallust probably copied Brutus's mistakes, rather than do
 justice to Cicero on that occasion.] But it was in a *letter* of Brutus, not
 in his *Piece on Cato*, wherein Cicero complains of his being thus injured:
 and therefore this solution of Sallust's misrepresentation is overthrown:
 “Legi Bruti EPISTOLAM, eamque tibi remisi, sane non pudenter rescrip-
 “tam ad ea quæ requisieras [b].” T. p. 162.

4to. II. 163.

8vo. II. 347.

Cato, in his private conduct, was severe, morose, inexorable, banishing
 all the *softer affections*, as natural enemies to justice. In public affairs he
 had but one rule of policy, to adhere to what was right, without regard
 to *times or circumstances*, or even to a *force that could controul him.*]

[a] Ad Fam. II. 10.

[b] Ad Att. II. 21.

Even

Even this abatement in Cato's character Dr. M. has not made out by any particulars. His accusation of Murena for bribery, and passing it over in his brother-in-law Silanus, has been mentioned already as a proof that he was not a stranger to the *softer affections*, and yet his open protest was a just salvo of his honour.

In public affairs he was not so obstinate as not to yield to times and circumstances upon proper occasions; that is, when the public good called for a compliance, not his own private interest. Thus he even consented to support Bibulus in bribery to oppose the encroaching power of Cæsar. [See 4to. I. 285. 8vo. I. 297.] And yet, when, by the united force of this very Cæsar and Pompey, a law was passed for the division of the lands of Campania, after his utmost endeavours against it were fruitless, he took the oath, to the observance of it. Ibid. 4to. 294. 8vo. 295. The reader may remember his like behaviour with regard to Cicero. T. p. 138. in not.

4to. II. 178.

8vo. II. 364.

Cicero thought best to send his son to Athens. To make the proposal agreeable, he offered him an appointment that would enable him to live as splendidly as any of the Roman nobility who resided there.] Just the contrary: Cicero writes to Atticus about moderating his son's expence; that he will allow him the rent of his two houses at Argiletum and Mount Aventin. "Præstabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Messallam, quos Athenis futuros audio & majores sumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercedibus recipietur[c]." *I will not make him a Bibulus, an Acidius, or a Messalla, who I hear will be at Athens at much greater allowance.* Accordingly, Young Cicero writes to Tiro, that he had hired a lodging for his tutor Bruttius, and support, says he, his poverty out of my narrow income[d]. See in Dr. M. n. II. 574. 4to. III. 370. T. p. 198—190.

4to. II. 179.

8vo. II. 365.

Tullia died in child-bed at her husband's house, which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: It is certain at least that she died at Rome, where Cicero was detained by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the first payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella.]

[c] Ad Att. XII. 32.

[d] Ad Fam. XVI. 12.

The words in Plutarch are *παρὰ Λέντου*, which seems only to mean while she was *Lentulus's wife*. For it is probable she died at Cicero's *Tusculum*; from the mention of which place Cicero so frequently calls her to mind: *The people about me, not bearing I suppose to see the excess of my grief, hasten home.—I will go from this place; but whither? I think to Lanuvium. I endeavour to bring myself to bear my Tusculum* [e]. Again: *Tusculum will be most convenient for me, because I shall there receive your letters oftener, and sometimes see you: Otherwise, I should be better at Asture. And yet the things that should renew my grief* [f], &c. As to Cicero's receiving back the first payment of her fortune, that might be owing to the Roman law, which allowed the wife to secure her settlement, after matrimony, in trustees hands, when the husband's circumstances were bad [g]: Or to another maxim, *That a wife's dowry followed the children, that were kept with the grandfather* [h]: Now young *Lentulus*, the second child, was probably kept by Cicero, since we find nothing said of him before *Tullia's* death, though then four years old, though frequent mention is made of the bad circumstances of his mother; or lastly, this might be retarded by contract. T. p. 60. 185. See likewise *Mongault* on XII. 45. I would rather therefore say, *παρὰ Λέντου* in Plutarch signifies died with child by *Lentulus*; and that *Asconius* mistook, when he said *apud Lentulum*, which can mean only at *Lentulus's* house.

4to. II. 349.

8vo. II. 367.

Howsoever this may colour, it cannot justify Cato's conduct, who valued himself highly upon his Cyprian transactions—and for the sake of that commission was drawn in to maintain the legality of *Clodius's* Tribune, in some warm debates even with Cicero himself.] We have seen before that *Metellus* (*Consul egregius*, as Cicero calls him) thought *Clodius's* Tribune legal; and though Cicero did not, he allows many other of the greatest then did. “*Video quosdam clarissimos viros, principes civitatis, aliquot locis judicasse te cum plebe jure agere potuisse: qui etiam de meipso, cum tua rogatione funere elatam rempublicam esse dicerent, tamen ad penus, etsi miserum atque acerbum fuisset, jure indictum esse dicebant—Quare licebit ut opinor; nobis eas actiones non infirmare, quibus illi actionibus constitutum tribunatum tuum comprobaverunt.*”

[e] Ad Att. XII. 26.

[g] Papp. Digg. l. 24. tit. 3. l. 24.

[f] Ad Att. XII. 45.

[h] Papp. Digg. l. 45. tit. 17. l. 16.

Orat.

Orat. pro Domo, c. 19. Why may not Cato then be allowed to have thought Clodius's tribunate a legal thing; without the imputation of his vindicating the authority only because he had acted under it? But there is further proof; for how much so ever Cato might pride himself in the execution of this Cyprian embassy, it is certain he undertook it much against his inclinations, as both Dio, p. 78, and Plutarch, p. 776, testify. If therefore he had thought Clodius's tribunate unlawful, he would then have remonstrated against it, and not have submitted to the imperious command of a haughty Tribune, who told him he should go against his inclinations, if it was not agreeable to them. T. p. 42, 43. 139.

4to. II. 184.

8vo. II. 371.

Was it to pass her days in the married state with some man of quality? for you, *I know, on the account of your dignity*, might have chosen what son-in-law you pleased, to whose fidelity you might have safely trusted her.] "Licitum est tibi (credo) pro tua dignitate ex hac juventute generum diligere cujus fidei liberos tuos te tutò committere putares." This passage is by some brought as a proof of the divorce; unjustly indeed; but is still worse perverted by Dr. M. while he puts that in a parenthesis, which is an ironical answer to the foregoing question. *What prospect of comfort before her? Was it in marriage with some young man of first quality? You, I'll warrant, could have picked out of this set of youth a son-in-law suitable to your dignity, to whose fidelity, &c.* drawing an argument of comfort from the corruption of the age, out of which he was snatched. It follows in the same epistle, *Reflect that your daughter had been married to the noblest of our youth.* An expression which would never have dropt from Sulpicius, if there had just been a divorce between her and Dolabella, who, if the other two were of the nobility, was of the best family of them all. Though Dr. M. as we have seen before, makes him one. T. p. 187.

4to. II. 208, &c.

8vo. II. 398, &c.

Cicero drew up a letter, which was communicated to *Hirtius* and *Ballus*, for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be sent to Cæsar.—It was drawn up with such *freedom*, that though Atticus seemed pleased with it, yet the other two durst not advise sending it, which disgusted Cicero so much, that he resolved *not to write at all.*] The letter was com-

municated to Balbus and Oppius: Hirtius was now in Spain. "Balbus
 "minor novi nihil sane, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me liti-
 "gasse [i]." *Young Balbus brings one no news, but that Hirtius takes my
 part often against Quintus in Spain.* 2. As to the freedom in this letter, we
 have no proof of it. From Cicero's own account of it, which Dr. M. sub-
 joins, *what else was the subject of it but flattery?* And though so many
 things were altered in it by these friends, that he must write it over again,
 he defends the flattery of the passages excepted to. *As to the Parthian
 war, what had I to consider but that which I thought would please him?*
 3. Lastly, Cicero, in all probability, did draw up another letter, and sent
 it [k]. *As you, says he to Atticus, advised me to write a pretty long letter to
 Cæsar, and Balbus having told me that he and Oppius had writ him word that
 I had read his books against Cato, and much approved of them, I have addressed
 a letter to him to be carried to Dolabella; but have sent it with a copy to
 Oppius and Balbus, desiring them to send it on if they like it.* 4to. p. 213.
 8vo. p. 401. This very letter Dr. M. mentions soon after; which Atticus
 having wanted longer than ordinary a copy of, Cicero writes thus to him:
 "Ad Cæsarem quem misi epistolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi
 "mittere, nec id fuit quod suspiceris, ut me puderit. Fui nec [sic leg.
 "pro tui ne ridicule Micillus] ridicule ἡμίκαλος, nec," &c. T. 164, 5.

4to. II. 215.

8vo. II. 406.

Lentulus began to press him by repeated letters to come and give them
 his assistance; for which Dr. M. cites Ep. Att. XIII. 42. and 47. which
 two letters, though placed by the librarians near each other, were writ at
 very different times, and on different occasions; the first relating to the
 dedication of a temple (to which Lepidus being head of the College of
 Augurs sending for Cicero) was writ *ante nonas Jan.* The other, when
 Cæsar was expected out of Spain. So that the joining these together as a
 proof that Lepidus sent for Cicero to come to the Senate, looks as if he
 was to dedicate a temple there. T. p. 24.

4to. II. 222.

8vo. II. 415.

Young Quintus Cicero was one of the *new fraternity* of the Luperci,
 instituted to the honour of Jul. Cæsar—to the dissatisfaction of his uncle,

[i] Ad Att. XIII. 37.

[k] Ad Att. XIII. 50.

who considered it, not only as a low piece of *flattery*, but an indecency, &c.] The epistle wherein Quintus is mentioned, and as being one of the fraternity of the Luperi, was writ a little after Cæsar's going into Spain [l]; of which there were then two colleges, the *Fabii* and the *Quintilii*: the third, in honour of *Julius Cæsar* [m], was not instituted till after his return from thence. Another proof that these were not the Julian Luperi, might be brought from Philotimus being amongst them [n].

4to. II. 224.

8vo. II. 417.

Cæsar had now prepared all things for his expedition against the Parthians—had settled the succession of all the Magistrates for two years to come.] No, he settled all, both City and Provincial, for five years, as appears from Appian [o]. Εἰς γὰρ πέντα ἔτη (ὡς ἴσῃ) καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτήσια, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίαις διατάσσεται. So Suetonius, in *plures annos* [p]. Hirtius, “Nihil enim jam video opus esse nostra cura, quoniam præsidia [magistratuum] sunt in tot annos provisa [q].” Again: “Bella est hujus juris quinquennii licentia [r].” To this and other passages it will be objected: “Etiamne Coss. et tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille [Cæsar] voluit [s]?” *Are we to have those Consuls and Tribunes for two years which he nominated?* This was the news Cicero had heard about a month after the death of Cæsar, and was probably an agreement between Antony and the Conspirators, for those officers only to continue two years longer, though Cæsar had nominated them. Cicero thinks much of that: *What is more shocking, says he, than to confirm those very things for which he incurred our hatred.* The officers named by Cæsar were some of them among the Conspirators, and some such as both parties hoped to make their own; viz. Hirtius and Pansa Cos. for the first year, and Casca one of the tribunes; for the second year, Consuls L. Plancus and Decimus Brutus. T. p. 167.

4to. II. 245.

8vo. III. 3.

It is evident, from several of Cicero's letters, that he prophesied very early, that Cæsar's reign could not last six months, but must necessarily fall either by violence, or by itself; and hoped to live to see it [t]. This is

[l] Ad Att. XII. 5.

[m] Dion. Hist. Rom. p. 243.

[n] See ad Att. XI. 10.

[o] Bell. Civ. Lib. II.

[p] In Cæs. c. 76.

[q] Ad Att. XV. 146.

[r] Ad Att. XV. 11.

[s] Ad Att. XIV. 6.

[t] Ad Att. X. 1. et XII. 45. supported

supported by two Epistles, the one writ five years, the other a year, before Cæsar's death was thought of. And yet his prophetic spirit is not to be looked upon as a proof of any human foresight grounded on the natural course of things, but a sort of divination, which it was usual among the ancients to make of any transaction of moment. Thus, when Cicero was to take a voyage to Pompey, Atticus is to send his predictions about it: *I go to Arpinum, thence I shall expect your letter of omen* [u]. You will say what is bad; and yet will you then go on? "Yes, says Cicero, many things "have deceived the person I am going to. However, I shall *expect your letter* [x]." So he observes of the foresight of Themistocles, who, though he was the best diviner in the world, fell into those misfortunes which that led him into. At last Cicero receives Atticus's augury [y]. "Your letter "of omen is now come, and I am all inflamed. And yet you say not a word "of my journey, or the consequence of it." Upon the whole, this is a proof, not of his foresight, but of his superstition. T. p. 21, 22.

4to. II. 293.

8vo. II. 56.

In the end of May Cicero moved towards Rome to assist at the Senate on the first of June. The nearer he came to the city, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entering it. *Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself; Varro sent him word, &c.*—These informations determined him at last not to venture to the Senate; but to *withdraw* himself from that city, &c.] Cicero's not coming to Rome, or his withdrawing from thence by the first of June, was not owing to Hirtius's advice, who was at Rome that very day, and sent a letter to Cicero then, and not before, to advise him to keep away. That Hirtius was at Rome himself on that day is pretty plain, from 1 Philip. c. 2. "Coff. designati se audere negabant in "senatum venire, patriæ liberatores urbe carebant." *The consuls elect* [Hirtius and Panfa] *said they durst not come into the Senate; the deliverers of their country* [Brutus and Cassius] *were absent from the city.* But still plainer from what he writes to Cicero. "Rure jam redierim, queris. An ego cum "omnes caleant, ignaviter aliquid faciam? Etiam ex urbe sum profectus; "utilius enim statui abesse. Has tibi literas exiens in *Tusculanum scripsi;* "noli autem me tam strenuum putare ut ad nonas recurram [z]." *You*

[u] Ad Att. IX. 18.

[y] Ad Att. X. 2.

[x] Ad Att. X. 8.

[z] Ad Att. XV. 6.

ask if I am returned from the country; whether, when all are warm, I have acted with timidity? Yes, as I thought it prudent to be absent from the city on this day, I am now setting out from it, and send you this just going to my Tusculanum. But don't imagine I shall be bardy enough to return thither again by the fifth. And yet this latter resolution he seems to have changed, from what Cicero writes afterwards in Ep. 5. which should follow Ep. 6. "Ut tu de provincia Bruti & Cassii per S. C. ita scribit et Balbus et Hirtius; "qui quidem se acturum [in senatu], et enim jam enim in Tusculano est, "mihique ut absum vehementer auctor est. Et ille quidem periculi "causa, quod sibi etiam fuisse [i. e. Kalendis] dicit." What you write of the province granted to Brutus and Cassius by the Senate is to the same effect with what I have received from Balbus and Hirtius; who will act in the Senate, for he is now at the Tusculanum [whither he went on the first of June], and very much presses me to keep away from the city, to avoid those dangers which, he says, attended him. T. p. 20, 21. I would only observe, that Hirtius does not seem to have changed his resolution; the supposition that he did is only built upon an elliptical expression, which, to connect with what follows, is better filled up by a negative than an affirmative: *qui quidem se acturum NEGAT, et enim jam in Tusculano est, who says he will not act in the Senate, for he is now at his Tusculum.* The eye of some scribe lost a word perhaps by the likeness of the termination AT, and the beginning of ETENIM.

4to. II. 294.

8vo. III. 57.

Dolabella named him for one of his own lieutenants, which answered his purpose still better; for, without obliging him to any service, or *limiting him to any time*, it left him at liberty to go wherever he pleased.] These commissions were granted, not for an unlimited time, but for five years, as we have already observed, as appears from what follows in the very Epistle which Dr. M. cites [a]. "Dolabella me sibi legavit. Bella est autem "hujus juris QUINQUENNII licentia." T. p. 166.

4to. II. 302.

8vo. III. 66.

Atticus, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn by the

[a] Ad Att. XV. 11.

goodness of his nature to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness. Cicero rallies him: "I rejoice to perceive that you take so much delight in your little girl—ADIEU *then* to PATRO, and all your EPICUREAN SCHOOL.] All this fine reflection is built on a false reading. "Filiolam quam tibi jam Roma jucundam esse gaudeo; eamque quam nunquam vidi, tamen et amo, et amabilem esse certo scio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron et tuis condiscipulis [*b*]," which should be read, the pointing altered, "etiam atque etiam vale. De Patrone et tuis condiscipulis, quæ de parietinis in militia laboravi, ea tibi grata esse gaudeo;" i. e. *Again and again farewell. I am glad that my endeavours, while I was abroad, towards gaining a grant of the old walls for Patron and his school gave you pleasure.—In militia, i. e. in peregrinatione.* So VI. 2. "In hac peregrinatione militavi nostra." Atticus had interceded with Cicero to use his interest with Memmius to get those walls bequeathed by Epicurus to his successors granted to Patron, which Cicero obtained, and by that means secured to Atticus a great interest with him. See Ibid. II. "Apud Patronem et reliquos verones te in maxima gratia posui." Where Junius, Popma, and others would change *verones*, a term of reproach into *borones*; because Cicero would never give the Epicureans such an ignominious name to Atticus, who was himself one of them. But it is rather an argument that Atticus was not one of them, though Dr. M. has followed them, and many other writers in this mistake. T. p. 175. But should we not for the same reason read *condiscipulis suis* for *tuis*?

4to. II. 518.

8vo. III. 304.

Cicero's most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was, the love of glory and thirst of praise—the consenting praise of all honest men, and the incorrupt testimony of those who can judge of excellent merit, which resounds always to virtue as the echo to the voice; and since it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men.] And yet, upon a view of Cicero's life, there are several traits which cannot be justified upon any such principle. While he stood for the Consulship, he writes to Atticus: *I have thoughts of undertaking the defence of Cataline* [*c*].

[*b*] Ad Att. Ep. V. 19.[*c*] Ad Att. V. 19.

If I get him acquitted, I hope it will make him go hand in hand with me in making interest. On the contrary, he excuses himself for not undertaking the defence of Cæcilius, Atticus's uncle, against Satrius, in these terms: If you will judge of me with severity, you must impute it to my thirst of honour; for you see the course I steer, how desirous I am, not only of retaining my interest, but of encreasing it. T. p. 170.

4to. II. 535.

8vo. III. 312.

We have about a thousand of Cicero's letters still remaining, *all* written after he was *forty* years old; which are but a small part, not only of what he writ, but of what were actually published after his death by his servant Tiro.] Not *all*; the fifth and sixth, containing an account of his father's and his brother Lucius's death, were writ when he was thirty-eight only. T. p. 13.

4to. II. 545. n. 1.

8vo. III. 337. n. 1.

Though Cicero's orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be alledged for the *truth of facts*; especially those which were spoken to the Senate or People, &c.] No certain evidence of facts; it being the business of orators not only to conceal the truth, but to assert or admit falsities sometimes, when they make for their cause. To give a remarkable instance of this in Cicero's oration for Milo: It was proposed to defend Milo, by maintaining that Clodius was of service to the state; which Cicero rejected. But the plaintiffs having urged, that Milo had laid in wait for Clodius, he takes hold of that, and asserts what was totally false, viz. That there was some lying in wait by one or other, which the Senate had determined to be against law. This then is the only feint to be tried. "Infidias factas esse constat, et id est quod Senatus contra remp. factam judicavit. Ab utro factæ sint incertum est. Nunquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi uter utri infidias fecerit [*d*]."

4to. II. 552.

8vo. III. 345.

As the duty of all good citizens] the part of a wise man, a politician. *Confessional*, p. 263. ed. 1770.

4to. II. 566.

8vo. III. 362.

The Epicurean scheme, which Atticus followed, determined him never to act in state-affairs himself, or never at least so far as to disturb his ease,

[*d*] Orat. pro Milone, c. 5.

Z. 2

or

or endanger his safety.—To the same purpose, 4to: I. 352. 8vo. I. 370. We may imagine, says Dr. M. what his character seems to suggest, that though he had a greater love for Cicero than for any man, yet it was always with an exception of not involving himself in the distress of his friend, or disturbing the tranquillity of his life by taking any share of another's misery; and that he was following only the dictates of his *temper* and *principles*, in sparing himself a trouble, which would have made him suffer more than his philosophy could easily bear.] 1. Bad as the Epicurean principles were, Dr. M. observes, on another occasion, that they were many of them worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their country. 2. These are hard things to say of a man, of whom Cornelius Nepos has given so glorious a character: “Se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse, nunquam cum sorore fuisse in similitudine—Neque id fecit *natura* solum—sed etiam *doctrina*. Nam et principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad *vitam agendam*, non ad *ostentationem*, *uteretur*.” One who never grieved his parent—but when he died. That his goodness was not owing to Nature only, but to principle, having imbibed the rules of the philosophers, not for speculation, but practice, more for the use than ornament of life. 3. Though Atticus kept up a friendship from his youth with the Epicureans, he was not one of them himself, as the Commentators have generally supposed. The following words are quite inconsistent with their principles: “Ut nos,” says Cicero, “a te admonemur, recte in illis libris [politicis] diximus, nihil esse bonum, nisi quod honestum; nihil malum, nisi quod turpe sit [e].” You remind me, that I have justly laid it down as a maxim, that no action is justifiable that is not honest; and that, in another place [f], we see Atticus agreeing with Cicero in maxims the most opposite to the Epicureans in the world: *I am glad to hear you are fond of your little one, that you esteem natural affection for children laudable; for if that is once rooted out of human nature, you dissolve society. Carneades would cry, good luck and a boy! Coarse enough, but more modest than Lucius and Patron [Epicureans], who reduce every thing to their own pleasure, and leave nothing to be done for the sake of another. When they say a man should behave well to others, not from a principle of justice, but that others may behave so to him, what is this but laying down rules of prudence, not of honesty?* But this we have treated of in those

[e] Ad Att. X. 4.

[f] Ad Att. VII. 2.

books *De Republicâ*, which I writ at your instigation. In another passage concerning his affection for his daughter [g], Dr. M. represents him from Cicero as bidding farewell to Patron and the followers of Epicurus; but that, as we have before seen, is a supposition built on a false reading [b]. As a farther proof that Atticus was no Epicurean, the short of the matter is this: It was a fashion among the great men at Rome, to espouse some sort of philosophy or other, which yet they would change without offence to any one, except the master they professed under, who, as Cicero tells us, "ferebat iniquo animo, si quis a sua disciplina descivisset [i]." Thus Atticus is represented making concessions against the Epicurean system—*provided none of his fellow pupils bear him*—"condiscipulorum ne quis exaudiat [k]." And in the *Epistles* [l]. Let us return to the *Tusculan disputations*, and for your sake keep out of sight of Saufeius your tutor. "Saufeium propter te celemus." It is certain that many came from other sects to the Epicureans, as Dr. M. has observed; and from what has been cited above, that Atticus had in a great measure left them. T. 178, 179.

4to. II. 569.

8vo. III. 365.

There we see the man who could declare of himself with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, that he had always done the greatest services to his country when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it but what was DIVINE.] "Præclara conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruisse optimè cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi *divinè* cogitasse [m]." This he spoke of his divination in politics, by which he foretold the misfortunes that would happen; for he adds, "eaque ipsa tempestate everfam esse rempublicam, quam ipse xiv annis ante prospex-
"erim." T. p. 4.

4to. II. 574.

8vo. II. 370.

In one familiar chat, as we sit at table, the *night steals* upon us without thinking of it.] It should be—*be* [Crasippus] *steals in upon us*. "Crasippo me scito non ut discipulum, sed ut filium, esse conjunctissimum [n]"

[g] Ad Att. XIX. 5.

[b] Ad Att. XII. 2.

[i] Tusc. Disp. I. v. 40. See Warb. Div. Leg. I. p. 380. Ed. 21.

[k] Leg. I. c. 7.

[l] Ad Att. XV. 4.

[m] Ad Att. X. 4.

[n] Ep. Fam. XVI. 21.

“—Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque sæpe numero partem. Exore
 “enim ut mecum quam sæpissime cœnet. Hæc introducta consuetudine,
 “sæpe inscientibus nobis et conantibus obrepit.” T. 190.

I shall conclude this subject with a remarkable instance of human frailty and human vanity in this ingenious writer's remark on the Roman Senate. He had unluckily said, that the *Olympiad* [o] *was both by ancients and moderns taken for a term of five years complete* (a mistake which perhaps no ancients and few moderns have fallen into), *but that it was only four; as the lustrum was among the Romans.* If this was the period of a lustrum, Horace felt his blood grow cool very early, who bade the girls not be afraid of him, because he had past the eighth lustrum [p], which at this reckoning was when he was xxxii years old. Both sides of the mistake being shewn to be all his own, he would admit of no confutation but from himself, and then raises a cloud over the question, that no one might see through it. He collects together the several periods in which a lustrum was held, and says, if we compute from *the eleventh, or the first held by the censors to the last of Appius Claudius, the intervening sixty will each of them contain about six years and an half.* From which we see, that though time and custom [which by the way is the sole arbiter of words] have fixed the notion of a *quinquennium* or term of five years to the word lustrum, yet there is no sufficient ground for it in FACT, or the NATURE OF THINGS [q]. A common reader would have represented the case thus: A lustrum was to be held every five years according to the first institution among the Romans; for which reason, when applied to time, it always signifies that period; but because taking an estimate of every citizen's fortune was the most essential part of the ceremony, and as the people grew rich they had too much spirit, or too little virtue, to bear such a general excise, it was often omitted, and the lustrum was performed occasionally, as policy required, or prudence could effect it.

[o] Dissertation on the Origin of Printing, 4to, p. 114.

[p] — Fuge suspicari,

Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas

Claudere lustrum. Hor. Od. ii. 4.

Mr. Bowyer has enlarged on this subject in “The Origin of Printing, 1766,” p. 32.

[q] Essay on the Roman Senate, 1747, 8vo, p. 107, 4to, vol. III. p. 429.

References to Mr. TUNSTALL'S OBSERVATIONS.

MIDDLETON, Dr. Inconsistent with himself, 56. 74. 149, 150. 166. 201, 202. 205. 283. 285, *x*. 286.—with himself and the suspected letters, 306. 353. *f*.—mistakes Erasmus, 53.—mistakes concerning Tiro's being the person to whom we are indebted concerning Cicero's Epistles, 74.—and concerning the affair of the Salaminians, 87, 88.—accuses M. Antony of *abusing* young Quintus, where it is probable he spoke upon good information, 97.—mistaken in his idea of Brutus's eloquence, 94—96. in Cicero's motive to write the praise of Cato, 92.—in the subject of Cicero's letter to Cæsar, 100.—and in the alteration of it, p. 101.—his wrong and his right translation of Plutarch, 115.—his wrong translation, 116.—unjustly makes Octavius *first* form the plan of his power at the victory before Modena, 134.—mistaken in the meaning of the word *Acts*, 156.—in the sense of Att. v. 19, 167.—in imagining that Brutus approved of Cicero's manner of oratory, 180, 181.—acknowledges one thing proved contrary to what he has asserted, 183.—acknowledges a mistake half proved against him, 183.—his extraordinary rule of determining which of the two Brutus's are meant in Cicero's letters, 184, 5.—his artful logic, in shewing that the opportunities *Marcus Brutus* lost of saving the Republic were charged to *Decimus Brutus*, 192. *i*.—misunderstands the suspected epistles, 205. 214. 225. *c*.—differs from Plutarch and Appian in his opinion of Cicero's joining interest with Octavianus for the Consulship, 226.—differs from the suspected letters in his own account of many particulars, 224. 232. 253. *b*.—Octavius's view to the Consulship from the suspected letters, 224. 232. 253, *b*.—mistaken in the time of the death of Panfa after the second action at Modena, 260, *y*.—falsely refers Brutus's letter, in which Antony is said to be his prisoner, to the time of his sending his *first* public letter concerning his successes in Macedonia, 285, *x*.—his reflexion groundless on the wisdom of Panfa, in refusing to part with any troops out of Italy, 291.—ascribes the title of PHILIPPICS to a cause to which Plutarch was a stranger, 298, *p*.—falsely says that Plutarch made little or no use of them, *ibid*.—mistaken in the date of Plancus's letter, 301.—misunderstands the suspected letters, 315. 319, *k*. 381, *t*. 384, *y*.—mistaken in the dévolution of the auspices on the death of the Consuls, 328, *e*.—concerning Cicero's predicting the death of Jul. Cæsar, 343.—in supposing Lepidus's estate confiscated, 371.—alters the text of the suspected letters without reason, 381, *t*. 392, *y*.

In

In his Review of Dr. MIDDLETON, Mr. BOWYER left the few following OBSERVATIONS ON Mr. MELMOTH'S CICERO.

Vol. I. p. 15. The truth is, I never once *made a motion* in the Senate to his prejudice: on the contrary, as often as any question arose in which he was concerned, I always voted on the most favourable side.] *Nulla est a me unquam SENTENTIA DICTA in fratrem tuum; quotiescunque aliquid est actum, sedene iis offensi, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt.* Ill translated. See Spelman.

Vol. II. p. 192. Patricians of the *lower order*.] *Fuerunt Patricii minorum gentium*, which according to Mr. Hooke should be translated, descendants of the Senators of the SECOND CREATION. According to Livy, there were only 100 Senators created during the reign of Romulus; and 100 more afterwards by Tarquinius. Now it does not appear that Tarquin's Senators were more ignoble by birth, or of a lower rank, than those of Romulus. Both the one and the other became noble by being made Senators, or *Patres*; and the descendants of both were called *Patricians*, not because descended from *Patricians*, but because descended from *Patres* or *Senators*. Hooke's Roman Senate, p. 24.

P. 309. Cilicia, to which you know three Asiatic departments were annexed.] Upon the breaking out of the civil war, three departments, which had been annexed to the Province of Cilicia when Cicero was proconsul there, were taken away, and put under the proconsul of Asia. These were part of the greater *Pbrygia*, called afterward *Pacatiana*, the chief city of which was *Laodicea*, as appears from this Epistle. 2. *Lycaonia*, added to the jurisdiction of Asia, l. xiii. ep. 73. 3. *Pamphylia*, as may be collected from l. xii. ep. 15. Lentulus Spinther proquestor to Trebonius, who was proconsul of Asia, says, *Sida* is the *last town of my province*. But before, when Cicero was proconsul of *Cilicia*, he says, ep. 5, it *bordered on the shore of his province*. Noris, Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 218. Sigonius makes *Pisidia* to have been placed under the Asian jurisdiction, which is not probable.

Epitome of CICERO'S LIFE ; abridged from Dr. MIDDLETON
by Mr. BOWYER, but left imperfect.

U. C. Capit:

- 647 Jan. 3. M. T. Cicero born Vol. I. 8vo, page 1
And Pompey born the last of September the same year ibid.
Of Helvia, whose sister married C. Aculeo, a Roman knight 2
At Arpinum a city of the Samnites 4
His father, Marcus 8
Bred up at Rome, with his cousin Aculeo, by the direction
of L. Crassus, under a Greek Master in a house of 200l.
a year 10
651 Put under Aretas the poet, in the house of Lucullus, *Cic. Ep. v.* 11
662 Takes the manly gown XVI 12
Placed under Q. M. Scævola the augur, and, at his death,
under another Scævola, the high priest 13
Custom of lawyers to sit in open thrones, to give advice, like
confessors in foreign churches 15
663 His method of study, publishes some pieces of poetry XVII 17
Addicted under Phædrus to the Epicurean philosophy, which
he afterwards deserted 18
664 In the social war, makes a campaign under Cn. Pompey the
Consul, father of Pompey the Great XVIII 19
And near the person of the lieutenant Sylla 21
665 War with Mithridates King of Pontus, which occasioned the
first civil war between Marius and Sylla XIX 22
Marius defeated 23
666 Marius recalled to Rome by Cinna, who put to the sword,
among others, Antonius, grandfather of that Antonius who
afterwards put Cicero to death XX 24
667 Marius, being declared Consul, dies Jan. 13, Cicero's coun-
tryman XXI 25
Cicero publishes his book *De Inventione*, 28
Philo, an Athenian, having fled from the fury of Mithridates
to Rome, Cicero becomes his scholar ibid.
Attends

U. C. Capit.	Page
Attends the lectures in oratory of Molo the Rhodian	29
And keeps Diodotus in his house as his preceptor in logic	ibid.
668 Sylla makes peace with Mithridates	30
669 Cinna put to death by his own soldiers; Sylla lands at Brundisium, and is joined by Pompey	ibid.
670 Norbanus, the consul, defeated by Sylla, and L. Corn. Scipio banishes himself to Marseilles	31
671 Marius Gratidianus, the adopted son of Marius VII consul, being besieged in Præneste, writes to the prætor at Rome to call a Senate, when many of them were massacred; after which Marius kills himself	ibid.
Carbo put to death by Pompey	ibid.
Proscription under Sylla	ibid.
Jul. Cæsar escapes; having married Cinna's daughter, was deprived of her fortune and the priesthood	33
L. Flaccus, being chosen <i>Interrex</i> , declared Sylla <i>Dictator</i> for settling the state	34
Who takes from the Equestrian order the judgment of causes, and restores it to the Senate: re-places the choice of the priests in the colleges of the priests; and abridges the power of the tribunes	35
Molo the Rhodian comes to Rome a second time, to solicit the payment due to his country for their services in the Mithridatic war, who was allowed to speak to the Senate in Greek without an interpreter	ibid.
672 Cicero offers himself to the bar	38
Defends P. Quintus	XXII ibid.
673 And S. Roscius	XXVII ibid.
674 Defends the rights of some towns in Italy to the freedom of Rome, which Sylla had deprived them of	XXVIII 42
Sets forward on his travels to Greece and Asia, to correct his manner of speaking	43
Is initiated at Athens in the Eleusinian mysteries	44
An account of them	45
	Studies

U. C. Capit.	Page
Studies oratory under Milo at Rhodes, and philosophy under Pofidonius	47
Where he declaimed in Greek because Milo did not understand Latin	ibid.
675 Sylla dies	50
676 Cicero returns to Italy after two years excursion	xxx. 48
Pompey about this time, the first of the Equestrian order, triumphed for his victories in Africa; and Julius Cæsar, six years younger, gained a civic crown for his behaviour at Mitylene	50
The faction begun between Marius and Sylla breaks out into a new war between the consuls Q. Catulus and M. Lepidus, which was ended by Brutus being slain by Pompey after the battle of Modena the next year	54, 55
Cicero in his return home is said to have gone to the oracle at Delphi	56
This year he probably married Terentia, whose sister was one of the vestal virgins	63, 64
677 Defends Roscius the player	xxx. 57
Gains the Quæstorship, at the comitia tributa, as soon as he was capable of it, when Cotta was chosen consul, and Hortensius ædile	59, 60.
The business of pleading not undertaken for pay	56
Quæstors at this time twenty in number, which office, at the expiration of it, gave an admission into the Senate	61
Aug. 5. has a daughter born, who was afterwards at the age of XIII, the year before his consulship	63, 64
678 Has the province of Lilybæum in Sicily assigned to him	xxxii. 65
Defends there by his pleadings some young noblemen who fled from the army, and were sent thither to be tried before the prætor of Sicily	69
Discovers at Syracuse the tomb of Archimedes, which the inhabitants of the place were strangers to	68
679 Returning to Rome at the expiration of his office, lands at Puteoli near Baia	xxxiii. 69

U. C. Capit.

Page

At his return to Rome, finds the consul L. Lucullus exerting his power against L. Quinctius the tribune, who wanted to reverse the acts of Sylla

60

C. Verres at this time prætor of the city, whose office was to determine on matters of right and property by his own arbitrary decrees

71

An extraordinary commission granted to M. Antonius, the father of the triumvir, who invaded Crete by virtue of it

72

682 The servile war ended by M. Crassus in six months, in the third year from its breaking out

xxxvi. 73

The Sertorian war put an end to by Pompey, for which he gained a second triumph, though only a private citizen and of the Equestrian order

70

683 Pompey the next day enters on his consulship, to which he had been chosen in his absence

xxxvi. ibid.

An account of Crassus the other consul

80

The office of a nomenclator

81, 82

Cicero chosen ædile in the xxxviiith of his age

83

The nature of the office, two Curule and two Plebeian ædiles, ibid.

Cicero after his election undertakes the prosecution of Verres the late prætor of Sicily

84

And goes into Sicily to get evidence against him

87

Speaks in Greek to the Senate there

89

History of various transactions of Verres

94—114

The *tribunitian power* restored by Pompey the consul, seconded by Jul. Cæsar, and of *judging causes* to the Equestrian order

115

The power of judicature afterwards vested jointly in the Senate and Knights, a certain number of each drawn out by lot fate in judgment with the prætor

116

The office of censors restored, which had been intermitted for xvii years from the time of Sylla

117

L. Gellius and C. Lentulus, the two new Censors, expel several Senators for corruption, and among them C. Antonius the uncle of the triumvir

ibid.

Cicero

U. C. Capit.

Page

- 684 Cicero chosen *ædile* XXXVIII 118
 The nature of the office *ibid.*
 The capitol, which had been burnt down by Sylla, dedicated
 this year by Q. Catulus consul 121
 [Whose name remained on it till the time of Vitellius, as
 Tacitus says.]
 Defends *Fonteius*, who, having been prætor of Narbonese
 Gaul, was accused by the people of laying an arbitrary
 tax on the exportation of wines 122
 And Cæcina about the right of succession to a private estate 123
 685 Laments the loss of his cousin Lucius in a letter to Atticus,
 which is the first of all the epistles now remaining, XXXIX. *ibid.*
 686 Is candidate for the prætorship two years after his being
 chosen *ædile* XL. 124, 5
 But there was no election this summer, on account of the fer-
 ment occasioned by reason of a new law proposed in fa-
 vour of Pompey, that he should have an extraordinary
 commission for quelling the pirates 124, 5
 And by another law proposed by L. Otho, that the Equestrian
 order should have distinct seats in the theatre 129
 And by a third from C. Cornelius the tribune, against bribery
 in elections, and the *dispensing* power in the Senate *ibid.*
 Cicero chosen prætor by the suffrages of all the *centuries* 130
 The meaning of the word *Clasfic* authors 131
 How the choice by centuries was performed *ibid.*
 687 Cicero got great reputation by condemning Licinius Macer,
 a man of prætorian dignity XLI. *ibid.*
 A law proposed by Manilius, for slaves set free to have a
 vote among the tribes 133
 Another for Pompey, who was in Cilicia, to have the go-
 vernment of Asia added to his commission 133

* * * * *

[*Cætera desunt.*]

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON ROMAN HISTORY.

By Mr. BOWYER.

Citizens of Rome seem to have lost their freedom sometimes by removing into Latin Colonies: Cic. pro Cæcina, c. 33. *Quemadmodum, si civitas adimi non possit, in COLONIAS LATINAS sæpe nostri Cives profecti sunt. Aut sua voluntate aut legis multa profecti sunt, &c.* And see Spanh. Orb. Rom. I. c. viii. p. 64.

There were at first two sorts of Colonies: one of Roman citizens; the other called Latin Colonies [a]. The Latin allies, having had expectations given them by Drusus of being admitted citizens of Rome, took up arms to assert that privilege; and at length gained it. Hence arose what was called *Jus Italiae*, which entitled them not only to be citizens of Rome, but exempted their persons from paying poll-tax, and the soil from paying *Centesima*, the hundredth penny. It contained, moreover, other privileges, in *alienationibus, traditionibus nexi, mancipationibus, annali exceptione, in jure capiendi* [b], &c. which privileges were sometimes granted to particular Colonies out of Italy, to enjoy as fully as if they were part of Italy.

Municipium enjoyed its own civil and religious laws; but had the privileges of Roman citizens; intermarried with the Romans, were classed in some tribe [Liv. xxxviii. 36]; might inherit both to a Roman and one of their own country. Ad *jus patriæ potestatis, hæreditatum, mancipationum, usucapionum, testamentorum, & tutelarum*; had the right of voting for magistracies, and of holding them, both at Rome, and in their own Municipia. Milo was a citizen of Laruvium, a municipium, while he stood for the Consulship [c]. Cic. pro Milone, c. xi.

Other *Municipia* however there were, which had not the right of voting for Roman magistracies. See Liv. xxxviii. c. 36.

Colonies differed from the *Municipia* in that they received the Roman laws [d]. Spanheim, Diff. IX. p. 580.

[a] Noris de Ep. Syromaced. p. 428. Diff. IV.

[b] Gothofred in Cod. Theod. tit. 13. l. xiv.

[c] Murena likewise of the same place. Cic. pro Mur. c. 40. & Orat. pro Sulla, c. 7. 8.

[d] Vid. Spanh. de Usu Num. Diff. IX. p. 652. ed. Fol. Cortium ad Bell. Cat. c. xvii. 4.

Municipes

Municipes are distinguished from *Socii*: Liv. l. xxvi. 34. "Jam inde a majoribus traditum morem Romanis colendi socios, ex quibus alios in civitatem atque æquum socium jus accepissent, alios in ea fortuna haberent; ut *Socii* esse quam *cives* mallent." By those who were received in civitatem & æquum jus, are probably meant the *municipes*. The *Socii*, raised out of the cities of Italy, made part of the Roman army; but the *municipes* never did. So the *Socii* and the *citizens* enumerated distinctly, though joint forces in the army. Liv. xi. 18. 26. xliv. 21. Polyb. Hist. iii. 85. &c. "Censeri, suffragium ferre, munerum omnium partem capere, tributum pendere," these four were privileges of *Municipes*.—"Locum habere in legionibus, uti legibus Romanis, sacra more Romanorum habere, Quiritium populique Rom. nomine appellari,—non habebat [e]."

Those cities which are called *Liberæ*, were such as were confederated with the Romans in friendship, and sent auxiliaries in case of war [f], Cic. pro Balbo, c. 17. Dion. l. xl. p. 152. but were not citizens of Rome: so that they were different both from *Colonies* and *Municipia*. Germanicus entered into these free towns without *Lictors*. Suet. Calig. c. iii. 56. And the Roman *Præsides* had no jurisdiction in them. Cic. de Prov. Cons. c. iii. They paid tribute, unless they were said to be *immunes*, as well as *liberæ*. Cic. l. iii. in Verr. c. 6. App. B. C. l. i. p. 668. Hist. Bell. Afric. c. 7. Sometimes a part of a city, or some families in a city, were admitted to a freedom of Rome, while the other remained free; And in that respect such city was sometimes called *free*, at other times *Socii*, or the like. Thus in Livy xxiii. 5. the cavalry of the Campanians having for their good behaviour been honoured with the freedom of citizens, while the rest remained in their former state; the whole people are addressed by the name of *Socii*. *Morem magis loquendi cum sociis servastis, Campani*. And the people of Tarsus in Appian, l. vi. 9. are called both *Liberi* and *Socii*, because part of them were *Liberi*, part of them *Socii*. [Arntzen: p. 197.]

Municipia in coins are said to be ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΙ, but that did not denote ἐλεύθεροι & ἀτελεῖς, *liberi* & *immunes* [g].

[e] Manut. de Civ. Rom. ap. Gr. p. 30.

[f] Cic. l. ii. in Verr. c. 37.

[g] Spanh. de Ufu, Diss. IX. p. 6; 8.

Suet. in Aug. c. xl. 57. *Et Livia pro quodam tributorio Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit; affirmans se facilius passurum fisco detrabi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanæ vulgari honorem.*

It was a ruled case, that whoever was made free of Rome in his own right, could not hold the freedom of any other city. Cic. pro Balbo, c. xi. *Duarum civitatum civis esse nostro jure civili nemo potest, non esse hujus civitatis civis qui se alii civitati dixerit.* He commended the prudence of this institution, c. 13. *diffimilitudo enim civitatum varietatem juris habeat necesse est.* And Atticus refused being made citizen of Athens, knowing *amitti civitatem Romanam, alia adscita.* Corn. Nepos, in vit. Attici, c. 3. See to this purpose the whole Oration for Balbus, the latter part of that for Cæcina, &c. 34. Salm. Obs. ad Jus Att. c. 26. Sigon. de Jure Civ. Rom. I. II. Spanh. Orb. Rom. Exerc. I. c. 5.

But though those who were by their own immediate right citizens of Rome, might not be free of that and of another city likewise; yet, if they were free of a Municipium, they by that became free of Rome. Cic. Fam. l. xiii. p. 30. Mutius L. Manlius seems to have been free of the Municipium Catinæ, because he enjoyed the estate his brother had lost there; and yet it is plain he was not free of Rome, by being free of Naples. Ep. Fam. xiii. 30. *Is fuit Catinensis, sed est una cum reliquis Neapolitanis civis Rom. factus, decurioque Neapoli; erat enim adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem Sociis & Latinis datam.*—By what right did Manlius succeed to his brother's effects? It was a law, that no one free of Rome by his own right could inherit in another city. 2. The new citizens that obtained their freedom by the Julian law, which extended the freedom to all Latium, could not inherit unless they had the express grant of *Cognitionis jus.* Now did Manlius inherit by being free of the Municipium Catinæ; or shall it be said he was not then free of Catinæ; but, having been free of the Municipium of Naples before it had the *Jus Italicum*, the latter privilege did not cut off the former; and that he inherited as having been free of Naples while it was a Municipium?

Suetonius says of Aug. c. 40. *Civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit.* Surely he was more choice of selling it; and perhaps no instance can be given before his time of the freedom of Rome being sold. So little reason had Grotius on this account to suppose Paul's ancestors bought their freedom of Rome. Act. xxii. 28. Arntzenius, p. 173. And yet Dio, U. C. 769, says

says, that Claudius made freedoms cheap, *which AT FIRST used to be purchased at a great price.* This was but three reigns from Augustus. And the *χλῆραρχος*, Acts xxii. 28. says, he bought his freedom at a great expence. Josephus speaks of members who were Roman citizens probably by purchase.

Jus Latium, quo coloniæ donabantur civitate Romana, petendi magistratus gratia. Ascon. in Orat. ad Pison. And yet citizens of Rome seem to have lost their freedom by going into the Roman colonies. Cic. pro Cæc. c. 33. *Quemadmodum, si civitas adimi non possit, in colonias Latinas saepe nostri civis profecti sint. Aut sua voluntate, aut legis multa profecti sunt, &c.* And Spanh. Orb. Rom. Exerc. I. c. viii. p. 64.

All who in full right were citizens of Rome were ordinarily obliged to be personally entered in the Censors books at Rome every fifth year. Cic. Att. I. 18. *Germanos negotiatores sub lustrum ROMÆ CENSERI.* Cic. Act. I. in Verrem, c. 18. *Cum hæc frequentia totius Italiæ Roma discesserit, quæ convenit uno tempore judiciorum censendique causa.* Vell. Pat. II. c. 15. Cic. pro Flacco, c. 32. it appears that Decianus, trader in some Greek cities, was registered in some tribe.—Pighius indeed, Tom. I. p. 166, says, *that Censors were created in every city in the provinces, to register the Roman cities in the provinces and the army [b].* But Cicero, pro Arch. c. 5. on the contrary, urges it as a reason why Archias was not registered, because he was with Lucullus in the army. Liv. xxix. 37. says, *Lustrum conditum serius, qui per provincias dimiserunt censes, ut civium Romanorum in exercitibus, quantus ubique esset, referretur numerus.* If there had been provincial censors, who took an account of the genuine Roman citizens, there was no need to have sent censors from Rome. To the same purpose, Attic. I. I. Ep. xviii. says, *Germanos negotiatores sub lustrum ROMÆ censei.* Hard as it may seem that citizens should be obliged to come to Rome, it is certain Cæsar made a law, in Suet. c. 42. *ne quis civis major annis xx, minorque decem, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italiæ abesset.*

But what, it will be asked, was the business of the Provincial censors? for such there were, as appears from Cic. I. ii. in Verrem, c. 53 & 56. *Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota censetur. Erat censa prætoræ Peducaeo, &c.* Livy xlii. c. 10. *Socii Latini nominis redire in civitates suas debuissent, nequis eorum ROMÆ, sed omnes in suis civitatibus censerentur.* And in Gruter Inscrip.

[b] Arntzen. p. 179.

p. CLXXI. n. 8. CLXVII. n. 5. & CDXXXIX. 5. mention is made of CENSITORES PROVINCIAE & CIVIUM ROM. COLONIAE. It appears then that the *Provinces* and *Municipia*, who had not the full right of citizens, but were so only as to some particular privileges, had censors of their own to take account of them. As the Gremial sons of Rome were registered in their own city of Rome, so were the Provincial sons in theirs.

It is probable, however, that if some citizens, who already had been registered, happened to be absent from Rome when another census was held, they might be excused from appearing. Gell. Noct. Att. l. v. c. 19. In the speech which Scipio, when censor, made to the people: *Absentes censere jubere, ut ad censum nemini necesse sit venire.* See Putean. ad Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 15. Manut. de Civ. Rom. p. 27. & 32. Ed. Græv. Sigon. de Jure Civ. Rom. l. i. c. 14. Spanh. Orb. Rom.

Q. Why *Censores Provinciarum*, if these citizens were to come to Rome to be registered? He confines it to those who were *proprio jure cives*, not *Municipii cives*, p. 180.

“Ne leges & jura urbis Romæ, cum exterarum gentium legibus & consuetudinibus permiscerentur. Hoc vero non procedit in Municipibus.” p. 191.

“Hunc consensum equester ordo, est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs.” Liv. xxvi. 37. i. e. those who were really of the equestrian order in the censor’s roll, and those who were capable of being on the equestrian order, but who were not placed on the roll.

At the time of the second Punic war, the constitution of the republic of Carthage was impaired and corrupted: for with them “*plurimam populus sibi auctoritatem vindicaverat, quæ apud Romanos illibata penes senatum adhuc erat. Quo factum, ut illic populo de rebus omnibus consultante; hic, civium optimo quoque, Romani vicerint.*” Polyb. p. 494. Ann. Reg. 1765, p. 302.

Cicero’s opinion of L. Opimius very different from Plutarch’s. Hooke’s Rom. Hist. III. p. 35.

Titius condemned to banishment for having the picture of Saturninus in his house; which act of rigour is justified by Cicero, pro Rabir. c. 19.—Ibid. p. 95.

Of the ROMAN NAMES.

The Romans had ordinarily three names, *Prænomen*, *Nomen*, and *Cognomen* *. The *Prænomen* distinguished the person; the middle name *gens* or descent †; the last, or *surname*, distinguished the particular branch of it, what they called *Familia*, as *Marcus Tullius Cicero* was distinguished from his brother *Quintus Tullius Cicero*. Thus far is clear. But it is difficult sometimes to distinguish these names, either by their being abridged, transposed, or by adding some other designations to specify either the family or the persons. Thus *Decimus* and *Numerius* were the *Prænomina* of scarce any other families but the *Junian* and *Fabian*; and yet by writing *D. N.* they have been mistaken for *Decius*, and *Nomius* or *Gnæus*, the *G*, according to *Valerius*, being taken away in the *Prænomen*, to soften the pronunciation. So *Manius*, written *M'* with a stroke to distinguish it from *Marcus*, has been taken for *Mutius*, which never was a *Prænomen*.

Sometimes 1st and 2d name mentioned, as *Quintus Horatius* [*Flaccus*.]

Sometimes 1st and 3d name mentioned, as *Marcus* [*Portius*] *Cato*.

Sometimes 2d and 3d name mentioned, as [*Caius*] *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Sometimes the *Nomen* was put before the *Prænomen*, sometimes the third before the second, the *Cognomen* before the *Nomen*; as, *Crispus Sallustius*; *Paullus Emilius*; *Gallus Caninius*; *Vetus Antistius*. *Paul. Manut. Ep. ad Brut. p. 183.*

As a help to distinguish such transpositions, it must be observed, 1. That the *Nomen Gentilitium*, or family name, always ended in *ius*. *Poppeus* and *Peduceus* need not be considered as exceptions to this rule, because it is probable they were originally written and pronounced like *Pompeius*. 2. That there are very few *Prænomina* which end so. *Varro* says, there are not above xxx in all; out of which there are not above viii with this termination, viz. *Appius*, *Caius*, *Lucius*, *Manius*, *Numerius*, *Publius*, *Servius*, *Tiberius*, *Melius*, which may easily be remembered by this memorial line:

Prænom. sunt Man. Serv. Tiber. Ap. Publ. et Ca. Luc. Met. Num.

So that all the names, which are not included in these viii, and do not end in *ius*, are *Cognomina*. But, as if they were cautious of bringing in confusion, they never changed a *Cognomen* into such a termination, and admitted

* The *Prænomen* given at the *Dies Lustrum*; the *Nomen* at taking up the *Toga Virilis*; the *Cognomen* adhered to the *Family*.

† Thus, in the *Gens Valeria*, the *Gens* was divided into various branches, distinguished by different *Cognomina*, as the *Maximi*, *Messallæ*, *Flacci*, *Lævini*, *Tellones*, *Poplicolæ*, *Politi*. In the *Gens Cornelia*, *Cossi*, *Malagineses*, *Scipiones*, *Lentuli*, *Dolabellæ*, *Sullæ*, *Cinnæ*, &c.

but few Cognomina that ended so, viz. *Pius* and *Cepronius* of the Metelli; *Triarius* of the Valerii; *Quadrigarius* of the Claudii, in Gellius; *Lanarius* of the Calpurnii, in Plutarch. Perizon. Orb. Terr. Descr. p. 971. But the greatest difficulty is to distinguish the multitude of surnames which end in *ius* from the family names of the same termination.

We should except likewise Prænomena of number, at first given to children, taken from the order in which they were born, but usually given arbitrarily, without regard to order of birth; as *Quintus*, *Sextus*, *Decimus*.

The PRÆNOMEN was the name proper to each individual, and distinguished men, as the Nomen did families. The eldest had usually the Prænomen of his father; but many reasons often prevented that rule from being universal. Of the two sons of *M. Crassus*, who was killed in the war against the Parthians, the eldest was called *Publius*, by the Prænomen of his grandfather; the younger, *Marcus L. Otbo M. F.* The father of the Emperor named his eldest son *L. Titianus Otbo*, the youngest *Marcus Titianus Otbo*.

Under the Republic, these exceptions are more rare, and seldom made unless the eldest died, or was adopted into another family, by which means losing his Prænomen, the father endeavoured to perpetuate it again in one of his children born afterwards. Thus *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the father of the Triumvir, gave his eldest son *Marcus* to be adopted by *Scipio*, who was called after that *Æmilianus*. The second son was *Lucius Paulus Æmilius*. The third, who was the Triumvir, after the adoption of his eldest brother, was called by his father's Prænomen *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*.

Some had two Prænomena at once; as *M. Servius Sulpicius*; *Cornelius Nepos*, Vit. Att. c. 2. § 1. *Q. Servius Sulpicius Galbus*; Cic. de Orat. L. SERVIVS [Sulpicius] RVFVS; Num. ap. Fulv. Urfin. COSSVS. CN. F. LENTVLVS; Num. ap. Goltz. COSSO CORNELIO LENTVLO; Inscr. i. p. 107. ap. Grut. *L. Paulus Æmilius Censor*, Coff. suff. 719. Some bore one Prænomen, and after changed it for another. *Drusus*, the father of *Claudius Cæsar*, was first *Decimus*, after *Nero*. Suet. in Cl. 1. See Reines. Ep. ad Ruf. p. 464, 5. & 585. *C. Appius, Jun. Silanus* Coff. 780. But generally the two Prænomena were not retained at once; but one was dropt when the other was assumed, as *C. N. Cossus Cornelius*.

Commodus has usually on coins the Prænomen of *MARCUS*, sometimes that of *L. CIVS*. *Geta* has either *LVCIVS* or *PVBLIVS* indifferently. *Æmilian* has *CAIVS* or *MARCVS* indifferently. *Pescennius Niger* has *Caius* for his Prænomen;

Prænomen; but in some inscriptions of the *Fratres Arvales*, published by Philip à Turre, mention is made of *Publius Pescennius*, U. C. 183, which some suppose to be the same who was afterwards Emperor. These are the only instances of the same person using different Prænomina. See in *Phil. Transf.* 1750, p. 495, a letter to Dr. Mead, from M. de Boze, keeper of the French King's Cabinet.

Prænomina are often by mistake joined with the Nomen; as in *Frontin. Strat.* IV. 5. *Cælius Prætor urbanus* for *L. Ælius*. *Plin. N. H.* *Catinus* for *C. Atinius*. In *Gellius* and *Macrobius*, *Cælius* and *Cæcilius* for *C. Acilius*. In *Florus*, *Metellus* for *M. Ateius*. On *Denarii*, *Tampius* for *T. Ampius*. To prevent this mistake on Coins, it may be remembered, that where the Cognomen is mentioned, the Prænomen is never omitted; which should have prevented writers from falling into that error of reading *ATILIVS CIMBER*, instead of *A. TILIVS CIMBER*.

The NOMEN was what was common to the whole family; yet it is often by historians more peculiarly appropriated to one, who was the most famous of it *. Thus *Nero Claudius Drusus*, the son-in-law of Augustus, and the brother of *Tiberius*, left three children, all *Claudii*; but he that was afterwards Emperor is mentioned solely by that name. *Ex Antonia tres omnino [Drusus] reliquit, Germanicum, Livillam, CLAUDIUM* †. So the sons of Germanicus, who were adopted by *Tiberius* into the Julian family, are in Inscriptions styled *Julii* and *Cæsares*; yet, by *Suet. c. 7.* are distinguished by no other names than *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *C. Cæsar*, ascribing the name of *Cæsar* to the last, though common to all three. The three daughters likewise of Germanicus are styled on coins by no other names than *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, *Julia*; and in *Tacit. An. vi. 15.* And yet *Julia* was the family name common to them all. *Tacitus, An. xii. 1.* calls the first of them *Julia Agrippina Germanico genita*. The second in *Grut. 54. p. 1022.* is called *Julia Drusilla*. And the third is called *Julia Livilla*.

It has been a dispute among the learned, how two brother Germans should have different family names; as in *Cic. in Verr. i. 49.* “*Dixit “C. Fannius Eques Rom. frater germanus Q. Titinii judicis tui, tibi se pecuniam dedisse.*” *Manutius* imagines that *Quintus*, brother of *C. Fannius*, was adopted into the *Titinian* family. But there is no occasion for this ingenious solution, if we do but suppose (of which there is undoubted proof)

* A. H. p. 112.

† *Suet. c. 1.*

that *frater germanus* is often no more than a brother by the *mother's* side. Varro is express to this purpose, as cited by Servius, *Æneid.* v. 412. The same scruple stuck with H. Casaubon in Vopiscus's Life of *Florianus*, c. i. where he has these words, *Hic frater Taciti germanus fuit*; and yet c. iv. says they had different fathers. Pet. Wesseling. *Observ.* 1. c. 13.

The COGNOMEN was the third name, given at first to one of the family from some accidental circumstance, and continued on to all the rest afterwards, as *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Quintus Tullius Cicero*. They affected to aggrandize their own families with the surnames of those who had been famous in History. The Oppian families called themselves *Cornicini*; the Valerian, *Publicolæ*, *Potiti*, *Volusi*, *Maximi*; the Furian, *Camilli*; the Licinian, *Calvi* and *Stolones*; the Cornelian, *Cossi*. Old Prænomena came afterwards to be Cognomena; *Tullus*, the Prænomen of *Hostilius*, being the Cognomen of *L. Volcassus Tullus*, *Cof.* 720. So, on the other hand, some of the great families, tired of the common Prænomena, affected to take some old Cognomen for their Prænomen*. *Paulus*, though an old Cognomen, was the Prænomen of several; as, *Paulus Virginius Rufus*, *Cof.* 815. *Paulus Æbulius Parthenius* under Galba. *Grut.* 4. p. 198. So, as we have seen, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* gave his second son two Prænomena, *Lucius Paulus*, to place the name of that great man in his family, who was coæval with *M. Lepidus Pontif. Max.* *Paula Valeria*, wife of D. Brutus Lucius, having but one son, joined both these honours together, and styled him either *L. Æmilius Paulus Lepidus*, or *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*; but he having more children, divided these honourable names again, calling one *L. Æmilius Paulus*, the other *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*.

We must not conclude therefore that two different families did not take sometimes the same Cognomen. Thus there was *Annius Cimber*. *Sueton.* Aug. c. 86. and *Cic. Phil.* xi. 6. and *Titius Cimber*, *Phil.* ii. 16. which Tristram would reduce to one family, and falsely read both *Atilius Cimber*. *Periz.* 333. c. viii.

It sometimes happened that several children all bare the Prænomen of their father, so that they were only distinguished by the Cognomen. *T. Flavius Sabinus* had by his wife *Vespatia* two sons, both called *Titus*; but the eldest called *T. Flavius Sabinus*, by all his father's names; the

* Servius was the family name of Galba, and yet was the Prænomen of the Emperor, who was called some time *Lucius Sulpicius Galba*; afterwards *Servius Sulpicius Galba*. *Suet. Vit.* c. 4. *Nor. Ep.* *Cof.* 11. 406.

younger *T. Flavius Vespasianus*, who was afterwards Emperor, after his mother's. Each of these had two sons distinguished in the same manner; the eldest of the former, *T. Flavius Sabinus*, the younger *T. Flavius Clemens*. So the younger son of the Emperor *T. Flavius Vespasianus* was named *T. Flavius Domitianus*, from the mother Domitilla*. *TITI FLAVII FRATRES*, inter Ep. D. Pauli.

As the Cognomen was the strict distinguishing name, it is in inscriptions expressed more at length than any of the rest. The Gentilitian name, being uniformly preserved by all the descendants of that family, would be well known, though concisely wrote; but the Cognomen being often laid aside by some of the posterity, and a new one assumed, it could not be known so easily: thus *C. IVN. SILANO. M. LICIN. LVCVLLO. SEX. AVR. NVLLINO. COS. Grut. 182, 3.* If two men had two Cognomina, the first and oldest then, as the more noted, was written short, the other fuller, as *M. MAX. M. F. MESSALA*, and *L. LENT. F. CLAVDIVS. L. H. TVB. L. Hostilius Tubulus*.

A Cognomen was sometimes made a Prænomen, and a Prænomen a Cognomen. *Decimus Claudius NERO Drusus* was, from taking the Toga Virilis, called *NERO Claudius Drusus*, and Decimus dropped.

So probably when a child, *L. Æmilius PAULUS Lepidus*; but when he took the Toga Virilis, and after, is always called *PAULUS Æmilius Lepidus*. So *Cossus* was a Prænomen in the Cornelian Family, a Cognomen among the Lentuli; *AGRIPPA Menenius Lenatus*; *Lucius Vintarius Agrippa*: *Posthumus Concinus Auruncus*; *Lucius Autronius Posthumus*: *Tullus Hostilius*; *Lucius Volcatius Tullus*.

When they did not express the Prænomen, the more elegant writers place one of the Cognomina before the family name: Thus Cicero, Nepos, and Livy, write generally *Æmilianus Scipio*, *Octavianus Cæsar*, *Marcellus Claudius*, *Macer Licinius*, *Billequicus Pompeius*, *Cæsoninus Piso*, *Marcellinus Lentulus*, *Cæsar Germanicus*; but Suetonius and Tacitus follow the other method.

Under the Emperors, the men of dignity laid aside the pomp of three names, and left it to private persons. Augustus, after he came to be Emperor, is scarcely ever styled by any other name, even in the Fasti, than *Emp. Cæs. Augustus*, without *Caius* or *Julius Octavius*. *Titus Domitianus Cæsar* is scarce ever known by his Prænomen. *Britannicus*, son of the Em-

* See Ascon. in Milon.

peror *Claudius*, was at first called *Claudius Tiberius Germanicus*; but being afterwards distinguished fully by *Britannicus*, his *Prænomen* is no where to be met with, except in *Dio*, l. lx.

In case of adoption, the person took the three names of the person that adopted him, and often changed his own in *ius* into *anus*, putting it after the three names of the person that adopted him. As *Caius Octavius Thurinus*, being adopted by *C. Jul. Cæsar*, was called *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus*. Others retained their own *Cognomen*, placing it even before the *Cognomen* of him that adopted him. As *Caius Plinius Cæcilius*, being adopted by *N. Caius Plinius Secundus*, was called *Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus*, not *C. Plin. Secundus Cæcilianus* *. Others placed their own *Cognomen* last; as *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, adopted by *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, was called *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Scipio*. So *Lucius Calpurnius Piso* adopted by *M. Pupius*, was called *M. Pupius Piso*; and *M. Jun. Brutus*, by *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, was called *Q. Servilius Cæpio Brutus*. This name so retained after adoption is properly the *Agnomen*, concerning which there has been much dispute. The adopted person might properly be said *agnosci adoptatori*, and so did this name he retained grow as it were to the others he assumed under the New Family. “*Qui in adoptionem datur, iis, quibus agnoscitur, cognatus fit.*” *Paulus Juriscon.* l. 25.

It is observable, however, that the best writers mention adopted persons by their old name which they had before adoption, and by no other. *D. Brutus* is styled on a coin, after his adoption, *A. Posthumus Albinus*, yet frequently called only *D. Brutus*. And *M. Brutus*, adopted by his mother's brother *Servilia*, was properly *Q. Cæpio Brutus*; yet *Cicero* in his xth *Philippic* before the Senate, concerning the honours which ought to be decreed him, calls him only *M. Brutus*, till, coming at last to draw up the form of a decree of the Senate as it ought to pass, he calls him *Q. Cæpio Brutus*. So *Cicero* calls *Atticus T. Pomponius*, not *Q. Cæcilius*, which was his true name after his adoption †.

P. Cornelius [Scipio Æmilianus] PAVLLI F. AFRICANVS was the natural son of *L. Æmilius Paulus*, the adopted son of *Publius Scipio Æmilianus*, therefore has the *Prænomen* of *Publius*.

We see, whatever variation there was as to the change or order of the latter names in case of adoption, in the times of the Republic, yet the

* See *Serv.* in *Græv. Præf.* ad Vol. II. *Thef. Ant.*

† *Periz. Diss.* l. 97. *An. Hist.* c. iii. p. 130.

Prænomen of the son was always distinguished by that of the father that adopts him *. So that whenever we see in public monuments, of the times of the Republic, a Prænomen different from the father, though their Cognomen end in *anus*, we may be assured he was no adopted son : as, *Q. Fabius Marci fil. Rullianus*, *L. Calpurnius C. F. C. N. Piso Cæcilius*. *C. Plautius P. F. P. N. Decianus*. *Sex. Nonius L. F. L. N. Quintilianns* †. Under the Emperors, indeed, the adopted son was sometimes permitted to retain his former Prænomen, as Tiberius after his adoption by Augustus is styled on coins, not *Caius*, but *Titus*. And from the times of Pliny the younger, other variations crept in ; for he is described likewise as the son of his natural father, with the Prænomen of his adopting father ; in some inscription, *S. Plinius Eucii fil.* not *Caii fil.* if the inscription is of that age ‡.

When there are four or five names, all after the two first were Cognomina ; Livy's || authority is express : *L. Cornelius Scipio, qui cum Antiocho bellaverat, cognomine fratri cœquans, Asiaticus appellatus est.*

When a slave was made free, he prefixed to his own surname the name and Prænomen of his master ; as *Andronicus*, made free by *M. Livius Salinator*, was called *M. Livius Andronicus*. If another was interested in procuring such freedom, in gratitude they prefixed his Prænomen to the family name of their master : as *Dionysius*, made free by *Pomponius Atticus* by the intercession of *M. Cicero*, was called *M. Pomponius Dionysius* §. Sometimes the Cognomen of their master is only mentioned, *C. Curtius Mithres libertus Postumi* **. *M. Æmilius Lepidi L. Felix*. *M. Vipsenius Agrippæ L. Troilus*. *Q. Fabius Africani L. Cytivus*.

It was the same case when a foreigner received his freedom by the interest of some great citizen. As *Demetrius Megas*, made free by *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, was called *P. Cornelius Megas*.

As slaves were denominated from their masters, so were married women from their husbands ; the word *uxor* being understood among the Romans ; but *filius* always expressed among the Romans, just contrary to the Greeks, who expressed *γυνή*, and understood *ἄδελφός*. *Lucan* l. 2. " *Liceat nemo scripsisse, CATONIS MARCIA.*" So *Inscript. Via Appia CAECILIAE Q. CRETICI F. METELLAE CRASSI* ; i. e. *Cæcilia, Quinti Cretici filia, Metella [uxori] Crassi*. Not attending to this, has led the great Reinesius into some mistakes. *A. Terentius Terentia Domit. L. V. Heraclio Pius*, *Grut.* 13, p. 966. i. e. *A. Terentius, Terentia [uxoris] Domitii libertus, vivus Heraclio*

* Periz. Diff. I. Cognom. p. 90, 91. † Periz. An. Hist. p. 131. ‡ Periz. Diff. I. 91.

|| Q. xxxviii, 58.

§ Ep. ad Att. l. iv. ep. 6.

** Cic. Fam. xiii. 69.

Pius ;

Pius; which Bapt. Ferretius interprets, *A. Terentius, Terentia, Domitii liberta, uxori [suo] Heraclius Pius posuit*. But, 1. If Terentia had been the freed-woman of Domitius, she would have been called *Domitia*. 2. Nothing is ever placed between the several names of a man, but what is descriptive of him: To add therefore *uxori* before the person to whom the inscription is dedicated, before we have gone through the titles of the person that dedicates, is against reason as well as authority. Augustus Ep. xii. ad Reines. likewise mistakes two or three inscriptions through a like inadvertence, *CALAMVS Antonia Drusi Servus*, i. e. *Antonia [uxoris] Drusi*. She was the wife of Nero Claudius Drusus, the brother of Tiberius Cæsar*.

Women among the Romans are described by their own name, and their husband's subjoined to it, leaving *uxor* to be understood; contrary to the Greeks, who expressed the word *wife*, and understood *daughter*. Ovid. Ep. vii. 193. "Nec consumpta regis inscriber Elisa Sichæi."

So Terentia Ciceronis, Marcia Catonis; et in Inscript. *CALAMVS ANTONIAE DRVSI SERVUS*, i. e. Calamus the slave of Antonia the wife of Drusus †.

QUARTILLAE ANTONIAE DRVSI L. DORIO TODIARIO MATRI MERITAE DAT. ‡ i. e. Quartilla liberta Antonia [uxoris] Drusi. *A. TERENTIVS TERENTIAE DOMITI. L. V. HERACLIO PIVS*, i. e. A. Terentius Heraclio Pius, Libertus Terentia, [uxoris] Domitii vivus posuit; not, as Ferretius would interpret it, A. Terentius Heraclio Pius Terentia, Domitii Libertæ, uxori.

This observation helps us to supply a remarkable inscription in Grut. 6. p. 270.

.....
 IMP. M. AVRELI. ANTONINI. AVG.
 PII. FELICIS PONTIFICIS CONS
 IMP. L. SEPTIMI SEVERI AVG. PII FELICIS
 PONTIFICIS ET PARTHICI MAXIMI.
 COS III. NVRVI
 FILIAE.

 PONTIFICIS NOBILISSIMI PR. PR.
 NECESSarii
 AVGG ET COMITIS PER OMNES
 EXPEDITIONES EORVM.

As a mark of detestation, the person's name is struck out of this inscription to whom it was erected. The first line should be,

FVLVIAE PLAVTINAE, Imp, &c. Conjugi [L. FVLVII PLAVTIANI].

* See Plin. Ep. ix. 55.

† Ap. Reines. Ep. xli.

‡ Diff. I. p. 20, &c.

DETACHED NOTES ON KENNET'S ANTIQURITIES OF ROME.

The *Classici*, or those who were ranked in the *Classes*. Only the first *Classes*, or *Classici*, as Gell. l. vii. c. 13. See Symmonds, p. 9.

Consuls elected according to *the rate of their substance*. Q. if true? Ibid.

Patriciorum Auspicia the same with *Centuriata Comitia*. Gell. xiii. 19. Q. How so? From the words of A. Gellius.

Two Legions composed a Consular army; and as there were two Consuls, it was usual to raise *four* Legions yearly. Age to serve, from xvii to xlv.

Six Tribunes to each Legion; so that there were xxiv Military Tribunes. xiv out of them knights; the rest from the body of the people. The first were required to have served at least five years; the rest ten. During the campaign, they commanded the Legion by turns, two at a time for two months together.

Under Romulus a Legion was 3000 foot and 300 horse. Under the Consuls 4200 foot and 300 horse, which was the number in the time of Polybius.

In the Legion, Velites	1200	}	4200.
Haftati	1200		
Principes	1200		
Triarii	600		
Haftati	} 180	}	180 { Made two Centuries, which made one Maniple.
Principes			
Triarii			

Three Maniples, viz. one of the Haftati, one of the Principes, one of Triarii, made a Cohort.

Ten Cohorts made a Legion, besides the 1200 Velites, who were not divided into Centuries or Companies.

At the first institution by Romulus, the *Century* had 100 men; afterwards it consisted only of 30 Haftati.

30 Principes.

30 Triarii.

As each Maniple was divided into two centuries, a commander was appointed over each *Century*, called *Centurio*. The Centurion of *the first*

C c c

Maniple

Maniple of the Triarii was most considerable, called PRIMIPILUS, or PRIMIPILI CENTURIO, or PRIMIPILUS PRIOR.

The Centurion of the second Century of the same Maniple was PRIMIPILUS POSTERIOR.

The Centurion of *the second Maniple* of the Triarii was SECUNDI PILI Centurio; the Triarii being likewise called PILANI.

IMPERATOR used in three senses: 1. As the General or Commander of a war. 2. Given by the acclamations of the soldiers to a general after he had obtained a victory: *Στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*. 3. As a title of Empire, *Βασιλεὺς*. Dio, l. XLIV. p. 335.

The *first* instance of the second application of the word occurs in the account which Livy gives us of Scipio Africanus *, who, upon defeating Asdrubal, being offered by the Spaniards the title of King, *Sibi maximum nomen IMPERATORIS esse dixit, quo se milites sui appellassent*. In this sense Augustus had the title given him XXI times, as Tacitus, Annal. i. and Dio, as it should be read, l. iii. 494. It was confirmed by the Senate, if not given by it; Cic. Phil. xiv. It was given by the Senate sometimes, as on a coin of Flaccus under Julius Cæsar, C. VAL. FLACC. IMPERAT. [EX. S. C.] and see Cic. Philip. xiv. c. 5. Not, regularly, more than once in a whole war: but Claudius, on his expedition to Britain, was saluted IMP. *several times*, as Dio observes, [l. LX. p. 679.] and accordingly on his coins has IMP. XXVII. This title occurs no more in coins or inscriptions after the times of the Antonines and Geta, till Constantinus Max. In the *third* sense it was first given to Julius Cæsar after his return to Rome from his expedition against Pompey's son, and when he had put an end to the last Spanish war. Sueton. in J. Cæs. c. xii. Dio, l. XLIII. 255. l. lii. p. 808. And it occurs on two coins struck after his death with the Julian Constellation, and inscribed CAESAR IMP. or IMPER. He had before in his life-time had coins struck in the other sense of the word, IMP. QVINT. IMP. SEX. These must therefore be inscribed to him as Emperor. It was again given to Augustus upon his return to Rome after the battle of Actium, [Dio, l. XLIII. p. 234, 5.] and so continued to the succeeding Emperors. Augustus in the same inscriptions: IMP. CAESAR DIVI FIL. AVG. PONTIFEX MAXIMVS IMP. XII. COS. XI. TRIB. POT. XIV. &c. Grut. Inscr. xxxii. i. vol. 2.

* Liv. xxvii. 19.

After this title, they for ever had the Fasces carried before them surrounded with laurels, and their letters to the Senate crowned with laurel. See Cæs. B. C. iii. 71. Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. ult.

About the middle of the third century it was the humour of the Romans to turn all the names of their brass coins into silver; and in the beginning of the next, they advanced the names of their silver coins into gold. The accounts of the Byzantine revenue were kept in *Solidi*, or gold only. The only *denarius* or *argenteus* was not first called *milliarenfis*, because it was the 1000th part of gold pound. The sixth part of a scruple of gold was called the *Siliqua* and *ἡερόστιον*, which was near to the value of the half denarius, there being not above half a grain difference. The *milliarenfis* was likewise called *διηερόστιον*. And the half denarius *διχρηστος*. W. Clarke on Coins, c. iii.

Numa ordered "Deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare." See Plut. in Num. Dion. Halic. et Euseb. Cæs. Not till 162 years after his time that they erected statues.

Sacrifices to the Bona Dea were made yearly in the night at the house of the Consul or Prætor [Cic. de Arusp. resp. 17. Dio, l. 37.] by their Wives and the Vestal Virgins, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and where every thing masculine was so scrupulously excluded, that even pictures of that sort were covered during the ceremony. They were celebrated at Cicero's house when he was *Consul*, during Catiline's conspiracy; and at C. Cæsar's, the *Prætor*, U. C. 691, when the famous P. Clodius was detected there disguised in women's apparel. Both times were about the month of December *. Though they were not always in that month, sometimes in May, as some ancient Calendars and other Authors tell us.

Ludi Romani instituted under Tarquinius Superbus, U. C. 258. [Dion. Halic. l. vii.] from Sept. 4 to 19.

Feriæ Latinæ were feasts instituted by Tarquinius Superbus to Jupiter Latiaris, upon his conquest of Hetruria, at first for two days, but afterwards on other occasions encreased to four. They were kept on Mount Alba, to which place 47 cities of Latium, Hetruria, the Volsci and Hernici, sent their deputies, with some offering or other, towards the sacrifice; which if any of them had forgot to bring, the whole ceremony was to be-

* See Cic. ad Att. I. 12.

gin again. Liv. xxxii. A bull was sacrificed to Jupiter, of which every one took a part *. The Consuls used to fix the time for this feast, which in the ancient Commonwealth, when they commanded the army abroad during their office, used to be before they set out. But in other times, when they did not go to the army till the next year, they fixed the time when they would. In an ancient Calendar it is Apr. 27; and in a letter of Cicero ad Att. I. 8. it is mentioned as kept about the end of December. Mongault in loc. Livy l. xxv. mentions them ad ant. d. v. Kal. Maii. Whence Mongault enquires if they were stated Feriæ, for why should the Consul defer them so long after he was in his office. P. Manutius ad Cic. Ep. ad Q. C. p. 46. In Cæs. Com. B. c. iii. 2. just after the election of Consuls in Jan.

February, the month for hearing embassies by the Gabinian law. Ep. ad Q. Fr. II. 12. vid. Att. I. 14.

Taurobolium, a sacrifice sacred to Cybele, the mother of the Gods, for the safety of the Emperor, or cities, or private persons, wherein a bull and a ram were killed, the former called *Taurobolium* to Cybele, the latter to *Atys Kriobolium*. The animal being laid upon a board with holes in it, and the throat cut, one of the priests, who was to make the expiation, was placed in a pit underneath to receive the dropping blood all over him: a custom which is by some supposed to be introduced in opposition to the unbloody sacrifice of the Christians; for which reason Julian the apostate is said to have gone through the ceremony. It is certain it was but of late institution, the first mention of it being in an inscription at Lyons, in the 22d of Antoninus Pius, An. Chr. 190. as the last is in another in the 15th of Valentinian II. An. Chr. 390. and is very particularly described by Prudentius Hymn. in S. Romanum. We have no mention of it in any Heathen writers, but in inscriptions. The whole ceremony lasted some days; for in another inscription of this sort at Lyons, in the reign of Commodus, it is said to be begun xii Kal. Maii, and ended viii Kal. Maii. And the concluding part of it was sometimes, if not always, performed at midnight. *Cujus mesonyetium factum est v Id. Dec.* says the inscription before mentioned. See M. De Boze's account of the former inscription in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. 12^e, Vol. IV. The sacrifice seems to have been always performed at Rome, where Cybele had her

* Dionys. IV. p. 250. Plut. in Camill. Macrob. Sat. I. 16.

temple and priests, though the altars in memory were erected at the place where the person pleased who paid for the sacrifice. Hence in the Inscription. *Lugd. a Vaticano transtulit aram et bucranium.*

On the 1st of January the Emperor, with the priest, offered up vows for the safety of the empire; and on the 3d, the people for the safety of the Emperor. See Tacit. Annal. iv. 17. xvi. 22. et Lipsii Excurf. Dio, l. ii. p. 457. Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 1. A custom which remained long after the empire became Christian, as appears from what is said of Magnentius, Jul. Orat. & Conc. in Trullo, can. 62 *.

A certain age for holding the several offices was early prescribed, as appears from Livy, xxv. 2. where the Tribunes object to Scipio Africanus being Ædile, because he was not of sufficient age for it. But this case being too vague, or observed too remissly, it was renewed with greater force by L. Villius in his tribuneship, 574. But as that law is no where expressly found, we must collect from observation the purport of it. However uncertain we may be of the age which capacitated for the inferior offices, the age of the highest is expressly mentioned by Cicero to be 43. Philip. V. 17.

GLADIATORS, from Scipio Maffei.

Perseus King of Macedon first who appointed Gladiators in Greece, whom he brought from Rome, p. 5. U. C.

490 The Bruti made three couples of Gladiators fight publicly in memory of their fathers p. 11

502 The first public shew of wild beasts at Rome, which was of elephants, taken by Metellus in Sicily, p. 12

568 Other beasts brought in by M. Fulvius, p. 13

Statilius Taurus under Augustus built the first theatre of stone, near the Campus Martius, though but a small one, p. 24

And that but part only of stone, for it was soon neglected, and in Nero's time was burnt down, p. 26

Vespasian began the Colosseum, and Titus finished it, p. 30, &c.

325 A. D. Constantine the Great published a decree against Gladiators.

* Spanheim, Jul. p. 278.

Honorius published another, occasioned by a monk's being torn
 in pieces for dissuading them from it, p. 67
 However, Annicius Maximus exhibited them, ibid.
 But in the viith century they were quite abolished, p. 71
 Ludi Circenses celebrated by Tottilas, p. 115

Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. of theatrical diversions.

Jus Latium granted to certain colonies, allowing the freedom of Rome
 to all that had borne an annual magistracy in them. Midd. Cic. II. 213.

Livy, l. x. Dec. 1. ad fin. "Exacto jam anno novi tribuni plebis ma-
 "gistratum inierant; iis ipsis, quia vitio creati erant, alii suffecti."—There
 was no necessity at the election of Plebeian magistrates to take the auspices;
 but if unlucky auspices did happen when they were chosen, as thunder
 or lightning, the choice was null. Gruch. de Com. l. ii. c. 4. p. 782.
 That *ordinarily* the Comititia tributa were held without taking the aus-
 pices, appears from Dionys. l. ix. "Hoc erat discriminis inter Tributa
 "Comitia & Curiata," &c. And Liv. l. x. "Neque enim Senatus auctoritas
 "ad magistratum vocat." And l. vi. Dec. 1. "Penes quos igitur sunt
 "auspicia more majorum," &c.

The Legions, till the time of Constantine, did not go into garrison in
 the winter, but encamped in the inner part of the country, where they
 were placed. Hence many places in Gaul and other provinces bear the
 name of *Cæsaris Castra* to this day, that is, the camp of the Cæsar who
 then reigned, not of Julius Cæsar.

Till Domitian's time several legions used to encamp together; but he
 forbad that method, because Luc. Antonius, Præses Germaniæ, took from
 thence an opportunity of spiriting up the troops to revolt. Suet. Dom.
 c. vii.

Armies quartered in different Provinces kept up sometimes an associa-
 tion of images by the badge of the double hand *. And the Emperors
 in acknowledgement of the assistance they had from such conjunction,
 often preserved that emblem upon their medals.

No standing army was kept up, till the time of Augustus, who was
 advised to this new maxim in politics by Mæcenas †. The Prætorian co-
 horts were the Emperor's body guards, had double pay ‡, and were at first

* Tac. Hist. D. II. dextræ Concordiæ insignia Syriaci exercitus.

† Dio. l. 52.

‡ Two Denarii per diem. Tac. An. I.

quartered

quartered in Rome, a hundred together; but were afterwards quartered without the walls, where Sejanus built for them a garrison; and in after-times another at Alba.

In the provinces for some time larger armies were kept up. But from the time of Tiberius there were not above 1200 men in Gaul, not more than equal to the number of their cities. Joseph. Bell. Jud. II. c. xvi. 4.

There were usually two *Præfecti Prætorio*, sometimes three; after Commodus, who first introduced that number, they were the Emperor's prime ministers, and had need of much restraint. In three centuries, from Constantine to Augustus, we find ten Emperors assassinated by them. And in the same period above a hundred Governors of Provinces were proclaimed Emperors by the troops they commanded. If many failed of success, others did not; so that out of 50 princes that filled the throne, from Augustus to Constantine, 20 are reckoned to have been successful usurpers.

Romani olim artes *Bævolens* ignorabant.—Civi Romano turpe erat aliquam earum artium exercere.—Concionalis Hirudo ærarii. Casaub. ad Att. I. 16. p. 114. Misera ac jejuna plebecula.

Villa mihi valde placuit, propter ea quod summam dignitatem PAVIMENTATA PORTICVS habebat. Cic. ad Fr. iii. 1.

KENNET'S ANTIQUITIES, 5th Edit. 1713.

P. 46. l. 3. The next theatre in Rome was Balbus's, dedicated DCXLI, as Dio, l. LIV. p. 539. A third, dedicated by Augustus to Marcellus DCXLIII. twelve years after his death. Plin. N. H. VIII. c. 17.

There were three *Circus's*. One called *Circus Maximus*, inhabited by people of low character. Cic. pro Milone, c. 24. et Sueton. Another, *Circus Apollinaris*. A third, called *Circus Vaticanus*.

P. 57. The Strigil, used to rub the flesh of those that bathed, and to scrape off the sweat, was a curved iron instrument fixed in a handle, and grooved all along like our marrow spoons. One was found at Reculver in Kent, and some time in the possession of the ingenious Dr. Batteley, arch-deacon of Canterbury, who has given us a draught of it. It was often oiled to prevent its contracting rust, which the salts of the human body would naturally occasion; whence Juvenal Sat. iii. 263. *et sonat unctis Stri-*

gilibus. Which Prætæus ignorantly supposes to be done to prevent its hurting the flesh, and makes it pointed with teeth, as if it were a curry-comb.

P. 67. Two of the same family [*gentis*] could not be augurs at the same time. Dio, l. 39. ut notat Ald. Man. l. 1. c. 9.

The Greeks in taking omens turned their faces to the *North*, as appears from Hom. Iliad, μ. 238.

τῶν ἔτι μετ' αἰθέροιο, εἰδ' ἀλγίζω,
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡελίου τε,
Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀρίστερα τοίγε, πῶλ' ἔοφον ἡερόεσσα.

But the Romans turned towards the *East*. Livy, relating the inauguration of Numa Pompilius, says, *Augur deos precatus regionem ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, lævam ad Septentrionem esse dixit*. And Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. l. ii. §. 5. not only observes the same, but gives a reason why the Romans reckoned the *left* the lucky quarter, which serves to account why the Greeks reckoned the *right* so; viz. That part of the world was esteemed the most honourable which presents to us the greatest number of objects. The Romans turning to the East, the northern parts of the world were on the left, on which side the pole of the earth (he observes) was elevated; and of the five circles which encompass the sphere, that called the Arctic circle always appears above the horizon, while, in the Southern parts, the antarctic circle is invisible to us. The Greeks turning to the North, had the East on their right, the most noble quarter of all; from whence, he observes, both the sun and moon rise, as well as the planets and fixed stars; and the revolution of the heavens begins its circular motion.

P. 71. *Pontifices*: Four more were ordered to be added out of the Commons, at the same time as the *Augurs* received the addition of Five.] Liv. l. x. c. 9. If FIVE were added, U. C. 454. how came the first EIGHT to be called *Majores*, when Sylla added VII? It should have been NINE and SEVEN. But the mistake was copied from Rostnus.

P. 72. It is observable, that when there were two Emperors colleagues, the first was only Pontif. Max. as M. Aurelius is styled so on coins, not L. Verus. But in after-times this title was given promiscuously to both, as to Pupienus and Balbinus. Span. XII. p. 422.

P. 73. All three were chose out of the Nobility] As were likewise the *Salii*, and the *Rex Sacrorum*; the rest were one moiety Patrician, and the other

other Plebeian *. They were chosen for life by a part only of the Tribes, called for that purpose by lot, and upon the nomination of one or two of the priestly college †, and were inaugurated into their office by one of the Augurs ‡.

P. 76. *Feciales*] Or (as Sigonius on Liv. i. 24. says, the word should be written) *Fetiales*, being called in Greek Φηϊάλοι, Φηϊαλῆς, Φηϊαλῆς, Varro.

Numa, or *Ancus Martius*, first instituted the order at *Rome*, which were formed into a college [see Liv. xxxi. 8. Tac. Annal. iii. 64.]; but of what number is uncertain, though from a passage of Varro in Nonius Marcellus, VOC. FECIALES, they are supposed to have been twenty.

Ibid. or contracted a new one.] On the other hand, if any of their allies complained of receiving injuries from the Romans, in violation of treaties subsisting between them, the *Feciales* enquired into the foundation of the allegation, and delivered up to the complainants the offending party, who lost by this means the privileges of a Roman citizen so totally, that he could not be admitted to them again: He had not the privilege that was called *Postliminium*. “*Quem pater suus aut populus vendidisset, aut pater Patratus dedidisset, ei nullum esse Postliminium.*” Cic. de Orat. i. 40. But here it must be observed, that if the parties aggrieved would not receive the person delivered to them, then he forfeited none of his Roman privileges. Which clears up a seeming inconsistency between the passage above recited from Cic. De Oratore, and another in Orat. pro Cæcina, c. 34. “*Quem pater Patratus dedit, aut suus pater populufve vendidit, amittit civitatem. Ut religione civitas solvatur, civis Romanus traditur; qui cum est acceptus, est eorum quibus est deditus: si NON ACCIPIUNT, ut Mancinum Numantini, retinet integram causam et jus civitatis.*” Cicero speaks of Mancinus in both places; but in the former Crassus cites that case only to shew that the province of an orator extends to causes of the greatest importance to civil liberty; and therefore sets forth the objection which Rutilius the Tribune made against Mancinus's taking his place in the Senate, viz. because he had been delivered by the Pater Patratus to the Numantines. It was not to his purpose then to add any more than the law: but in the latter passage he observes, that law could have no effect on Mancinus, because he was not admitted by the Numantines. *Jensius, Ferc. Litera, p. 70, 71.*

* Cic. pro Dom. 14.

† Cic. Phil. II. 2. Agror. II. 7.
D d d

‡ Phil. ii. 43.
P. 77.

P. 77. The Feciales always wore the toga [Liv. xxi. 18.]; never a linen robe [Servius on *Æneid.* xii. 120.]; and when they denounced war, had a woollen cap [Liv. i. 24.]. The last mention of them that is found is under Tiberius, Tacitus *Annal.* iii. 64. and in an inscription of that age in Aldus Manutius *De Orthographia*.

P. 88. Autumn began 24 Sept. [Plin. N. H. xviii. 31. coll. l. ii. 47. Galen. *de Sanit. tuenda.* l. iv.] But as Hesychius, either from 15 or 22 of August [voc. *Φθινόπωρον*] to the same days in December. As others, from Aug. 11, or Aug. 8. Plin. N. H. xviii. 28. Others, July 24, as Vet. Cal. in Grut. p. cxxxvi. Vid. Maffon, vit. Plin. Jun. p. 30.

P. 89. The priests, who had the care of inserting the Intercalary day, mistook it, and instead of adding it at the *end* of the fourth year, set it at the *beginning* of it. So that the third, the sixth, the ninth, the twelfth, were leap years, instead of the fourth, the eighth, the twelfth, the sixteenth; by which means they got a day too much in twelve years. This error went on for thirty-six years, till U. C. 746, in which time they had intercalated twelve days instead of nine, and their year began *three* days too late. To remedy this, Augustus, U. C. 746, ordered xii years to pass without intercalation; and afterwards, that the intercalary day should be added at the beginning of every fourth year, and the memory of it to be preserved on a tablet of brass.

P. 90. *Nundinæ*] It has been a matter of great uncertainty among the learned, whether these were kept on the return of every eighth day, or every ninth day; since, according to common speech, the name is suitable to either period. Rutilius's authority in Macrobius is cited for the latter opinion; Varro's [Præf. ad l. ii. *de re rust.*] and Dion. Halic. [Antiq. Rom. vii. p. 342. ed. Par.] for the latter. Whichsoever was the period, it was the business of the priests by intercalations, or transferring days to prevent any of the *Nundinæ* from falling on Jan. 1, or the nones of any of the months. The *Nundinæ* were ordinarily like our *Sunday* in some respects; as being stated *Periæ*, on which courts were not open, nor Comitia held, and several works were forbid to be done on them, till the law of Q. Hortensius (who was dictator U. C. Var. 467) made them *dies fasti*, that the country people who came to market might have their law-suits decided likewise. Macrobi. i. c. 16. So that they had, like us, their weekly, their yearly, and occasional holydays.

P. 90.

P. 90. *To come to town again upon the usual court-days.*] As they were laid open to the law*, and made *fasti*, the other restraint was occasionally broke through. Thus Pompey, Cicero observes, was produced by the Tribune to speak to the people *die nundinarum*. Ad Att. I. 14. ubi vid. Caf. However, whatever became of their stated *fasti*, the Consul could appoint occasional holydays, to prevent, if he thought proper, any Comitia from being held, as Marcellinus Lentulus did. Cic. Ep. ad Q. F. ii. See Manut. p. 52.

Ibid. *Days when the people are shut up to vote.*] Or, as the prose writers term it, *quibus cum populo agi liceret*. *Apud populum agere*, or *ad populum*, i. e. to make a speech to the people, was allowable any day; but *cum populo*, only on a comitial day.

And it is to be observed, that every day that was not noted in the Calendar for a comitial day, though the public assemblies, or *comitia*, were not held, it was lawful to keep court. So that all *comitiales* were *dies fasti*, but not *vice versa*.

By a law made by Cn. Pupius Tribune, the Senate could not be called to meet on any of the *comitia* days, because they could not well attend both assemblies at once. Yet this on some occasions was broken through. Fr. Voss. in Cæs. B. C. i. 5.

Fasti {	Comitiales, on which they might <i>lege agere</i> , and <i>cum populo agere</i> ;
	but could not hold a Senate. See Cic. Ep. Fam. l. viii. ep. viii.
	Cæs. to Cicero & Ep. ii. ad Q.
{	Non-comitiales, on which they might <i>lege agere</i> , and <i>senatum habere</i> ,
	but could not <i>cum populo agere</i> . See Q. F. ii. 13.

P. 91. At the end of Chap. XI. add, For which reason they never said *secundo kalendar*. but *pridie*, because *secundo* coming from *sequendo*, it was absurd as to say *following before*. To find the day of our month answering to that of the Calends, add two to the number of days in the month preceding that which denominates the Calends. Thus the 4th of the Calends of June is presently seen to be the 29th of May, by adding two to the 31 days of May, which makes 33; from whence four deducted, it brings us to 29. Much to the same purpose Scaligerana, voc. *Calends*.

P. 97. He that made a slave free was looked on ever after as his natural patron; who yet chose another, as other citizens did. So that *Patronus* is opposed to *Libertus*, as well as to *Cliens*. "Libertum ego habeo clientem tuum." Cic. ad Att. I. 12. See Casaubon.

* The Hortensian Law. Seld. de Jur. Nat. & Gent. l. iii. c. 15. & Macrob. Sat. c. 16.

P. 98. *One of 800,000 sesterces was capable of being chosen a Senator.]* And yet it seems probable that men of distinguished abilities were *sometimes* put on the Senatorian roll, though they had not a Senatorial estate. *A censu MAXIME Senatam judices legit.* Liv. lib. xxxvi. 51. Augustus altered the Senatorial estate to 400,000 H. S. in consideration that many good families had been impoverished by the civil wars. Afterwards he raised it to a million of sesterces of our money 8333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and again to one million two hundred thousand sesterces, [ten thousand pounds of our money.] Suet. in Aug. c. 41. Dio, l. 54. p. 532. & 540. Et vid. p. 557. & Periz. de Lege Voconia, Diff. ii. p. 175.

Ibid. A survey was taken by the Censors of the citizens in general, with a view to the ranging them into six classes, as will be observed hereafter. U. C. 584, when C. Cl. Pulcher and Tiberius Semp. Gracchus were Censors, the lowest of those who were entered on the Censor's roll, were to be worth more than 30,000 sesterces in land in the country, exclusive of money in bankers hands, or put out to interest: *Eos censendi jus factum est, qui prædium prædiave rustica haberent pluris xxx millium H. S.* Liv. xlv. 15. Cujac. Observat. Periz. De Lege Voconia, Diff. ii. p. 169.

P. 99. *Nobilis* was opposed to *homo novus*, not to *Plebeians*.

P. 102. l. 6. We find 415 Senators mentioned at once in the affair of Clodius. Cic. ad Att. l. 14. and 410 in Cic. Orat. post reditum. In the times of Sylla, Appian mentions the house dividing 360 against 22. In all 400. App. B. C. ii. p. 446.

Ibid. An instance of the Tribunes of the people convening the Senate we have in P. Putilius Lupus, concerning the distribution of the Campanian lands, Ep. ad Q. Fr. ii. 1. Before the time of their admission into the house, they had their benches placed at the door, where they sat and examined the resolutions of the fathers. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2. 7. But we may conclude that a magistrate, who could controul by his single negative whatever passed within doors, would not be content without. When they were admitted to be Senators, we cannot precisely determine; but it seems probable, from Dionysius Halic. that in U. C. 263, two years after their institution, they made part of that body. So says Dr. Middleton. But he gives no sufficient answer to the express testimony of Varro in A. Gellius xiv. 8. who says, that they were not made Senators before the law of Asinius, A. U. 623. The great contests between the Tribunes and the Senate, U. C. 262, concerning the privileges of the people, are a proof rather

rather that they were not then Senators, than that they were. The Doctor's notion is still more fully overthrown from this consideration, that the same men were in many instances re-chosen to the Tribunate for many years together; which would have been a violation of the law, which decreed that no Senator should be elected a Tribune. See Hooke's Rom. Sen. p. 219. 251.

Tullius Hostilius built a court for the Senate to meet in, *Curia Hostilia*, whence that court is understood when it is said in general terms *Senatus in curiam vocatur*. Cic. ep. ad Q. F. ii. v. Man. p. 39. Afterwards the Curia Julia was the place where they usually met, which was consecrated by Augustus, who set up the image of Victory in it, which was standing in Dio's time, and continued many years after the establishment of Christianity.

P. 103. l. 11. The Senate was not to sit on those *Comitial* days in which assemblies with the people were actually held; but were not excluded from meeting on *Comitial* days, if there were no assemblies held. There were no less than 200 comitial days in the Roman Kalendär; and it is not likely they should be precluded from so great a part of the year: Nay, it appears from Cicero against Antony the Senate was held XIII. Kal. Oct. iv. et VIII. Kal. Dec. XIII. Kal. Jan. et I in Id. XII Kal. Nov. Lett. to Lentulus XVI. Kal. Feb. Cæl. Lett. to Cicero, XI Kal. Sext. in Cæs. VII. Id. Jan. &c.

Ibid. l. 16. *Divine service*] Augustus, in his reformation of the Senate, ordered, that every Senator should, before he took his seat, offer wine and frankincense at the altar of that God in whose temple they were met. Suet. in Aug. 35.

Ibid. l. 18. Any one of the Senate, instead of giving his opinion of a matter which was not judicially laid before the house, i. e. *relatum a Consule*, might offer somewhat else to be moved from the chair, which Cicero * calls *mentionem facere in Senatu*, and Tacitus † *promere sententiam*. See Græv. in loc. Cic. et Fam. x. 16.

Ibid. l. 20. The Consul had the liberty of asking whose opinion he would first. And the order he begun on the first of January was generally observed the remaining part of the year, till the consuls were *elected*; and

* Ad Att. I. 13.

† Hist. iv. 4.

then:

then that honour was shewn them till they entered on their office ; the *first* that was declared Consul, though a Plebeian and the other a Patrician, being asked first. At least it is certain, that the *first* declared Consul asked the opinion of others when in office, and therefore probably had the precedence before they entered into it. Thus M. Cicero was asked before C. Antony in the affair of Catiline ; M. Pupius Piso before M. Valerius Messalla, though Cicero and Piso were Plebeians, and the others Patricians. Vid. Cic. ad Att. I. 13. & Cafaub. & Manut. in loc. Vid. & Cic. Philip. v. 13.

P. 103. l. 28. There were three methods by which the Senators declared their sense of what came before them. The *first* was by their *assent* or approbation, which they signified as they sat in their places. The *second* was, by delivering their opinions with their reasons, which they did *standing* up in their places. The *third* was, by *dividing* without giving their reasons ; that is, by going to this or that side of the house, which was called *pedibus in sententiam ire* ; and those that did so were called for that time *pedarii Senatores*. The two first of those methods are pointed out by Cicero, who says in his letter to Metellus *, “ That he never speeched it “ against his cousin in the Senate ; and that whenever any thing came before them relating to him, *he gave in his seat his assent to those who took “ the most favourable side.*” All three methods are expressed in one sentence by Livy †, where he says, that “ Livius Salinator, being brought “ into the Senate by the Censors after a long absence, he would for some “ time give his vote only by *aye* or *no* ; or by *dividing* with the one side “ or the other, till the cause of his kinsman, M. Fabius, obliged him to “ *rise up and speak.*”

Ibid. l. ult. Hence Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 9. *non sunt persecuti sententias*, they did not take the opinion of the house separately.

* “ Nulla est a me unquam *sententia dicta* in fratrem tuum : quotiescunque aliquid est actum *sedens* iis assenti, qui mihi lenissime sentire vili sunt.” Ep. Fam. v. 2.

† “ Sed tum quoque aut verbo assentiebatur, aut pedibus in *sententiam* ibat, donec “ cognati cum hominis causa, M. Livii Macati, quum fama ejus ageretur, stantem coegit “ in Senatu *sententiam* dicere.” Liv. lib. xxvii. c. 24. Livius Salinator had been Consul many years before ; which is abundant proof that *pedarius* did not denote a Senator of inferior rank, who had not gone through the curule offices, as Gellius and modern writers have asserted. This explanation is owing to Mr. Spelman, in his Dissertation on the Roman Senate, re-printed in his Translation of Dion. Halic.

P. 104. l. 2. "Neque hoc tantum pollicitus est, sed etiam per se Senatus " discessionem facere cœpit." Cæs. B. G. VIII. 52.—Not only proposed it, but began to divide the Senate upon it. A question was proposed in these terms, *Qui hac censetis, illac transite: qui alia omnia, in hanc partem; not qui non censetis*, that they might not have any ill ominous words: *Senatus frequens in alia omnia transit*, the house divided against the question. Cic. Fam. i. 2. "De tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia."

Ibid. l. 11. "Intercedit M. Antonius, Q. Crassus tribuni plebis." Cæs. B. C. i. 2. "*Quod ne fieret, Consules amique Pompeii intercesserunt.*" Cæs. B. G. VIII. 52.

Ibid. l. 38. The decrees of the Senate had the force of laws for the space of a year, and did not become perpetual till they were ratified by the consent of the people. See Dionys. Halicarn. l. iv. et ix. Spirit of Laws, l. ii. c. 2. p. 18.

P. 105. In reference to the persons who were entitled to hold offices, it is to be observed, that Romulus admitted none to them but Patricians. Sixteen years after the expulsion of Tarquin, the people got a representative from their own body in the Tribune*. U. C. 341, the Quæstorship was laid open to them; U. C. 385, the mastership of the horse; U. C. 388, the Consulship; and 389 the Curule Ædileship. The last officers (as Livy, l. VIII. says) were now created alternately, one year out of the people, next year out of the nobility; but were afterwards chosen promiscuously: and U. C. 389, the Dictator himself: in fine, the Censors, U. C. 404; and the Prætor, 417: so that only the *Interrex* and *Flamen Dialis* remained among the Patricians with the shadow of magistracy, rather than the power of it. P. Merula de Legg. Rom. c. ii. p. 49. Græv. Præf. ad Rom. Antiq. p. m. xiv.

P. 108. l. 18. The law required three years interval between the Prætorship and the Consulship. Hooke, vol. III. p. 39. 4to.

Ibid. l. 20. From U. C. 531, the Consuls entered on their office Idib. Martii, or March 15. From U. C. 601, they were chosen, or *designati*, at the end of July, and entered on their office Jan 1, and held it to the end of the year. Julius Cæsar himself was chosen during the troubles in December or January. B. Civ. iii. 1.

* U. C. 310, Varr. C. Canuleius obtained a law for permitting inter-marriages between Patricians and Plebeians; and another that there should be *Tribunes* invested with consular power, chosen from among the latter. This held till about U. C. Varr. 388; they were then laid aside, and Consuls chosen again, but one of them to be Plebeian.

P. 108. l. 22. Though the more usual way was for the Emperors, with consent of the Senate, to nominate the several Consuls for the year about the beginning of it. For, from the time of Claudius, the Consuls were usually nominated for two months only; the two first, *ordinarii*, to hold themselves from 1 Jan. to March; two next, *suffecti*, from March to May; and so on. There were therefore six *Collegia Consulium*, or *Nundinae*, in the year; that word being still retained from the Consuls under the Republic appearing in the Comitia for three *Nundinae*, before they could be elected. Hence, Vopiscus in Tacito c. ix. "Fratrī suo Floriano Consulatum petiit" (Tacitus) et non impetravit, idcirco quod Senatus omnia nundina suffectorum Consulium clauferat." See Salmas. in loc. Commodus named 25 Coss. in a year. Severus Alexander restored the former use of XII. But it varied much, according to the will of the prince, who usually got himself to be *Consul ordinarius* the January after he was chosen Emperor, and so likewise he was made Cæsar. The Emperors for the generality took the Consulship the *January* after they came to the empire; as did the Cæsars after their nomination to that honour.

So likewise, on account of any triumph, expedition, Ludi Sæculares, Quinquennales, &c. to add to the solemnity of them, the Emperor Cæsar usually took the Consulship; insomuch that Themistius, in his oration to Theodosius, at the Decennial solemnity, tells him, that no private person, before, on those solemnities, was permitted to go out Consul; μηδενι πρόθεν υπάρξαν προπολιεύεσθαι ιδιώτης κύκλῳ Βασιλικῇ *, et quod nemini antea concessum fuit, in imperatorio Lustro primas in republicæ PRIVATVS tenet."

Those that entered on the Consulate the beginning of the year, stand on the Fasti for the whole year; but from the time of Claudius especially they usually served it not above two months, often not so long. See Suet. in Calig. c. xvii. And under Commodus xxv Consuls were nominated in a year. Lamprid. in Commodo, c. vi.

On the first of January, when the Consuls entered on their office, they made their procession through the city. Even this circumstance is mentioned on two coins, one of Constant. Max. inscribed, FEL. PROCES. CONSUL. AVG. The other of Maxentius, with FELIX. PROCESS. COS. VI. AVGN. Exergue A. Q. (Spanh. Diff. xii. p. 457. Ed. fol.) which are the only coins which have been yet discovered with this legend. Hardouin adds another.

* Orat. xvi. p. 205.

The same numeral mark of the Consulship was continued on the coins of the Emperors for several years together, till they entered on a new Consulship. Thus Hadrian, from U. C. 872 to 891, is styled Cof. III.

P. 108. l. 24. Under the Emperors there were three sorts of Consuls :

1. The *ordinarii*, who entered on their office Cal. Jan. and denominated the year. 2. Those who were put in the room of the *ordinarii*, often several in a year, styled *suffecti*. Both these, when nominated to the office, till their entrance on it, were called *designati*. 3. *Honorarii*, sometimes called *Consulares codicillares*, and *exconsules*, to whom all the honours of Consuls were decreed by the Emperor, as the habit, the *fella curulis*, &c.

The number of Consulships is marked on coins, among which the *suffecti* are sometimes reckoned, sometimes not so. Thus *Claudius*, 1^o Calig. was Cof. Suff. afterwards, when *Cof. ordinarius*, he is styled Cof. II. The title of *Honorarius Consul* did not add to the number of Consulships on coins till the time of Severus, when Plautianus, having been made so by Severus, was, when *Cof. ordinarius*, styled Cof. II. which example Dio says, l. xlv. was afterwards followed. Pagi, Differt. Hypat. Under the Constantine times, the numeral mark was not added to Cof.

P. 109. Dictator.] The person who was to be possessed of this honour was to be either consul, or one who had been so. Liv. ii. 18. For which reason Livy concludes Titus Lartius was the first Dictator, he having passed the Consulship, rather than Valerius, who had not. When all offices were laid open to the Plebeians, this was in common to them likewise; and C. Martius Rutilus was the first of that order who was Dictator, Liv. vii. 17.

P. 110. Manutius [De Legg. c. v.] imagines, that by the law made in the comitia by centuries, under the Consuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius, A. U. C. Var. 305. Liv. III. 55. and by another, passed by the Tribune Drusus afterwards in the same year, viz. that no magistrate should be created against whom there could be no appeal; that by this law, I say, an appeal would lie from the decision of the Dictator, as well as of the other magistrates. But this is a mistake. The Dictator was not included in the ordinary sense of the word *magistrate*, to which the law referred, but was an office *extraordinary*, not appointed in any *comitia*, but generally by the Senate*. The people had been oppressed for four years past, by Consular Decemvirs, against whom there was no appeal. At length the above

* See Liv. IV. 21. VII. 28. XXIII. 24.

Consuls and Tribunes obtained a law to restrain the Consuls within their ancient privileges, by which heretofore they were not exempted from appeals. It was not the *Dictator's* power they complained of, but the *Consuls*; and against them the law was levelled. Accordingly, all subsequent transactions of the Roman History shew that the Dictatorship was always kept up to its full extent of power. See particularly Liv. iv. 13. viii. 30. Joann. Jensonius de Dictatoribus P. Rom. 1717. cap. ix.

P. 112. The Prætors were usually elected in July, though they did not enter on their office till Jan. 1; in which intermediate time they might be accused of bribery, or any other crime, and set aside if proved guilty: but could not be accused whilst in their office. Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 9.

The creation of Censors for the first time was only *two years* after the promulgation of Canuleius's two memorable laws for permitting intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians, and leaving the people at full liberty to chuse the Consuls out of either of the two orders. Chapman, Rom. Senate, p. 80.

P. 113. Censors who had not been consuls. Liv. xxvii. c. 6. 13. M. Rutilius the first Plebeian Censor, as well as first Plebeian Dictator. Liv. vii. c. 22. x. ult.

According to the institution of Servius Tullius, every citizen was to be enrolled in the Censors' books, with an account of his wealth and substance. Whoever avoided this scrutiny was liable to be deprived of his city-freedom and goods, and scourged. Dion. Hal. l. iv. Cic. Cæcin. c. 34. Those who were abroad in the provinces were sometimes called home for this purpose. Vell. ii. c. 15. At other times, the Censors were sent into the provinces, to take an account of their number in the Roman armies. Liv. xxxix. c. 37. But at length, as the number of citizens greatly increased, and they were exempt from paying tribute by the increase of wealth, which the conquest of Perseus king of Macedonia by L. Paullus, brought to the Roman state; and lastly, as Marius admitted them into his legions without any discrimination of circumstances, *capite censi*, the Censors office grew into neglect, and was laid aside sometimes for several years * [Cic. in Verrem, Ascon. in Divinat.]; which prepared the way for the dropping it entirely under the Emperors, or for their exercising the duty at pleasure.

* Periz. Diss. II. De Leg. Voc. p. 185, 6.

Though

Though all other magistrates were accountable for their administration, yet the Censors were not. One Censor could not be troubled by another Censor; each made his remark without taking the opinion of his colleague. *L'Esprit des Loix*, l. v. c. 8.

P. 115. The Quæstors entered on their office Dec. 5.—*Quæsturam intelligimus; nam omnes cæteri magistratus Kal. Jan. procedebant, soli vero Quæstores Nonis Decembris.* MS. not. in Cic. 1. in Verr. c. x. citat. in Spanh. Diff. xii. p. 458.

The Consuls (under the Emperor) had two city Quæstors (Dio, xlviii. p. 383.). Pliny Jun. and Calpurnius were such to Domitian in his xiiith Consulship. Plin. Ep. vii. 16. The Quæstors continued the whole year in office, when the Consulship was made only for two months. Plin. Ep. viii. 23. This seems to have been a distinct office from that of *Quæstor Principis*, called in after-times by Ulpian *Candidatus Principis*; for we never find more than one at a time bore that office*. We must take care to observe, that *Candidati imperatorum*, under the Cæsars, were different from those who were called so under the Constantinopolitan Emperors. The former such as the Emperor recommended as *Candidates* for a magistracy. See Tac. Ann. i. 15. Suet. Aug. 56. &c.

P. 116. From U. C. 300, the Tribunes had the power of calling the Senate and dismissing it, which was before in the Consuls. Dion. Halic. Ant. l. x. p. 657. App. Bell. Civ. i. 145. But were not members of the Senate till the Asinian law [Gell. xiv. c. ult.], which is thought to have been made by *Asinius Labeo*, U. C. 633.

They had the power of calling any Senator out from the Senate, and obliging him to declare his opinion before the people of any thing that had happened in the state. Thus the Tribune took out Pompey to declare his sentiments about the method of trying Clodius. Cic. ad Att. I. 14.

Within less than two years after their institution, they obtained the honour of being admitted into the Senate †; but many years after that, they were not suffered to deliver their votes as members of the house ‡, though they were authorized by virtue of their office to obstruct the passing any decree by their *intercession*, and pronouncing a single word, *Veto*. Chapman, Rom. Sen. c. ii. p. 96.

The *Tribunitian* power was given for ever to Julius Cæsar by the Senate, says Dio, l. liii. p. 519. but being neglected by him, was assumed

* See Masson, Vit. Plin. U. C. Jun. 840. DCCCXL.

† Dion. Halic. vii. c. 49.

‡ Ib. x. 37,

afterwards by Augustus, and made part of the imperial title. Vid. Tac. Annal. iii. 56. et Lipf. Augustus's empire properly began from the battle of Actium, U. C. 723; according to which he reigned XLIV years. But the Tribunician Power was assigned him perpetual 27 Jun. U. C. 731. from whence on his coins is mentioned only XXXVII *. Titus's coins mention his Trib. Pot. x. though he was Emperor alone only II. &c. Some Emperors coins have only TRIB. POT. without the number expressed, particularly Hadrian's, in some of which *Trib. Pot.* is wholly omitted, and only the title of *Augustus*, or P. P. added; and after Valerius and Gallienus, this title seldom occurs on coins, though mentioned in inscriptions. Spanh. Diff. xii. de pr. num. ed. fol. Panvinius first discovered from coins and inscriptions, that the Emperors did not commence a new year of Trib. Pot. from Jan. 1; but from the return of that day on which they commenced their reign. See Noris, Cen. Pisan. p. 260. It was given likewise to the partners in the empire, who were in a degree inferior to Augustus. Thus by Augustus to Agrippa [Vell. Pat. l. LIV. Tac. Annal. iii. 56.]; to Tiberius, even for XVI years before he came to be sole Emperor, which number appears on his coins while he was Cæsar. *Tribunitiam potestatem perpetuam recepit, in qua SEMEL atque ITERUM per singula lustra collegam sibi adoptavit.* Sueton. in Ann. c. XXVII. His coins number on afterwards to Trib. Pot. XXXVIII.

Some that were afterwards Emperors were Tribunes before, as Hadrian and Severus. Vid. Spanheim. They were elected about July 17, and were created the 10th of December †; but the Consuls and other officers were created on the first of January; by which means the Tribunes were in office some days under different Consuls. Paul. Man. Ep. ad Att. l. i. vid. et H. 12, 13. et Ep. ad Brutum. i. At the Comitia Tributa from U. C. CCLXXXIII. but before that time at the Comitia Curiata.

P. 120. The office of *Interrex* was first instituted on the death of Romulus, when the Senate, consisting of 200 in number, were divided into *decuriæ*, or ten divisions. Then drawing lots (one out of each division), the first ten on whom the lot fell were invested with the absolute command of the city. However, they did not all reign together, but successively; each reigning five days. The first, after his power was expired,

* Dio l. 54. 5 Cal. Julii. Trib. Pot. 1. U. C. 731, i. e. Jul. 27.

† Tribunes began their office Idibus Decemb [Dec. 13.] si fides Dionysio Halicarn. cit. Periz. anim. c. x. p. 460. Ante diem IV. idus Decembres [Dec. 10.] Liv. xxxix. 52. — Nonis Decembris [Dec. 5.] Cicer. Proem. Verr. c. 10.

delivered over the government to the second; and so on, to the last. After the ten first kings had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the government from them; and from those in like manner others. Thus Dionys. Halic. Ant. ii. c. 57. And Livy to the same purpose: *Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et liſtoribus erat: quinque dierum ſpatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibant*; the ſenſe of which words Plutarch miſtook, imagining that *quinque dierum ſpatio finiebatur imperium* meant *imperium decem*, that the government of the whole ten expired in five days, and conſequently that of each in twelve hours: whereas Livy means *imperium uniuscuiuſque*, the government of each of the ten, terminated in five days.

It being a ruled point, that an inferior officer could not hold aſſemblies for the election of a ſuperior, in the abſence or death of the Conſuls (the ſupreme magiſtrates), neither Conſul nor Prætor could be choſen without the *Interrex*. In ſuch caſe, the right of taking the auſpices for ſuch election fell into the hands, not of the *Senate* in general, but of the *Patrician* Senators only, who choſe an *Interrex* out of their own body, to preſide in the election of new Conſuls; which Conſuls could preſide in the election of Prætors; and to provide for the ſupply of all the inferior magiſtracies*.

P. 121. The care of the public fund for the maintenance of the army, which was heretofore entrusted to the *City Quæſtors*, Auguſtus assigned to three perſons, to be choſen by lot, who had paſſed the office of *Prætors*, called each *Præſectus Æarii Saturni*. Claudius, U. C. 799, reſtored this office again to the *Quæſtors*. Theſe remained ſome part of Nero's reign; but he brought in again *Præſecti æarii* [Tac. Annal. XIII. 28. 6.]; which title continued through the reign of Domitian, Trajan, and the Antonines. Pliny the younger, in particular, enjoyed this office for two years, till he was nominated to the Conſulſhip, U. C. 653. Plin. Ep. x. 20. et Pag. c. 91. This ſeems to be the ſame office which was called *Præſectus Æarii militaris*; ſince Pliny, who mentions the other title himſelf, is deſcribed by this title in inſcriptions in Gruter, 1028. 5; and a paſſage in Tacitus leads us to think it the ſame. Annal. v. 8. *Illum indices arguebant clauſtra æarii, cui præſectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtuliſſe* †.

Vigintiviri; out of whom were appointed, 1. the *Triumviri capitales*, for puniſhing petty rogues, a ſort of Juſtices of the Peace. 2. *Treſviri*

* Cic. Ep. ad Att. ix. 9.

† See Reineſ. Ep. I. p. 467. ad Rupertum, et Maſſon, vit Plin. p. 85.

M. netales, Masters of the Mint. 3. *Quatuorviri*, who looked after the public ways of the city. 4. The *Decemviri*, who presided in causes that belonged to the *Judicia Centumviralia* *. These offices were assigned to young men of rank and worth, and as an earnest of being admitted in time into the Senate. The age required for them was to be turned of twenty. This appears from Tacitus †, who observes, that Nero desired that the sons of Germanicus might be excused going through the office of the *XXviri*, and be admitted to the *Quæstorship* v years sooner than the time required by law, which was at the end of *xxiv* years. And somewhat of the like indulgence Claudius got for his sons-in-law. This is farther confirmed from an inscription in Gruter, *ccccxxxiii*. 4. ‡ where one of the *Quatuorviri* is mentioned as dying at 21, the other at 20 years of age.

Q. IVL. CLARA C. V. IIII.VIR. VIARVM CVRANDARVM ANN. XXI.

Q. IVL. NEPOTIANO V. C. IIII.VIRO VIARVM. CVRANDARVM ANN. XX.

P. 122. *Centumviri*, &c.] They were in reality a hundred and five, there being *xxxv* tribes. But they were called *Centumviri*, that being a round number. And they retained the same name when they were increased to *clxxx*, as we see in Plin. l. vi. ep. 33.—Selden, de Synedr. l. ii. p. 1271. ed. fol.

P. 124. The provinces, according to the ancient institution, even before the second Punic war, were governed by the Consuls, who, on entering their office, cast lots to determine which should be assigned to each; but sometimes they took them according to the disposal of the Senate, or of the people; sometimes by mutual agreement with each other. If they were assigned to them by the Senate, or the people, they were said to be given *extra ordinem*, or *extra sortem*. Liv. x. 24. On the expiration of their year, the next Consuls succeeded. But wars and other exigences of state requiring a prolongation of their power, application was made to the people for an extraordinary commission. The first instance of this was, A. U. 427, when Q. Publilius Philo § the Consul, having near the conclusion of the year cut off the communication of the enemy, between *Paleopolis* and *Naples*, the people, at the motion of their Tribunes, decreed that he should effect that as *Proconsul*, which he was prevented from completing in his Consulship. From whence we may learn, that this nomination of *Proconsul* was at the *Comitia Tributa*, where the Tribunes might preside, not at the *Comitia Centuriata*, where they could not preside; it being a ruled

* Dio, l. liv. p. 540.

† Dio, l. lvii. Mass. v. 2. Ovid. p. 57, 8.

‡ Annal. III. 29.

§ Liv. VIII. 23.

case, that the lesser magistrates could never hold those *Comitia* where the greater were chosen. More instances of these *Proconsuls* being nominated by the people may be seen in Livy xxix. 13. xxx. 27.

In the latter times of the Commonwealth the Consuls usually spent the year of their office at Rome, and at the end of it went to their provinces, by virtue of the Senate's decree, without application to the people; and by the Cornelian law, A. U. 673, continued there till others were sent to succeed them*: and after the arrival of such successors, they were to quit their province within 30 days. Trebonius procured a law, that Julius Cæsar should hold his province of Gaul for a second five years, which was not done to overthrow the Cornelian law, but to prevent the Senate's vacating his power before that time was expired by sending another†.

It often happened that the Consuls whose office expired were not sent the year immediately following, but were put by for two, three, or four years. Those who were sent in their stead were called *Privati*. *Provincia privatis decernuntur. Scipioni obvenit Syria, L. Domitio Gallia*, says Cæsar, B. Civ. i. 6. vid. Voff. *ibid.* This was U. C. 704. The former, Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, had been *Cof. dccii*; the latter, L. Domitius Ænobarbus, in the year *dcc*: *Privatus* being a term given to any one who had been in office, and was out of it. So *Privato Milone*, Cic. *pro Milone*, c. 15. after Milo had laid down his Tribuneship.

P. 126. The *Proconsulares*, or governors of the people's provinces, were obliged to consult the Senate in dubious affairs, accountable to them and to the people; but the *Proprætors* were accountable only to the Emperor. Henley's Life of Pliny, p. xiv.

In this division there were Ten *Prætorian* and two *Consular* Provinces allotted to the people's share. The rest the Emperor kept under his own government.

Deputies were sent into each, sometimes with greater power, sometimes with less. But the Governors of the *people's* provinces were generally endowed with *Proconsular* power, and are therefore called *Proconsuls*‡; which title was never applied to the Imperial Deputies, who are distinguished by the name of *Consulares* simply, or *Legati Consulares*; or *Proprætores*, *Legati Prætorii*, *Legati Imperatoris proprætores*; according as they

* Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 9. iii. 6.

† Gruch. de Com. l. ii. c. 2.

‡ Dio, l. LIII. p. 504.

were

were commissioned with *Consular* or *Prætorial* power. And this though they had not gone through the office of *Prætor* or *Consul*. Thus under the Commonwealth Quintus Cicero is said, by Suetonius in Aug. *Proconsulatum Asiæ administrare*, though at that time he had not been *Consul*. And in Cicero's *Fam. Ep.* two are inscribed, Q. Metello *Proconsuli*, who, having been only *Prætor*, had the Province of the Cisalpine Gaul. Germanicus under Tiberius, *permissæ Germanico provinciæ, quæ mari dividuntur, majusque imperium quoquo adisset, quam his qui sorte aut permissu Principis obtinerent**, and Corbulo under Nero. The office of *Dux* and *Comes*, in the latter times of the empire, seem to have arisen out of these two sorts of *Proconsuls*†. Tacitus says of Petronius, *Proconsulatum Bithyniæ, mox Consuli*. *Annal.* xiv. 18. Vell. Pat. l. ii. distinguishes between the Governors of the people's Provinces and the Imperial, styling the former *Proconsules*, the latter *Legati*. *Ut omnes qui proconsules legatique in transmarinas provincias profecti*. The people's Provinces were governed by new Deputies yearly, and were such as were least exposed to danger. Therefore, as the circumstances of them altered, the Emperors would occasionally take them into their own hands, and allow the people to nominate to some of the Imperial in return. Antoninus Phil. *provincias ex proconsularibus consulares, aut ex consularibus consulares, aut prætorias pro belli necessitate fecit*. *Jul. Cap. c. 22*. Where, by *consulares & prætoriæ*, he means Imperial Provinces; by *proconsulares*, the People's. See Salmaf. *Hist. Aug. Script.* vol. I. p. 200. 374. II. 346. &c. Bithynia and Pontus were the people's Provinces under Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian, as appears from coins. See Spanh. *de usu et præst. numism.* And yet under Trajan they were Imperial, whence Pliny the younger is styled in inscriptions, *LEGATVS PROPRAETOR PROVINCIÆ PONTI CONSVLARI POTESTATE IN EAM PROVINCIAM AB IMP. CAESARE NERVA TRAIANO AVG. GERMANICO MISSVS*. And from Pliny's *Ep. x. 29. 41. 56, 57. 77. 118.* it appears it was once a *Proconsular* Province, but in his time Imperial. See Masson, *vit. Plin. Jun. U. C. 856*.

What the *Consular* power was, with which these Legates were sent into the Provinces, it is hard to say. Grævius [in *Suet. Domitian. c. 1.*]. It denoted the same plenary power which the Emperors assumed when they took the title of *proconsul*; not confined to any one province, but to be

* *Annal.* ii. 43.† *Ibid.* c. 25.

exercised in every province into which they should be sent. Thus Domitian, *Honorem præturæ cum consulari potestate suscepit*. Suet. Dom. c. 1. who was afterwards sent into Germany, not as a Consular legate, but as Cæsar with the ancient Consular power.

This extraordinary Proconsular power was first given to M. Antony, the father of the Triumvir, *infinitem imperium*, as Cicero calls it [in Verrem ii. c. 3. Lactant. Inst. i. c. 2.] which is spoken with some exaggeration, Asconius explaining it by *potestatem infinitam totius oræ maritimæ*. Pompey had the same power afterwards by the Gabinian law. Vell. Pat. ii. c. 31. *Imperium æquum in omnibus Provinciis cum Proceff. usque ad quinquagesimum milliarium ad mare*. The power of those who were created Proconsuls without a Province was, as the occasion required, extensive; but not, like the Imperial Proconsuls, without limitation. For it is to be observed, that to abridge the Provincial Proconsul's power *, the title of *Proconsul* was now annexed to the Imperial, and given (as well as *Imperator*) to those Cæsars who were colleagues in the Empire, so that the Governors of the popular Provinces acted only under them. This, Dio tells us, was made perpetual to Augustus, from whence it was continued by the Senate to his successors †. Thus to Nero [see Tac. An. xi. c. 41.] when he was only Cæsar, and took the Toga Virilis. And Trajan, Hadrian, and Ælius Cæsar had that title, as appears from inscriptions in Gruter ‡. As the power related to the Provinces, so it was then given to those that were absent from the city. Thus Tacitus observes, that the Proconsular power being given to Germanicus, who was abroad, *it was not asked for Drusus because he was at home* ||. And in another place he says it was decreed, that “NERO PROCONSULAREM IMPERIUM EXTRA VRBEM haberet §,” which may be the reason probably (which Casaubon and Scaliger could not account for) why so few coins and inscriptions ascribe this title to the more early Emperors, before the time of Severus and Caracalla.

P. 127. Proprætors were laid aside about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine, and *Vicarii* sent in their stead. Thus in the Notitia, *Vicarius Britanniarum*.

P. 129. When Romulus had enlarged his city with the union of the Sabines, he imitated the Grecian constitution, with some variation in the

* Dio, LVIII. p. 518, 519.

† CCXLV. 9. CCXCVIII. 1. CCLII. 2.

§ Annal. XII. c. 41.

† Dio, l. LIII. p. 519.

|| Annal. i. c. 14.

division of the citizens. He distinguished them into three parts, which he called *Tribes*, from the Greek *τρίβης*, which the Æolians called *τρεπνύς*; which name was ever after continued when they were multiplied into xxxv tribes. Each tribe he subdivided into x *Curia*, the three tribes therefore into xxx *Curia*, so called from the Greek *κυρία*, authorities, because the principal concerns of the state were transacted in the assemblies of these *Curia* *, called *Comitia Curiata*, as the election of Kings, or other great officers; the making and abrogating of laws, and the adjudging capital causes, till Servius Tullius instituted the *Comitia Centuriata*.

P. 130. The great assembly of the people (where Wills were to be made) met but *twice* a year. L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. i. p. 226.

Ibid. The third class of the *Comitia Centuriata* consisted of twenty centuries; the fourth of twenty-two; the fifth of thirty; and the last had but one century, who were filled up with the poorer sort, only reckoned by number, *capite censi*, not absolutely *censi*, or entered in the Censor's roll, as men of any consequence. The policy of this institution was, to lay the burden of the taxes upon the rich, by exempting the sixth class from paying any thing. And secondly, by their manner of voting, by throwing power into their hands likewise. For the first class, consisting of 98 centuries, in which the majority of each century was considered as the vote of the century; and they seldom disagreeing in their votes, the first class generally decided the election. But hence, says Mr. Hooke, a common mistake has arisen among all writers, that they thought in these assemblies the Senate and the Patricians had all the power, because Livy says, l. i. c. 43. *ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes PRIMARIOS civitatis esset*, as if these *primarii* were *Senators* only. They were undoubtedly the whole body of the *dites*, who composed the first class, or the 98 centuries. Now let the number of Senators be at this time 200 or 300, we cannot suppose they were so split into Companies or Centuries, as to make many votes in the *Comitia Centuriata*. 2. This scheme of Servius was instituted to constitute, not an Aristocratical, but a Democratical government; and therefore to take the power out of the hands of the Senate, who had opposed his being chosen king. 3. If the Patricians were more powerful in them than the Plebeians, neither Dionysius nor Livy would

* Grav. Præf. ad Vol. I. Thef. Rom.

have laboured to assign a reason why the people chose no Patricians to be Military Tribunes. 4. In fact, the great points carried by the Commons against the Nobles, were in the *Comitia Centuriata*; as, The law for electing Tribunes in the *Comitia Tributa*, U. C. 282. The *Lex Horatia*, which gave the *Plebiscita* made in the *Comitia Tributa* the force of laws binding the whole Roman people, U. C. 304. And it was doubtless in the *Comitia Centuriata*, (in his absence) and Menenius (after trial) were condemned, and Servilius (after trial) acquitted, U. C. 263. 278. 279. Hooke's *Rom. History* vol. I. p. 244. *Rom. Senate* 137. 185. *Dion. Halicarnassensis* is of other sentiments; but his authority with Mr. Hooke is no value.

All that were free of the city, and had the privilege of voting given them, had a right of voting here, wheresoever they lived. The Senators might vote in either the *Comitia Centuriata* or *Tributa*, if they pleased; but were not obliged to vote, nor were they summoned. Varro, l. iii. c. 4. mentions a Senator voting in *Comitia Tributa* where an *Ædile* was chosen. See Gruch. de Com. p. 707.

P. 131. l. 32. *add*, For the same reason *exercitus imperare* was used peculiarly to summon the people to the *Comitia Centuriata*, and *remittere exercitus* to dissolve them; so Varro, L. L. V. Lælius Felix ap. Gell. xv. 27. Liv. xxxix. 15. and had quite a different signification from *imperare milites*. Livy uses *exercitus* in the same sense, l. i. *Concilia populi exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi ares non admiffissent dirimerentur*. And l. xxxix. 15. *Vox illo in arce posito comitiorum causa exercitus educus est*. J. F. Gronov. Obs. i. 1. & Petr. Wesseling. Probabil. c. xxxix. p. 361. These *Comitia* held for three *Nundinæ*, or xxvii days, to which we may add the three days preparatory to them, which were employed in persuading the people to consent to the law that was to be moved, if the *Comitia* were called to pass a law; or the candidates made interest to be chosen, if the *Comitia* were called for the election of officers. Macrobian. Saturn. i. c. 16. See also Gronovius in the place already cited, and the note already printed on Kennet, p. 108.

Livy l. 43, says, that the four *tribes*, which Servius instituted, had no relation to his division of the people into centuries, into which each of the five classes were divided. Every man gave his vote in his *curia*, or in his own *tribe*, or else in his own *class* or *century*. If the people were summoned in *curiæ*, it signified nothing in what *tribe* or *century* they were registered;

if by *tribes*, no matter in what *curia* or *century*, &c. so the prerogative *tribe*, or prerogative *century*, or prerogative *curia*, did not affect each other. But the *tribes* afterwards encreasing to xxxv, and the number of citizens in each being greatly multiplied, there were many of all the v classes in each tribe *. When the Comitia met according to centuries, out of the xxxv tribes one was decided by lot to be the tribe from whence the century was to be taken which should vote first, called the prerogative tribe; next, the prerogative century in that tribe was determined the same way. On which account the name of the tribe was given to the century, and of the century sometimes to the tribe, as *Galeria juniorum quæ sorte prærogativa erat*, Q. Fulvium & Q. Fabium consules dixerat †; that is, the century of the younger part which was in the *Galerian tribe* ‡.

By the younger, one would think, from Gell. x. 28, should be meant from xvii to xlvi years.

2. Philip. de Dolabellæ comitiis. *Prima classis vocatur, renunciatur*, i. e. the centuries of the first class. The centuries of each class gave their votes, which were declared before the whole class was gone through. Thus Livy, *Ut quæque intro vocata erat centuria, consulem dicit*. V. Gruch. i. 4. p. 715. In the Comitia by centuries no distinction of orders but that of equites and pedites, and the Senators voted at them if they pleased. Varro, De re Rust. iii. 4. *Comitiis Adilitatis cum sole caldo, ego atque Appius Senator tribulis suffragium tulissemus*. The centuries of the *scot* (not of the equites) were distinguished again into younger and older, the former from xvii years of age to xlvi; the older past that age. See Gell. ut supra. Consideration was had likewise to estate. So that, first, voted the prerogative Century chosen by lot; 2. the Centuries of Knights; 3. the Centuries, the first, the second, third, fourth, and fifth class in order; and in all the classes the seniors before the juniors. Gruch. i. 4. p. 708.

P. 133. The same letters could not be used in Courts of *Judicature*, and in *confirmation* of laws. In the former A, for *absolvo*, or C for *condemno*, or N. L. for *non liquet*. In confirmation of laws, A. for *Antiquæ*, and U. R. for *ubi rogas*. In all these cases, at first, the vote was given *viva voce*. But the method of balloting in elections of officers was brought in by A. Gabinus, Trib. Plebis, U. C. 614; in Courts of *Judicature* by L. Cassius,

* See Grav. Præf. to Vol. I.

† Liv. xxvii. 6.

‡ Gruch. i. 4. p. 708. See Gron. Obf. iv. 1.

Trib. Pleb. A. U. 616; and A. U. 621, by C. Papirius Cerbo, for the enacting of laws. Taylor, Elements of Civil Law, p. 192.

Ibid. Of the thirty-five tribes, thirty-one belonged to the country, and four only to the city *, which latter took in the contemptible part of the citizens, who, having no lands to cultivate, were, if we may so say, citizens by halves. Those who were members of these city tribes were very near the same with those who, in the division by centuries, were of the sixth class, who were only *capite censi*. The greatest part of them did not even go to war, for in the enlisting of soldiers the division of centuries was observed; where it was scarce possible for the suffrages to be in the hands of the populace. See Causes of the Grandeur and Declension of the Romans, p. 113. ed. 2.

But Marius, in order to obtain a commission for carrying on the war against Mithridates, in prejudice of Sylla's pretensions, had, by the concurrence of Sulpicius the Tribune, incorporated viii new tribes of the people of Italy into the xxxv ancient tribes, which rendered the Italians masters of the suffrages. But this law either did not pass, or was abrogated the same year, U. C. 665 †.

P. 134. The Comitia Tributa were ordinarily called by the Tribunes, in which the Patricians might be present and vote, if they pleased; but could not be compelled, nor were they summoned. Taylor, in Plebisc.

The lesser magistrates, viz. Tribunes, Ædiles, Quæstors, were chosen at the assembly of the Tribes; as the greater magistrates, viz. Consuls, Censors, Prætors, were chosen at the assembly of centuries. Casaub. Ep. ad Attic. I. 3. Paul. Manut. ad Cic. Fam. vii. 30.

Ibid. In those assemblies where the greater magistrates were chosen, the lesser could not preside; the Tribunes for instance could not preside in the Comitia of Centuries. Livy says, viii. 23. *Actum cum tribunis est, ad populum ferrent, ut cum Publius Philo consulatu abiisset, proconsul rem gereret, quoad debellatum cum Græcis esset*; by which we may be assured, that the Proconsul in this case was not chosen at the Comitia Centuriata, but at the Comitia Tributa, because the Tribune presided. Gruch. de Com. Pitisc. Lex. Proconsul.

P. 135. Besides the Centumviri, others were selected by the Prætors to

* Plin. Nat. Hist. xvii. 3.

† Ibid. c. ix. p. 98.

try private causes. Ovid was such, as he tells us himself, Trist. l. ii. 95.

Res quoque privatas statui sine crimine Judex

Deque mea fessa est pars quoque victa fide.

He speaks here of deciding by himself, because in *private* causes one judge was generally sufficient. *Privata quoque judicia saepe unum judicem habere multis & diversis formulis solent.* Quint. l. iii. c. 10.

P. 138. The Plautian law (says Mr. Hooke) deprived the Roman Knights of the sole right of Judicature. It ordained that each tribe should, out of their own body, annually elect fifteen persons to act as judges; an honour now made common to all the three orders in the state. Rom. Hist. Vol. III. p. 115 4to. from Vell. Pat. l. xi. c. 20. Cic. pro Arch. c. iv.

In public judgments, any one might accuse; in private, the parties aggrieved. Public were tried in the Forum; private, in the Basilicæ, by the Centumviri.

Senators only were judges till U. C. 630, when, by the *Sempronian* law [Sempronius Gracchus], this power was transferred wholly to the Equestrian order. U. C. 647. the *Servilian* law [Q. Servilius Cæpio] divided the power between the Senators and Knights, with a proviso, that in each cause there should be a smaller number of Senators than of Knights. U. C. 662, the *Livian* law [M. Livius Drusus] obtained that there should be an equal number of both orders out of 300 of each. U. C. 664, by the *Plautian* law [M. Plautius Silvanus], some of the Plebeians were to be joined with the other two orders. U. C. 673, by the *Cornelian* law [S. Cornelius Sulla] the power was restored to the Senate only. U. C. 683, by the *Aurelian* law [L. Aurelius Costa], Senators, the Equestrian order, and *Tribuni ærarii*, had the judicial power in common. Julius Cæsar, when Dictator, restrained it again to the two former orders. U. C. 698, Pompey appointed that 75 should be judges, chosen out of the *Centuries of the first class*, consisting of the same orders that the Aurelian law appointed *. U. C. 809, Julius Cæsar and M. Antony ordained that one of the *decuriæ* of judges should be taken out of the Centurions, Antesignani, Alaudi, and Manipulares. So that the judges were Decuries of Senators, Knights, and Centurions.

P. 142. Claudius in particular (says Tacit. Annal. l. xi.) having appropriated to himself the judgment of law-suits and the functions of ma-

* Pitisc. in Eq. p. 726, 7. L'Esprit des Loix, l. viii. c. 12.

gistrates, gave occasion to all manner of rapine. Nero, on his coming to the empire, declared he would avoid that error. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. Under Justinian, Procopius says, *The judges' tribunal was deserted, while the prince's palace resounded with the clamours of the several litigating parties.*

P. 149. The Prætors not only made laws annually, which were often contradictory one to another, but varied even from the laws themselves had made, and subjected the people to great inconvenience. Cic. in Verrem, i. 42. Some for their singular equity were confirmed or revived by the successor, thence called *Edicta translatitia*, and were carried into the provinces to serve for laws there also. Afterwards, when C. Piso and Manlius Glabrio were Consuls, U. C. Var. 686, C. Cornelius Trib. Pl. proposed a law, that "Prætores ab edictis perpetuis jus dicerent," that they should not vary their laws during their magistracy. The "jus prætorium," made up of those edicts, gained a consistency, and was commented on by S. Sulpicius and A. Ofilius. Asconius, Arg. Orat. pro C. Cornelio. Periz. Diff. ii. p. 193. So that Cicero observes in his life-time, De Legg. i. 6. *Plerique a Prætoris edicto, ut superiores a XII tabulis juris disciplinam haurirent.* Comments were written upon this Code by various Lawyers: first, by Sulpicius Rufus, who died before Cicero; next, by A. Ofilius, as is observed by Pomponius De Orig. Juris, § 44. So truly might Cicero say, De Legg. ii. 23. *Discebamus pueri XII tab. ut carmen necessarium, quas jam nemo discit.* See Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 215.

P. 152. Horace, Epod. iv. 15. pleasantly sneers Menas (who, from a freed-man of Pompey's, being grown immensely rich, was preferred to the Equestrian rank by Augustus, and made a Tribune), that now he could sit among the foremost of them, *contemto Othone*, possessed of wealth so far above the narrow limits his law prescribed of 400 *Sestertia*, that he had no occasion to be suspected of wanting a qualification. Not, as interpreters before Dr. Bentley understood the place, as if he acted *contrary* to the law of Roscius, in sitting among the Equites, when he was by birth no higher than a slave.

The Lex Porcia, though it did not repeal, yet in effect silenced all the penal laws of the XII Tables, and of the Decemvirs. L'Esp. des Loix, vi. c. 15.

P. 154. *The Augurs*] "*Servare de cælo Augurum atque omnium plane magistratuum fuit. Intercedere vero duntaxat ad tribunos plebis—pertinuit. Idem quod de intercessione ad populum, cum lex ferretur.*" J. Man. de Legg.

P. 170.

P. 170. l. 10. *read*, That no woman should inherit (besides her dowry) by will or heirship above xxy thousand denarii, or 100,000 sesterces. ὑπὲρ δύο ἡμισυ μυριάδας δαρίων κληρονομεῖν, as Dio says, l. lvi. Quæ [lex] *sanxit in posterum, qui post A. Postumium, Q. Fulvium Censores census essent, ne hæredem virginem neve mulierem faceret.* Cic. 1. in Verr. c. 42. That is, that no one who was entered on the Cenfor's roll [and which was as much as to say, that *no citizen in general*, for every citizen was at that time entered on the roll] should leave a woman his heir, or above 100,000 H. S. For the interpretation of this law we are indebted to Perizonius, Diff. II. p. 143. 166. 180. &c which, though written in a masterly manner, has been overlooked by several who have treated of this law since, and run into the former errors about it, viz. by Thomas Hearne, in the Appendix to his Livy; by the author of L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxxvii. c. 1.; and others.

By a law of the XII. the insolvent debtor became the slave of his creditor, and served in chains, if he was arrested; but without chains, if he voluntarily surrendered himself. Liv. l. vi.

Ibid. l. 14. *add*, Being so small a sum, it was often eluded by leaving to some friend a larger sum in trust for a wife or daughter.

U. C. 427, Pætilius obtained a law that the Roman citizens should not have their bodies given up to their creditors *. This law, however, seems to have gone into disuse, as the Manlian party complain in Sallust. [Bell. Cat. "Neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum lege uti, neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere."] Afterwards Julius Cæsar obtained another law, *That those that surrendered their goods should not be cast into prison*; meaning a public prison †. From whence we may conclude, that before, those that gave up all could only suffer the private imprisonment, that of being servants to their creditors. Both these laws extended only to Roman citizens. In Greece and Asia (except at Athens) the old law prevailed, of paying by bodily labour what they could not pay by the purse. After the privilege of citizenship was laid open to all by Antoninus, the Pætilian law was extended of *course* to all, viz. that debtors should not be the property of the creditors at their own house, and by particular *Rescripts* the privilege of the Julian law, viz. that, upon surrendering their goods, they should not be imprisoned at all. Infamy, the

* Liv. viii. Salm. de mod. uf. p. 808.

† Salm. p. 851. tit. *De cessione bonorum*. This was the first law concerning bankruptcy among the Romans, which might, if sooner made, have prevented many seditions. confe-

consequence of loss of goods, the punishment of the insolvent. This the Justinian Novel. cxxxv. lessened; ordaining, that if the debtor swore he had not wherewith to pay *, he should be deprived of his goods, but enjoy his liberty.

P. 171. *The Gabinian law* provided "That the Provincials should not pay their taxes *versura facta*, by borrowing money at Rome, and so contracting a new debt for them, and that a bond in such case should not stand good:" This was designed to keep the Provincials tight to their payments, and to preclude them from running in debt by borrowing at interest; by which means the city of Rome would receive back little more than the money its own citizens had lent.

P. 181. l. 22. Of the penalties incurred by the *lex marita*, the chief was, That unmarried persons, or that had not children, though married, should be incapable of receiving any legacy or inheritance by will, except in virtue of the will of strangers †; and such as were married, and yet had not brought into the world three children, should inherit above a fourth part of an estate, provided they were *ingenue*; and if they were only the daughters of freewomen, *libertinae*, they were to have been four times mothers, to enjoy the above share. See Quintil. viii. U. C. p. 5. tit. 16. et Leg. un. Cod. de infirm. pœnis cœlib. constat. And that no woman should inherit above half, to the prejudice of the nearer relations. Quintil. ix. 2. and Sozom. See Periz. de lege Vocon. p. 210. Hence Plutarch has a severe reflection on the covetous humour of the age: *That several of the Romans did not marry for the sake of raising heirs to their own fortunes; but that they themselves might, upon this account, be capable of inheriting the estates of other men.* This law was made for encouraging matrimony, and the treasury was enriched by a penalty on those that did not enter into that state. But men past 60, and women past 50, were exempted from the forfeiture. And afterwards, it being observed that many evaded the law by marrying after that age, Tiberius [Suet. in Claud. c. 23.] enacted, that a man past 60 years who married a woman capable of having children, or a woman past 50 who married a man capable of getting them, should pay the same forfeiture as single. This was repealed by Claudius in part, so far as relates to the man's marrying past 60 a woman under 50; and this was repealed again under Claudius by Senatusconsultum Calvitianum. But under Justi-

* Five shillings, as observed by L'Esprit des Loix, l. v. c. 15.

† See L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii. c. 7.

nian matrimony to all ages was indulged without any penalty. Periz. Diff. ii. p. 159. 162, 163.

P. 185. The legions were levied out of citizens only, and those not the most contemptible part, the members of the sixth class among the Centuries, but out of the five first. So that to be capable of being a soldier, was a desirable mark of honour among them, and has fixed the nominal distinction of *Gentlemen* to all of the profession ever since. Marius, in his war against Jugurtha, broke through the ancient rule, and admitted all without distinction: *Milites scribere non modo majorum neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat capite censos plerosque*. Sallust. de bello Jugurth. c. 86.

P. 190. The *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, were considered as distinct bodies; the *Velites* not so, but were intermixed equally with the other three. All together made up 30 *Manipuli* or Companies; every *Manipulus* consisting of two centuries or *Ordines*: so that there were 60 Centuries in a Legion. Hence we meet with *primus, secundus, &c. manipulus Hastatorum, Principum, Triariorum*; but never *primus, secundus, &c. manipulus Velitum*. V. Schel. c. xv.

P. 191. A Legion consisted of ten cohorts, as our Regiments consist of ten companies; to speak in a round number, 5000 men, 500 to a cohort; our regiments of about 500 men, 50 to a regiment. Liv. Annal. c. 36. and Polyb. l. iii. U. C. DXXXVII. say, that at the battle of Cannæ they increased the legion from 4000 foot and 200 horse, to 5000 foot and 300 horse. But in later times of Marius, Cæsar, and Augustus, it was sunk again to 4000 foot and 200 horse. Julius Cæsar against Pompey had 110 cohorts, amounting to XLV thousand men. Bell. Civ. III. c. 73. ed. Clarke, Plut. in Cæsar.

Hyginus, who has given an account of the Roman legion in his time and before, tells us it consisted of 5280 men; to which add one cohort of *Vexillarii*, being 500, and it amounted to 5780; the first cohort containing 96 men, the other nine 480 each; and 80 men to a century. Schel. p. m. 14, &c.

It is further to be observed, that from the time of C. Marius, who made a great innovation in the Roman army, the *Velites* were laid quite aside; and though the distinction of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, was nominally kept up, for the sake of honour, yet they bore all the same armour, and fought with the *Pilum**. The division likewise of the army into *Mani-*

* Festus, v. *Parmulis*.

puli was neglected, though the legion consisted of ten cohorts as before. Schel. ad Hyg. p. m. 15. et c. xv.

P. 191. l. 26. Legions kept up in the provinces: Besides two legions of marines upon the coast of Italy, three city cohorts and nine Prætorian cohorts, within the city, each cohort containing about a thousand men; the XII cohorts therefore about two legions more. Upon the whole, about xxx legions, which, at 5000 to a legion, amounted to 150,000 men: besides as many forces of the allies. So Tacitus describing the forces in Tiberius's reign; and the number was much the same in Sept. Severus's, xxx legions being mentioned in the column now standing in the area of the Capitol at Rome, erected in his time. Dio, under Severus Alexander, mentions xxviii. And one Favorinus under Hadrian * replies to his friends, who would have had him contest a grammatical nicety with the Emperor: *What! shall not I yield to a man who has THIRTY legions at his command?*

They were denominated *numerally*, I. II. III. &c. from the order in which they were raised, with respect to other legions then subsisting on the roll. If six legions, for instance, were already in being, and six more were raised, three by one Consul, and three by another, these latter were denominated VII. VIII. IX. &c. to XII. Thus Julius Cæsar, U. C. 704 or 705, raised some new legions, called for some time after *Legiones Tironum* [Bell. Civ. l. i. c. 25. Bell. Alex. c. 42.] the number of which did not at most exceed three; and yet one of them was called xxvii [Bell. Civ. iii. c. 2.] which could not be either in regard to his new levies, which did not then exceed three legions; or the number of all his legions, which were not above xv; but in regard to some other legions, which were then subsisting or had subsisted with other Generals, and the remains of them still kept on the roll.

In succeeding reigns from Galba, we meet with two or three legions denoted by some *numeral* name in the same period of time, but distinguished by some additional epithet, as *Legio VII. Claudiana*, and *Legio VII. Galbiana*; *Legio I. Adjutrix*, and *Legio I. Italica*, in Tacitus and in Inscriptions, &c. And, because after different legions received thus the same numerical title, the numerical names of the legions did not run so high as under Julius Cæsar and Augustus; under the former of whom we meet with the xxviith [Hist. Bell. Alex. c. ix.], and under the latter XL [Fabretti, Inscr. p. 619.]

* Spartian vit. Hadriani.

some have been led into a mistake, that therefore the forces kept up under the latter Emperors were not so many as in the former times. But if there were duplicates of legions bearing the same numerical titles, no wonder those titles did not run on so high. Still a difficulty remains, to account for Dio's meaning, who, lib. lv. mentions nineteen legions subsisting to his time out of Augustus's twenty-five; among which were, The III. Gallica, III. Cyrenaica, and III. Augusta;—The VI. Victrix and VI. Ferrea;—The XIII. Gemina and XIV. Gemina, &c. This is not to be understood as if so many thirds, or sixths, or thirteenths, were formed by Augustus; but that the remains of those legions were divided by succeeding Emperors, and by new troops incorporated into them kept up to his time; and though singly denominated at first, each division retained its original numeral character afterwards, as a mark of honour. It is certain in Tacitus's time those legions of Dio are never mentioned as duplicates. See Dr. Chapman's Letter, at the end; and Tunstall's Observations on the Epistles between Cicero and Brutus.

P. 193. We cannot have a tolerable notion of the *Centurions*, without remembering, that there were three different corps in a legion, viz. *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*; and that each of these corps was divided into ten *Maniples*, with two Centurions to each Manipule, so that there were sixty Centurions in the legion: the ten Centurions of the lowest rank were the officers of the *Hastati*, called *decimus Hastatus*, *nonus Hastatus*, *octavus Hastatus*, &c. up to *primus Hastatus*. So *decimus Princeps*, *nonus Princeps*: And *decimus pilus*, *nonus pilus*, to *primipilus* or *primopilus*, or *centurio primipili*, &c. but never styled *primus triariorum*. The Centuries are called likewise *ordines*: whence *quis ordines duxit*, Cic. Phil. i. who were the Centurions.

The *Triarii*, or *Pilani*, being esteemed the most honourable, had their *Centurions* elected first; next to them the *Principes*, and afterwards the *Hastati*; whence they were called *primipilus* & *secundus Pilus*, but never *primipilus Triarii*; *primus* & *secundus Princeps*, *primus* & *secundus Hastatus*; and so on. Or the same thing was expressed by *primipili centurio*, Cæf. Bell. Gall. iii. 5. or *primum pilum duxit*, as Cæf. de B. Gall. vi. 3. i. e. *primum ordinem pilanorum*: *primus pilus* denotes the order or rank; *primipilus*, the leader of it. See Cæf. B. C. iii. 53. *Octavum principem duxit*. Cic. ad Brut. Ep. 8. (ap. Mid. Ep. 7.) i. e. *octavum ordinem principum*, he commanded the VIIIth century of the *Principes*.

P. 193. l. 28. *add*, Bell. Cic. iii. 53. *Quem [Scævam] ut erat de se meritus ab octavis ordinibus ad Primipilum se transducere pronunciavit*, i. e. raised him from being Centurion of the Eighth rank of the Principes, for the Triarii it is thought were laid aside by Marius, Mid. Ep. ad Brut. vii. p. 49. to be first Centurion of the legion: where *ab octavis ordinibus* does not signify a common soldier of the viiith rank, but a centurion of it. Capt. Bladen therefore has ill translated it, *promoted him from the viiith rank*, p. 299. So Bell. Gall. vi. 8. *Labienus noctu tribunis militum primisque ordinibus coactis*. Labienus called a council by night of the Tribunes, and the first centurions of the three orders. So Bell. Gall. v. c. 28. *Ad consilium rem deferunt, L. Arunculeius compluresque tribum militum et primorum ordinum centuriones—nihil temere agendum existimabant*, i. e. A council is called—L. Arunculeius, several of the Tribunes, and the first centurions of the three orders, were of opinion that nothing ought to be done rashly. Lips. p. 74. 79. De Milit. Rom.

Ibid. l. 30. Thus again, Cæsar, Bell. Civ. III. 64. *Hoc casu aquila conservatur, omnibus primæ cohortis centurionibus interfectis, præter principem priorem—all being killed, except the first centurion, or captain, of the Principes.*

P. 200. In the time of Josephus, the foot had two swords, the longer of which hung on their left side, the shorter on the right, about a foot in length. Jos. l. iii. c. 4. Bell. Jud. The long one was called a Spanish sword, the form of it borrowed from the Spaniards, pointed somewhat, and two edged. Polyb. ubi supra. Notwithstanding this express testimony of Polybius, we discover in coins of his age the sword hanging on the left side; but in Trajan's and in Antonine's pillar, the swords are generally on the right side, except that the General and Tribunes have them on the left. Lipsius de Mil. Rom. lib. iii. Dial. 3.

P. 209. The signs of battle were, 1. Taking up the standard, *vexillum*, which was placed by the General when there was no engagement. 2. Sounding the charge with the trumpet, to call all stragglers to duty. 3. The giving out the *teffera*, or tally, that they might distinguish their friends in the heat of battle. Cæsar mentions all these, Bell. Gall. ii. 20.

The Eagle was different from *vexillum*, and only set before the General when he harangued the soldiers before the fight. D. Voss. in Cæs. loc.

P. 217. *in a march*] which was usually xx miles in a day, sometimes

xxiv, and performed in five hours. Veget. i. c. 10. Thus Cæf. B. Gell. v. "Eo die millia passuum xx progreditur."

P. 217. For many years the Roman citizens carried on their wars without pay. Their campaigns were short, and near home; and having fought for their country six months, they returned to their domestic affairs for the rest of the year. U. C. Varr. 347, the foot first received pay *, at the siege of Veii; the horse three years afterwards. Liv. v. 7. Flor. i. 14. The value of it, for the foot, was at first probably a thousand asses in the year, or two asses and the ninth of an as per day. The proof of this is uncertain. It is concluded so, only because three thousand asses are mentioned as the proper support of a horseman, his horse and servant, Liv. i. 43; and a foot soldier had alway a third of what the other had, Liv. v. Others, not without probability, collect that the pay was originally, or at least under the first Punic war, three asses. Silver was then coined, and the as, from xii ounces, was sunk to two. To make the army less sensible of the fall of brass, they paid three asses of two ounces instead of the two of a pound each; i. e. in the year, instead of 1000 asses, they paid 1100, or 110 denarii.

But when, U. C. 537, they were reduced to an ounce, and xvi were equal to a denarius, five asses were a soldier's pay; for, as Pliny says, on that alteration, *in militari stipendio denarius pro x assibus datus*, i. e. though the denarius was in common traffick made equal to xvi asses, yet in the payment of soldiers it was still to be considered as ten; so that for three days pay, a soldier would receive a denarius in silver, and v asses in brass. Accordingly Polybius, who lived under the second Punic war, tells us, vi. 37. that a foot soldier had two *oboli* a day, a centurion as much again, and a horseman three times as much. Now six *oboli* making a drachm at this time of xvi asses, three *oboli* were nearly equal to five asses. So that as they had at first three asses per day, they had afterwards of these diminished asses five †. This pay continued till Julius Cæsar doubled it. Hence Percennius complains in Tacitus Annal. i. 17. of the hardships of war, *denis in diem assibus animam & corpus æstimari*, that they ran the hazard of their life for ten asses per day. Domitian increased the pay a fourth more. *Addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos*, says

* Liv. iv. 59. v. 4.

† Suet. Cæf. xxvi. 9. "Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit."

Suetonius.

Suetonius *. And Zonaras †, that *the seventy-five drachms they used to receive* [at each time of payment] *be made up a hundred*. These two passages confirm to us the foregoing account of the daily pay, and shew us how it made even sums at the several times of payment in the year. Suetonius calls one general payment a *stipendium*; of which, before Domitian's time, there were three in a year, i. e. one every four months. Now ten asses per day, at xvi to a denarius, make, in a month of 30 days, xviii denarii and xii asses: in four months, just lxxv denarii, which are likewise just three aurei, the very sum which Zonaras says was the pay till Domitian; who, it seems, divided the year into four payments, lxxv denarii being paid by him every three months; so that now there were four payments in the year, *quartum stipendium*, seventy-five denarii each; or xii aurei in the year, as before there were only nine ‡.

P. 218. *a new stipend, &c.*] This Author would follow Lipsius in Electis, l. i. c. 2. who makes rightly 10 asses per day under Augustus: $10 \times 30 = 300$ asses per month, is so far right. But Lipsius ran away with a notion of a denarius being worth xii asses. Divide 300 by 12, it produces 25 denarii per month.

P. 223. The governors of provinces used to exact from the people over whom they presided a contribution to support the dignity of their triumph when they returned to Rome, which was called *aurum coronarium*. All were glad to receive the money, though they had no title to a triumph. To prevent this imposition, Julius Cæsar in his first Consulship obtained a law, entitled *Lex Julia de repetundis*, that no one claim this tribute till after the Senate had decreed him a triumph. To evade this law, L. Piso, it seems, exacted the tribute under another name, as Cicero taxes him; in L. Piso, c. 37.

P. 227. Varro is express, as cited by Festus, that those were called *Opima Spolia*, which were taken from the General of the enemy, though by a common soldier: *opima spolia etiam esse, si manipularis miles detraxerit, dum modo duci hostium*. And the same author cites the law of Numa to that purpose, which specifies three different degrees of *opima spolia*, appointing the first to be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius; the second to Mars; the third to Janus Quirinus; and proportionable rewards of different value to be given to the several victors. Virgil therefore, and

* In Dom. vii. 9.

† Zon. ii. p. 196.

‡ Gron. de Pec. Vet. p. 121.
others,

others, in the passage here cited from *Æneid* vi. fall into a great mistake, in imagining that the different spoils, taken at different times by Romulus, Cossus, and Marcellus, were dedicated, in pursuance of that law, to Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; whereas both Cossus and Marcellus, as well as Romulus, dedicated theirs to Jupiter.

And Cossus, probably, is an instance of one who was not in the place of a General at that time, and yet had the honour of taking *opima spolia*: for Livy tells us, all historians before him had said Cossus was no more than *Tribunus Militum* when he took them. And he presumed to contradict the current of history, only upon Augustus's saying, that in repairing an old statue dedicated to his honour, whereon this fact was recorded, he was styled *Cos.* which he might well be upon a statue erected after he was arrived at that dignity, when they would be sure to mention his most honourable title, though he had not borne that office when they took the spoils. See Periz. Anim. Hist. c. vii.

P. 239. The sails among the ancients seem to have been so fixed to the yards, that they let down the sails to gather in the wind, and drew them them up when they shortened sail. *Vela cadunt* Virgil expresses to be under full sail. So *deducunt Vela* in Lucan; and Ovid, *Effugit bibernas demissa antenna procellas*. *Vela subducere* is much the same with *antennas demittere* in Hirtius, Bell. Afric. 45. not to *hoist sail*, but to *shorten sail*, and let down the yards. Seneca, *Quoties ventus increbuit majorque est quam expedit, ANTENNA DEMITTITUR*. Which Petronius calls *Vela tempestati subducere*. Vid. Pric. ad Act. xxvii. 17.

P. 259. By the coins of Nero and Commodus, it appears the Equites struck medals in honour of the *Princeps Juventutis*. The title is mentioned before the time of the Emperors. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. iii. ep. 11. *Brutum principem jampridem juventutis, celeriter, ut spero, civitatis*. He that was first on the roll of the Equites was *Princeps Juventutis*. Reines. Ep. xxxi. p. 176.

P. 298. *Ludi Capitolini* were called *Prætors shews*—*Ludis ejus* [i. e. prætoris] *præfedit*; Plin. Ep. viii. 11. and continued under the Emperors to be celebrated from *Nonis Julii* to iv Idus. See Cic. Ep. ad Att. xvi. 1. coll. cum Ep. 4. et Philip. i. Dion. L. xlviii. ad an. U. C. 714. Vet. Kal. ap. Lambeçium, Masson, Vit. Plin. Jun. 846.

Ludi

Ludi Veneri generatrici were feasts in honour of a temple erected to *Venus* by Julius Cæsar, which were designed to have been celebrated while he was alive. But having been omitted, Augustus instituted them on his own birth-day, Sept. 23, and continued them seven days. At this celebration, not long after the death of Julius Cæsar, a comet was seen, A. D. 44. A. U. 710, as mentioned by Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 25. and Suet. vit. Julii, c. 88, which has since been discovered to revert in a period of 575 years, and was seen in the year 1680. See Halley, in Gent. Mag. for Jan. 1756.

P. 301. Zozimus makes the first institution of the *Ludi Sæculares*, U. C. 352. Hist. l. ii. p. 71. ed. Ox.

P. 308. *Toga puerilis*, or *Prætecta*; *Toga virilis*, or *pura*, or *libera*.

P. 310. The *Bulla aurea*, in Macrobius's time, who lived under Honorius, was probably out of use, and he took his account from what the Christians substituted in the shape of a heart instead of it. See Aringhus Rom. Subterr. Vol. II. l. 6. 694. Ficoroni della Bolla d'oro, p. 14. But the ancient *Bulla aurea* was round, as is observed against Macrobius by Spon [Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299.] and Causeus [Mus. Rom. p. 103.]

It is further observed, that the *Bulla* was worn by the sons of Roman Knights from the very beginning, as appears from Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. 1. and in after-times by any of the *Ingenui* that would go to the expence of it. "P. Junii, hominis de plebe Romana filius.—Neque te tam commovebat, quod ille cum toga prætexta quam quod sine Bulla venerat.—Quod ornamentum pater dederat, indicium atque insigne fortunæ, hoc a prædone isto ereptum esse graviter et acerbe homines ferebant." Cic. in Verr. l. i. 58. Vid. Germana Antiq. Monum. a Con. Midd. Tab. III. p. 37.

And as to the *Bulla aurea* being worn by Generals in Triumphs, it is said not only without authority, but against it. Macrobius is only accounting for the rise of it, and among other causes assigns it to Tarquinius Priscus adorning his son with it at his triumph for having killed an enemy at sixteen, which reason he himself rejects, and he is the only one that mentions the story. Plutarch, on the other hand [Vit. Rom. p. 33.] tells us, that from Romulus down to his time it was customary in triumphs to lead an old man to the capitol dressed in the habit of a boy with the *Prætecta* and *Bulla* by way of ridicule, to which Juvenal alludes, Sat. xiii. 33.—*Dic Senior Bulla dignissime*: and among the triumphal ornaments sent to *Massi-*

H h h

nissæ,

nissa, which are enumerated by Livy xxx. 15. no mention is made of the Bulla; but only, Corona aurea, patera, fella curulis, Scipio eburneus, Toga picta, and Tunica palmata. Lastly, no figure has been yet seen on any of the triumphal arches of a General with the Bulla on, though many statues of boys with this ornament.

From the roundness and the protuberancy of the Bulla, the ornaments of belts, the heads of nails, and lastly, seals were called by this name, whence the Pope's Bull, Golden Bull, &c. retain the name to this day.

P. 311. Authors are divided about the time when they changed the puerile for the manly gown. It seems under the old Republic not to have been done till the end of the xviiith year; but from Cicero's time it was admitted at xvi. Ovid took it up when he entered on his xviiith year, as did Marius Cicero, the son of the Orator. Others under Augustus assumed it in their xvth year, as Augustus himself, and his grandsons Caius and Lucius. See Lips. in Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 41. Masson, Vit. Ovid. p. 29. 32. Dio, l. lxxi. in the speech of Mæcenus. Dodwell, Præl. v. ad Spartiani Hadrian.

At the same time they put on the *Toga Virilis*, they took the *Latus clavus*. Suet. Aug. c. 94. Vesp. c. 2. Ovid. Trist. iv. 10. Mr. Dodwell is mistaken in supposing that liberty was indulged to the sons of Senators. See Masson, vit. Plin. Jun. p. 18.

P. 317. l. 11. *read*, And by particular favour the Emperors seem to have allowed occasionally the same privilege [of wearing the *Laticlave*] to some splendid families of the Knights.

Ibid. Whether the *Tunica recta* was the same with *Laticlavia* is uncertain. It is at least pretty clear, that it was put on at the same time with the *Laticlavia*, the latter perhaps over the former. See Masson, Vit. Ovid. p. 40.

P. 318. *our purple*] *nostra dixit de tunica Senatoria*, i. e. Latoclavo. S. Manut. in loc. This Senatorian purple of ours being changed for a Plebeian and dark sort. And so Grævius.

P. 366. Till the second Punic war the *Romans* sat at table. Scipio Africanus brought in the custom of the men lying down. The women still sat, till about A. D. 320. Under the Emperors, they complied with the fashion of lying down likewise. Mem. Lit. vol. II. p. 429.

Ibid. *Philippi*,] "Sed cum secundis Saturnalibus ad PHILIPPUM vesperi
1 "venisset

“venisset villa ita completa militibus, ut vix Triclinium, ubi cœnaturus
“ipse Cæsar esset, vacaret, quippe hominum cccc.”

P. 369. It is remarkable, that every one brought his napkin. Whence Martial l. xii. Epig. 29.

P. 373. From this time the Romans coined pieces of an ounce, called from the original weight, Dupondium; sesquassēs, or three quarters of an ounce; asses, or half ounce; semisses, or quarter ounce; trientes, or third part of an as; quadrantes, or fourth part of an as. Hence *femis et triens* to express dextans, in Cicero pro Publ. Sextio, 25. because they had no one piece called Sextans. See Gronov. de pec. vet. c. iv.

P. 375. Troy pound heavier than the Roman pound in the proportion of 560 grains to 1256. Gent. Mag. for Feb. 1773, p. 61. Univ. Hist. xv. p. 28.

Ibid. The Roman pound may be considered as bearing a near proportion to our English nummularly pound in weight; which, at a round sum, we may compute at 5s. the ounce, or 60s. to the pound, something short of the Roman. But by adding 4s. for every Roman pound, the English pound will be made exactly equal to it. Thus five Roman pounds would be xv nominal English pounds; and by adding four times 5s. or 20s. it amounts to xvi pounds, which is the truth, according to the very accurate and useful Tables inserted by Mr. Clarke in his book on Roman and Saxon Coins.

The reason why Sestertium stands for a thousand sestertii is supposed by Budæus and Gronovius to be, because *pondus* is understood; so that it is in reality an adjective agreeing with it. As the sesterce (the fourth part of the denarius) denoted first two pounds and an half of brass; so sestertium pondus [argenti] expressed two pounds and an half of silver, 250 denarii, or 1000 sestertii, and may be considered in gross equal to about two pounds weight and an half of our silver, which amounts to 6l. 10s. there being 62s. of our money to a pound weight Troy*.

According to Fannius, a mina was a hundred drachms; and a Roman pound was 96 such drachms. Divide the number of *grains* in a Roman pound by 96, which was the number of *drachms* in a Roman pound, the

* This subject has been already very amply discussed in a Dissertation printed in this volume, p. 262.

quotient is 54 grains to each drachm. But 100 drachmæ went to the mina : multiply therefore 54 grains by 100, you have the number of grains in the mina, viz. 5400, just the same with the Tower pound.

To make the Attick drachm current in exchange with the other Græcian drachms, add two Attick oboli (i. e. two sixths or a third part of a drachm) it comes only to two grains over, if it was silver. For a sixth part of 42 grains is 7 grains for the Obolus ; two of which are 14 grains. And 14 grains added to 42 = 56 grains, in exchange for 54.

P R E F A C E T O K U S T E R,

DE VERO USU VERBORUM MEDIORUM, &c. 1773*.

GUL. BOWYER Lectori S.

AN KUSTERUS reflexivam Verborum Mediorum significationem primus deprehenderit, ignoro: eam certe pluribus, quam quisquam alius, argumentis in isto libello stabilivit. Alii in verbis quibusdam eam notarunt; an vero cæteris fit communis altum agunt silentium. Eustathius ad Ιλ. ν. 168. διαφορὰν δὲ ΟΙΣΩΝ καὶ ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ φασὶν οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ΟΙΣΩΝ ἀπ' ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλον κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς χρησίμης· τὸ δὲ ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ἐνὶ προσώπῳ ἐμπεριγράφει αὐτήν· οἷον, ἀπεισὶ τις δόρυ ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ἐαυτῷ ΟΙΣΩΝ δὲ, ἐτέρῳ τινί, i. e. Inter οἷσων et οἰσόμενον differentiam esse tradunt Veteres; nempe οἷσων ab alio in alium transfert effectum commodi alicujus: οἰσόμενον vero intra unam personam eum cohibet: ut, Abit aliquis bastam relaturus sibi, οἰσόμενος. Alteri vero, οἷσων.

Alii istum sensum *Passivæ* voci, pari vel etiam potiori jure, vendicant. Duportus in Theoph. Char. p. 194. et 335. “Δανίζεω, mutuo Dare; δανίζεσθαι, mutuo Accipere: ita enim differunt vox *Activa* et *Passiva* in hujusmodi verbis commercii: in voce *PASSIVA* vel etiam *Media* transitus fit non in Rem, sed Personam. ita χρῆσθαι est, utendum Dare; χρήσασθαι utendum Accipere. † Φέρειν Ferre, Afferre; φέρεσθαι, Referre, Reportare (sibi addere

* See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 211.

† Sophocl. in Antigone ver. 474. (al. 469.)

Ὅτις γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖσιν ὡς ἐγὼ κακοῖς

Ζῆ, πῶς ὁδ' ἐχὶ καλῶν κέρδος φέρει;

Nam qui in magnis, ut ego, malis

Vivit, quomodo non huic mors pro lucro est?

i. e. quomodo non moriendo lucrum Accipit?

debuisset.)

debuisset.) sic αἶψαν, αἶψαῖσθαι νομίζαν, νομίζεσθαι. sic μισθῶσαι, Locare; μισθῶσασθαι, Conducere. ita differunt ἐγλυῖν, ἐγλυῖσθαι γῆσαι et γῆσαισθαι, et similia. sic τίθεναι et τίθεσθαι, δέναι et δέσθαι ὑποθήναι et ὑποθήεσθαι, sic δέναι ὑποθήκην five ἐνέχυρον dicitur Debitor, qui rem suam oppignerat; at δέσθαι dicitur Creditor cui res opofita est, et oppigneratur. Pollux, ὑποθήκην δείς, ὁ δανειζόμενος. ὑποθήκην δέμενος, ὁ δανείζων χρέε." Pag. 194. "ἐρανίζαν, *stipem Conferre, pecuniam collatitiam Dare*; ἐρανίζεσθαι, *stipem Petere, Colligere, vel Accipere* *. P. 335. παρίσταν, *Agere*; παρίσσεσθαι, *Exigere*; ex παῖτο Repetere, *Pacisci, Stipulari*. P. 353. αἰτέν, *Rogare stipem, aut eleemosynam*; αἰτέεσθαι, *Rogare Mutuum, aut Commodato*."

Quendam etiam in Actis Eruditis LIPSIENS. Feb. 1712, citat CLARKIUS ad Il. α. 20. qui ex discrimine inter λῶν et λῶμαι veram lectionem loco reddiderit; unde autem ortum id discriminis, quibus fundamentis nixum se primum ostendisse gloriatur KUSTERUS †; et quantulascunque partes sustinet, mirum est CLARKIUM ei tribuisse nullas, praesertim cum haec observatio de primigeniae Vocis Mediae usu inter notas ad Homerum utramque faciat paginam: quod ut clarius liqueat, neve desit primaevis Scriptoris auctoritas ad adstruendum primaevis Vocis Mediae usum, loca à CLARKIO notata ad calcem hujus Dissertationis adjeci; alia quamplurima ex ipso Homero lectoris diligentia facile suppeditabit. Il. ε. 316. Τὴν δ' ἐλελιξάμενος παρρηγὸς λαβὼν ἀμφιπαχύναν, *Hanc autem implicans ala prebendit valde clamitantem*, quid, an constructio est, *implicans hanc*? perit vis media participii, an *implicans sese*? quis hoc subintellegerit? Verte, *Hanc autem subito Se contorquens prebendit*, &c. ut monet vir Ἑλληνιστάτης R. DAWES, Misc. Crit. p. 177, 8.

Φράζω, dico; Φράζομαι, Med. dico *Mecum, Delibero, Consulto*, hinc. Il. α. 554. Ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκλεῖ τὰ Φράζεσθαι, αἶσ' ἐβέλγησθαι, *Sed valde quietus ea consultas quaecunque vis*: sic Il. ι. 676, et passim. Quare vero non itidem Il. ξ. 483. Φράσσεθ' ὡς ὑμῖν Πρόμαχος δεδμήμενος εὔδει ἔλχει ἐμῶ, *Videte, ut &c.* proprius ad nativum vocis usum, *Reputate vobiscum*, ut Il. ε. 163, &c.

Ex male intellecta differentia inter ἔπω et ἔπομαι (quam vide apud KUST. § i. 13) male BARNESIUS Homerum corrigit Il. δ. 202. οἱ οἱ ἔποιο Τρίκλῃς,

* De qua voce vide etiam Salmasium de Usuris, p. 679. in omiffis. Obf. ad jus Atticum p. 13. 58. Lexica mirè hic turbant omnia.

† Quare λίσσασθαι in Medio, Captivum redimere, *nondum* ab ullo Grammaticorum video esse expositum. KUST. de Verbis Mediis, § 2. 11. cujus libri editio prima prodit 1714, altera 1717; CLARKIUS vero edidit primam partem Homeri 1729.

pro quo ille οἱ οἱ ἔπον Τρίκκης, quasi ἔπω significaret *Sequor* etiam in Activa voce. Vid. CLARKIUM in loc. et ad λ'. 482. ex R. BENTLEIO.

Ιλ. ν'. 745. Δείδω μὴ τὸ χθιδὸν ἀποσῆσθαι Ἀχαιοὶ Χρῆος—*Timeo ne hesternum rependant Achivi debitum*: ut vjs Media fervetur, debuisset verti, *Cum usura appensum* RECIPIANT: nam ἀποσῆσαι Act. *Rependere*; ἀποσῆσθαι Med. *Recipere appensum*, ut notat KUSTERUS § ii. 13. et Salmaf. de Usuris, p. 580.

Lexica hīc omnia confusè docent; ἀναιρέω, *tollo*; ἀναιρέεσθαι, *expungere syngrapham*; unde vero, nisi quod syngrapham ab eo, apud quem deposita esset, cum diluenda fit, *Recipimus*. Salm. de Modo Usurar. p. 470.

Verbo ὑποτίθημι, ὑποτίθεμαι, *Supponor*; mox ὑποτίθεμαι, *Pignero*: recte, modo voces recte distinguantur. Passive fane *Supponor*, *pignori obligor*; at in Med. *pignori Accipio*, ut Δέσθαι, &c.

Καρπίζω et καρπίζομαι utrumque redditur, *fructum Decerpo*: at καρπίζω est *Irrigare*, καρπίζεσθαι Med. *Percipere fructum*. Mox sub eodem verbo inquirunt Lexica, καρπίζομαι, *in libertatem adseror*. quod est diversæ plane familiæ, pro καρπίζομαι à κάρφος, *virgula*. Salm. de Modo Usur. p. 880, 881.

Χρῶνται et ἐπεχρῶνται, idem quod χρεώω, *mutuum Dare*; Passive, *mutuum Dari*; Med. *mutuum Accipere*: de quo ne verbum quidem Lexica, sed vide apud eundem Salm. de modo Usurar. c. viii. p. 306. autore Theophr. Character. c. x. et lege Rhodia.

Ἐνεχυράζω, interpretantur Lexica, *Pignorer*, debuit verti, *pignori Do*, quod facit Debitor; ἐνεχυράζομαι, *Pignorer*, *pignus Accipio*, quod facit Creditor, Exod. xxii. 26. Ἐνεχυράζω fane *Pignorer*, five *pignus Accipio*, Job, xxiv. 3. 9. at ἐνεχυράζομαι, *pignoribus captis Coerceor*, ut apud Aristoph. in Neb. ver. 240. Ἄλονται, φέρονται, τὰ χρήματ' ἐνεχυράζομαι, *Bona mea pignoribus capta diripiuntur*, ad verbum, *Diripior* quoad bona mea pignoribus capta [vertit SANXAY in Arist. Lex. Angl. *I have my goods seiz'd for non-payment*]. Male in Transitive sensu accipitur, dum redditur, *bona mea Oppignero*. Salmaf. de Mod. Usur. c. xiii. p. 549. et de Fœn. Trapezitico, p. 712.

Ἀποδίδωμι, Act. *Solvo*, *Reddo*; at in Med. *Tribuo in meum commodum*, *Vendo*. Aristoph. Vesp. 169. ἀποδοῦναι βέλομαι τὸν ὄνον, *Vendere velim asinum*. (To sell, SANXAY in Lex.) at idem Ran. 1266. ἀπόδος [λήκυθον] πᾶσι τέχνῃ, *Vende leccythum omni modo*; ubi legendum contendit ἀπόδω vir doctus, Miscell. Critic. p. 243. Media significatione id postulante.

Ὅτι δὲ

"Ὁφελὸν καὶ ἀποκόψοντο, Gal. v. 12. diu torfit interpretes. Ludit apostolus σαρκασμῶς in verbo quod tantas incitarat turbas inter eos qui fidem Christianam amplecterentur. "Quandoquidem, inquit, in pellicula abscissa ita gloriantur, *utinam illis abscindatur* insuper totum feminine membrum, quo magis triumphant," interprete Grotio, post Chrysostomum et Hieronymum. At, longe verecundius, nec minus false, si ἀποκόψοντο sensu reflexivo accipiat. "Vellem eos qui circumcisionis necessitatem tuentur *se ipsos abscissuras* a vestrum consortio," ut monet JORTINUS, Vit. Erasmi, vol. ii. p. 217.

Fatendum est verba quædam Activa nonnunquam pro Mediis esse usurpata, cum *Sibi* vel *Pro se* aliquid sit: quanquam rarius Media pro Activis, h. e. cum sit pro Altero, ut monet KUSTERUS § i. 32. 52. 53. hinc ὑπερμερίαν πράξαι, pro πράξασθαι, *moræ pretium exigere*, apud Theoph. Char. c. x. Sic etiam Div. Lucas iii. 13. xix. 23. Isocrat. ad Nicocl. p. 61. ed. Battie, 1749. ἐλπὶς τῆς τοιούτης πράξεϊν τι παρὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, *sperandum est tales à diis aliquid boni accepturos*. Nescio igitur an vere vir doctissimus, Misc. Crit. p. 205. neget ἀνῶ, in voce Activa, usurpari pro *Consequor*. Hesiod. certè in Oper. p. 395. καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσης, *et nihil obtineas*, ut reddi potius debet, et Lucian. (inferioris ævi, fateor) in Asin. ἐκείνος ἔδεν φράσας εἴτε καὶ ἀνύσει τι ἐξ ἐμῆ, *nihil curans sive etiam Obtineret aliquid ex me, sive, &c.* In Novo Testamento, ut id obiter notem, Activa vox in utroque significato, Luc. xviii. 12. ἀποδεκτέω πάσα ὅσα κτῶμαι, *decimas Do omnium quæ possideo*; et pariter Matth. xxiii. 33. et Heb. vii. 5. ἐποίησεν ἔχων οἱ ἐν τῶν υἱῶν Λευὶ ἀποδεκτέω τὸν λαόν, *decimas Exigere à populo*. Ἐπιβάλλειν negat Salmasius de sænere Trapezitico usquam Græcè dici pro *Incipere*, sed ἐπιβάλλεσθαι. sic tamen Diod. Sicul. 452. B. ed. Rhodoman. ἐπιβάλλον οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ ἀποφέρειν τῷ Διονυσίῳ τὰ ποιήματα: COEPERUNT *Rhapsodi Dionysi poemata proferre*. qui sensus non male quadrat ad MARC. xiv. 72. καὶ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκλαμψε. Certe sensus, quem versio nostras sequitur, jamdudum desideravit exemplum If. Casaubonus, nam, ut ait ille, ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν ἔν, vel διάνοιαν, alia longe res est. Vid. C. Frid. Munthe, Obs. Phil. in N. T. libros, p. 124.

Quamquam vero tot viri docti, etiam aliud agentes, KUSTERO adstipulantur, longè tamen in diversa abijt *Johannes Clericus**. Dum leviter percurro exempla ab illo adducta, nonnulla à vero sensu in alienas partes torta

* Remarques sur la Dissertation de Monf. Kuster sur les Verbes Moyens, dans la Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne, Tom. V. Par. II. p. 237. quam dissertationem Latinè etiam edidit Christ. Wölle, Lipsiæ, 1733.

video; nonnulla ejusmodi esse, ut, licet KUSTERUM levis forsan erroris arguant, minime tamen fundamentum ejus de vocis Mediæ usu labefactent.

Ad § i. 28. objicit, licet ἄγεῖν γυναῖκα non dicatur, tamen λαμβάνειν γυναῖκα occurrere apud Menandrum, p. 232. pro λαμβάνεσθαι. Ad i. 30. προσπορίζομεν, NOBIS suppeditamus, Menand. p. 245. pro προσπορίζομεθα. Ad i. 32, 33. si πόλεμον ποιεῖν, nusquam occurrat, pro ποιεῖσθαι, at ναυμαχίαν ποιεῖν apud Thucydidem, l. ii. 89. p. 137. ubi tamen legitur, καὶ οἰοῦνται ΣΦΙΣΙ καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ τὸ αὐτό. Ad i. 49. ἢ τὰ ψηφίσματα ἂν παράσχῃς, si decreta adhibueris ad defensionem causæ tuæ, Æschines de falsa legat. p. 404. Ad i. 14. φυλάσσω, caveo, pro φυλάττομαι, apud Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulide, ver. 144. 538. Esto, hæc Activa (quod KUSTERUM forsan latuit) pronomine reciproco ἐαυτῷ, ἐμοί, &c. subintellecto, reciproco sensu sumantur: at non vi sua, non adeo peculiari modo ut in alium nunquam transferant effectum, quod verbis Mediis esse proprium contenditur.

Ad i. 29. postquam frustra Thucydidem citasset l. ii. 87. Platonem adlegat: ἀλλὰ γαλήνην τῶν παραινεύσασα ψυχῇ. "SIBI IPSI, inquit J. Clericus, "philosophi animus eam procurat ἐπιθυμίαν." At verba Platonis sonant, "Imo vero horum (dolorum voluptatumque) tranquillitati studens animus." Ubinam, quæso, vis Reflexiva participii?

Ad i. 25. fidenter asserit Thucyd. ii. c. 2. Θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα verti debuissent, *Armis positis*, non *Armis induti*, ut KUSTERUS. Judicet Lector, in consilium adhibito doctissimo HUDSONO, qui hæc in notis habet: "Male vertitur, "Armis in foro positis, cum hostilem urbem invaserunt. Potius, *Cum Armati in foro constitissent*. sic Thucyd. viii. p. 520. καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐκκλησίουςαν, *armis instructi concionem habuerunt*. τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα nonnulli sumi posse putant pro *Arma ἀποτίθεσθαι*. Mihi nondum occurrit locus, in quo ita proprie sumi credam, nisi, qui armati consistant nec tamen re ipsa pugnant, proprie arma dicuntur abjicere." Quid ad hæc Clericus? ne unum quidem verbum, licet has paginas citet, ad hanc ipsam editionem provocet. Eundem sensum vindicat Dionysio Halicarnassensi EDWARDUS SPELMANNUS in eleganti sua versione Antiqq. l. iii. c. 18. Nuperus vero vir doctissimus W. SMITH, Decanus Cestriensis, in Versione Anglicâ Xenophontis de rebus Græcis, l. ii. sub anno ante Christum 403, p. 70, contendit ὅπλα θέσθαι notare *to ground their arms*. Quidni tandem sit *arma in usum suum reponere*, ut Kusterus interpretatur § i. 50. & quod dici queat, *to rest their arms*: quin et ipse Homerus, iis verbis quibus Agamemnon Græcos fugam ornantes ad arma capeffenda hortatur, quibus et ipsa Adolescentulos ad hæc studia excolenda excitem:

Εὖ μὲν τις δόρυ θεξάσθω, εὖ δ' αἰσπίδα θέσθω,

Bene quisque hastam suam acuat, bene scutum sibi aptet.

I i i

ΙΛ. Ε'. 332.

I N D E X

INDEX VERBORUM HOMERICORUM,

In quibus CLARKIUS primigeniam vocis Mediæ Significationem indicavit.

- Ἀγείρω, συναγεράμενοι, congregantes Seipsos. Ιλ. ω. 802.
 Αἶρω, ἤραμαι κύδῳ, reporto Mihi gloriam. Ιλ. χ. 393.
 Ἀλείφω, ungo Alterum; ἀλείψασα, unxit Se. Ιλ. ξ. 14.
 Δέω, ἐδήσατο, ligavit Sibi ipse. Ιλ. ω. 340.
 Διακονέμενῳ idem quod διάκονῳ minister; διακονῶν, qui jam tum ministrat.
 Ιλ. γ. 141.
 Εἶδω, ἐσάμενῳ, cum Se affimilasset. Ιλ. ε. 22. γ. 389. ν. 45. 216. γ. 141.
 π. 716. ρ. 73. 555. φ. 213.
 Ἐλίσσω, ἐλίζάμενῳ, Se subito impetu convertens. Ιλ. ρ. 283.
 Ἔω, ἐσάμενοι, χροὶ χαλκόν, cum Nosmet ipsi armaverimus, Ιλ. τ. 233.
 Ζῶω, ζωσαμένω, cum Se ipsi accinxissent. Ιλ. ψ. 685. 710.
 Θωραίω, θωρήξομαι, Me ipse armabo. Ιλ. τ. 23.
 Καλύπτω, καλυψάμενῳ, cum Se ipsam cooperuisset. Ιλ. γ. 141. ξ. 184.
 Οδ. ε. 491. ε. 199.
 Κεῖμενα, Se ipsa moventia. Ιλ. ν. 798.
 Κόπτομαι, cædam Me ipse, i. e. Plangam. Ιλ. ν. 141. χ. 33.
 Κορέω, κορυσάμενῳ, quum Se ipse faturaverit. Ιλ. τ. 167. χ. 427.
 Λαθάν, Alterum latere; λαθίσθαι, latere Seipsum, i. e. Oblivisci. Ιλ. ι. 533.
 Λέω. Ιλ. φ. 563. ψ. 41.
 Λίω, solvo, Reddo captivos Accepto pretio, Ιλ. α. 20. 29. ω. 137. 555.
 561. λίσσμαι, Redimo captivos Dato pretio. Ιλ. α. 13. 372. ω. 118. 237.
 Νίπτω, νίψι, lavit poculum: νίψατο δ' αὐτὸς χεῖρας, lavit manus Suas. Ιλ. π.
 229. 230. ω. 305.
 Οἶω, fero Alteri; οἶμαι, affero Sibi. Ιλ. ν. 168.
 Ὀπάζω, ὀπάσασα Νέστορος υἱας, Nestoris filios Sibi ipse comites ascivit. Οδ. τ.
 238.
 Πειράω, περράμενῳ σθένεῳ, Suorum Sibi virium periculum faciens. Οδ. ο.
 359.

Πλέω,

- Πλέω, ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν μένος, Sibi ipse implevit animum ira. Ιλ. χ'. 312.
 Πλήσσω, πεπλήγητο μηρῷ, Sua Sibi percussit femora. ὁ. 113. 397. π'. 125.
 Σείω, σείσατο, commovit Se. Ιλ. θ'. 199. σευάμενος, ruens. Ιλ. χ'. 22.
 Στηρίζω, εἰδὲ ποδέσσιν ἔχχε στηρίζασθαι, nec potuit pedibus Se ipse stabilire.
 φ'. 241.
 Τέρπω, τετραπώμεθα, Nos ipsi satiaverimus. ψ', 10. 98. ὦ. 639.
 Τρέπω. μετατρέπομαι, converto Me, convertor retro. Ιλ. α'. 199. γ'. 141. 422.
 Διὸς ἐτραπέτο φρήν, Jupiter animum Suum mutavit. κ'. 45.
 Ἐτραπέτ' ἔγχος, averfa est hasta, seu, avertit Se, i. e. aberravit. λ'.
 233. ν'. 605.
 Φθείρω, διέφθορας, Te ipse perdidisti. ὁ. 128.
 Φημί, φαίσθαι ἴσον ἐμοί, æqualem Se mihi dicere. ὁ. 167.

Several of Mr. BOWYER's Notes are interspersed throughout the last edition of KUSTER, 1773. One of these, being a correction of our English Homer, is here selected as a specimen :

P. 10. Κεῖρην, vel κείραι, tondere alterum : quod tonfores facere solent. At κείρεσθαι, vel in Aor. 1. κείρασθαι, *tondere se* : & κείρασθαι κόμην, *tondere sibi comam*.] Hoc monitu Kusteri si profecisset poëta nostras, parcius ei obscuram diligentiam objecisset. Lapsus est certe vir summus ad Homeri Il. Ψ. ver. 45.

Πρὶν γ' ἐνὶ Πάτροκλον θέμεναι πυρὶ, σῆμά τε χεῦσαι
 Κείρασθαί τε κόμην.

Till on the pyre I place thee ; till I rear
 The grassy mound, and clip thy sacred hair.

Imo vero Κείρασθαί τε κόμην, *totonderoque comam* MEAM. Sic enim vox media, sic ritus lugendi mortuos postulat, ut mox patet, et ut ipse Popius notat, ver. 135.

Θριξὶ δὲ πάντῃσι νέκυν καλαίνουσι, αἶς ἐπέβαλλον
 Κειρόμενοι.

O'er all the corse THEIR scatter'd locks they throw.

Et ver. 140.

Στάς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην.
 But great Achilles stands apart in prayer,
 And from his head divides the yellow hair.

Vid. & Potteri Archæol. Gr. iv. 5.

PREFACE TO LEEDS.

DE ANCIPITUM GRÆCARUM VOCALIUM IN PRIORIBUS
SYLLABIS MENSURA, &c. 1773.

GUL. BOWYER Lectori S.

GRÆCIA primitus quinque tantum habuit vocales, donec Simonidi placuit E & O utramque in duas formas dispescere. Cumque E nominaretur EI, et O, OY, videntur triplici potestate fuisse indutæ; E scil. sonabat ē brevem, ē longam, & diphthongum ei *: O pariter ō brevem, ō longam, & diphthongum o. Nolens instaurator ille ut tam variis commodis inservirent eadem elementa, binos vicarios introduxit; H pro E longa; et Ω pro O longa. Adeo ut quantitatem harum vocalium ipsa forma commonstraret; cæterarum trium, usus quotidianus edoceret. A longum ab A brevi sono distinxisse veteres vel inde patet, quod voces ab iis deductæ etiamnum superstites diversis sonis pro quantitate syllabarum efferruntur: Πατήρ & Μάτηρ (nam sic ab Æoliis scripta fuit) nunc pariter fere

* Victorinus De Orthographia, p. 96. E et O ternas habebant apud eos potestates. Contra istius loci auctoritatem disputat vir longe acutissimus Richardus Dawes, Miscell. Crit. p. 128. &c. Concedit quidem O & nomen & sonum habuisse diphthongi OY, atque etiam vocali E nomen aliquando fuisse EI, p. 134. negat vero utrique eam fuisse potestatem. At Literis ab ipsa potestate nomina sua imposita crederem. Quid vero Plutarchus, in libello De EI inscripto foribus templi Delphis? Nonne EI nunc ut syllabam ad examen revocat, cujus vis sit SI, aut ES; nunc ut ἑρμῆα, quinquenarii notans potestatem? Dubius sane hic incedo, & suspenso pede, ubi autores utrinque ducunt. Quicquid demum statuatur, verisimile est EI exilius fuisse elatum, & minus ab ei vel i sono discrepasse quam apud nos obtinet. AI, OI & EI mutarunt Romani in AE, OE, & E, posteriori vocali diphthongorum vires suas præcipue exerente. Ut Aἰνῖας, Æneas, Μυρία, Mæsia, Mysia. Si audiamus Salmasium De usuris, p. 88. Certum est ante mille annos Græciam non novisse ullam differentiam pronunciationis inter v, u, & o. Vide etiam R. Wetstenium de Græcæ linguæ pronunciatione, p. 171, &c. Periz. Anim. Hist. c. x.

pronun-

pronunciamus; at non sic olim a quibus nostrates accepere FATHER & MAUTHER vel MOTHER, Φράτηρ, BROTHER; Πλατὺς, PLAUTUS; Πᾶν, Πᾶν, FAUNUS, &c. Φῆμα, Fāma, Fāme; at Αἰμὸς Fā-mes, Fām-ine. Quod, igitur illi ore & auribus dignoscebant, nos legendis poetis indagare cogimur; idque ut fine temporis aut etiam desidiæ jactura assequamur, hujus libelli dos est.

Vocalem brevem positione, quam vocant, ante duas consonantes fieri longam, omnes norunt; ejus quippe sonus conflictu quasi consonantium tardatur, ut *in-gens*. Sin vero sequentes consonantes ad proximam syllabam promoveri possunt, fit communis: dici enim potest vel *pāt-rem*, vel *pā-trem*; *smarāg-dos*, vel *smarā-gdus*. Sed unde Græcis liceret esse tam disertis, ut vocales longas & diphthongos ante vocalem corripere, nupere admodum nobis notitia est, quam debemus doctissimo viro supra laudato*. Duabus vocalibus, ubi Æoles suum Digamma F collocabant, Iones aspirationem quandam interferebant; an forma *Vau*, vel voce solum expressam incertum est: sonabat ut nostras W, & duplicis consonantis vicem gessit, quæ vel cum antecedenti vel sequenti syllaba pro arbitrio enunciari solebat. In Verbis igitur in *uo* ut *μηνῶν*, *γηρῶν*, *δακρυῶν*, *ἀνῶν*, *ἀρῶν*, *λῶν*; et *uo* ut *τίω*; *u* & *i* natura esse *breves* statuit vir doctus, sed scribendo vel legendo *λυτω*, *τιτω*, fieri *longas*: Cum Clarkius et alii autumarent hæc vocales esse natura quidem *longas*, sed positas ante vocalem nescio quibus machinis fieri *breves*.

Quid vero statuendum est de vocalibus longis & diphthongis, quas mox citat autor noster, inusitato more brevias? Duæ, inquam, vocales per Συνίτησιν contrahantur, Diphthongi resolvantur; quidvis potius experiri libet quam ut ad Grammaticorum *positionem* (quæ nil plus valet quam Philosophorum *fuga vacui*) delabamur. Δηῖω igitur & δηῖσι sonabant veteres δη-γω, δη-γοισι, vel δη-τω, δη-τωισι. Γαῖσχος, γα-γισχος vel γα-αγισχος: ut in *Parietibus*, &c. Επειῆ, ἐπι-τωε vel ἐπι-γε: Ἰέρων, ἰερῶν, Πόλις, πο-αλις, quod & in melioribus codd. legitur *πόλις*, sic enim Dores et Æoles scripserunt, et ipse Theocr. *id.* X. 38. Unde Latinum *Poëta*;—prima pariter brevi †. Pro Τῶς et Τῆ dixerunt *τωῶς*, *τωῆ*. Unde nostras son ‡, vox pariter mo-

* *Miscellanea Critica*, p. 139, 140, &c.

† Vide Chishull ad *Inter. Sig.* p. 40.

‡ “Mer. Casaub. nescio qua Musa suggerente defleat *son*, a Gr. ὥς,” inquit Skinner in *Etymologico*—Pari vero ratione qua ab ἥλιος, ἥλιος, *sol*, *sun*; ab ἴς, ἴς, *a sow*; ab ἄλς, ἄλς, *salt*; ἑξ, *sex*, *six*; ἑπτά, *septem*, *seven*; ἕπνο, *sepius*, *SLEEP*; ἑ, ὅ *sui*, *sibi*, *SELF*, & sexcenta alia apud Voss. in *Etymologico* sub lit. H. & Caniani *Hellenismum*, p. m. 108.

nosyllabā. In istis vero, ut in quamplurimis aliis, irrepsisse videtur, loco Digamma Æolicæ vel aspirationis Ionicæ. Sic Il. ω. 616. Ἀχελώϊον ἔρρωσάνηο pro Ἀχελῶϊον ἔρρωσάνηο. & β. 765. Ὀτρίχας, οἶτεας, scribendum οτυετας, eadem plane analogia compositum, qua præcedens ὀτρίχας, ut docet vir sæpe laudatus, R. Dawes, ubi supra, p. 176, 8. Apud Theocr. εἰδ. xxix. dicas forsan ὡς κε esse spondæum ante duplicem consonantem, et ζῶης contracte dici ζῆς, ut a λαῖω, λαῖ, λῆς. An vero potius legendum ζῶης vel ζῆς, ut ζῆ pro ζῶη apud Herodotum passim.

Qua ratione vocalis brevis ante vocalem producat, jam vidimus; quæ-
ratur forsan unde toties in Indice subsequenti fiat anceps ante consonantem. Notandum est, igitur, ante semivocales liquidas λ, μ, ν, ρ, pariter ac ante vocales, aspiratio illa Vau vel F facile sese ingerebat. Hinc α-ωρα, vel αωρα, prima correpta vel producta. Si scribas modo, ut enunciatum est, αω-ρες A-ωρες βωροτολοιγε, Martialis ille jocus in poetarum principem illepidus plane & inficetus est. Sic Od. α. 5, 6. νόσον ἑταίρων—Ἀλλ' ἐδ' ὡς ἑταίρας—penultimam productam et correptam vides in eadem dictione. Scilicet ante ρ præponebant Digamma, quæ utrivis syllabæ, præcedenti vel succedenti, jungi potuit, prout quantitas postulabat. Recentiores addidere ἰ.—Il. β. 773. παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης producitur ultima in παρὰ ob digamma interpositum loco aspirati ῥηγμῖνι. Hinc refingendum Hesiodi locus, Oper. 696.

Μητε τριηκοντῶν εἰσὼν μάλαι πολλὰ ἀπολειπῶν.

Ubi Grævius: "In Ms. Il. pro varia lectione notatum erat, τριηκοντα, quam lectionem Tzetzes probat invitis Musis." Nullus dubitem quin Tzetzen potius fefellerit vera sequentis ωετων potestas. Nempe ultima vocis τριηκοντα ope subiecti non secus producitur atque supra factum vidimus in Η ανδρῖ ωικελη. Contra vero τριηκοντων Musis invitis in cod. Mss. editisque repræsentari confirmare aufim. Neque enim Musis Græcis magis adridere crediderim τριηκοντων quam trigintorum Latini. Dawes, p. 178, 179.—"Τλη resolvunt Critici in ΤΑFH, unda SYLVA, Clark. ad Il. γ. 151. & Dawes, Misc. Crit. p. 158. Pace tantorum virorum, vix ad amussim recte. Scriptum vel dictum à Græcis WY-WAH; ab Æolibus, duabus literis transpositis, FYAFH, unde, priore aspiratione in S mutata, ut in Præf. p. 78. not. Lat. SYLVA, plane ut ab ὄλχος, Æolice πόλχος, VOLGUS, FOLK, Salm. de Lingua Hellenistica, p. 66. & ΠΟΛΧΟΣ ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ, Gnosiorum populus, in nummo Ducis Devonix apud Chishull, Antiq. Asiat. p. 127. & ut à FATFΩ, sulvo, solvo. Ex aspiratione ista ante λ primam in ἰωλαος, &

& ἰώνος, &c. aliquando productam cernimus. In voce ἀγοράσθαι, litera γ vim forsan habeat ejusdem *Vau*, quod nescio annon in voce FORUM servetur, ut à γαλή, FELIS, & fere ut apud nos *Nux Gallica* fit *Wallica*. Unde tot illæ voces apud Hesych. γάδαν, γάδεσθαι, γάδεσαι, &c. & σιγαλόεντα apud Homerum [vid. Indicem in voce] non sunt forsan ex errore scribarum, sed ex diversarum gentium scriptura ortæ. Hinc, ut notat Salmasius de Hellenistica, p. 376, Bœoti ἰών pro ἐγών dicebant, non, ut putabat Tryphon Grammaticus apud Apollodorum, subtractione τῆ γ, & mutatione τῆ ε in ι, sed detractioe τῆ ε, ut κῆνος pro ἐκῆνος. Deinde γαμμα in ἰώτα mutarunt; & sic ἐών fecere pro ἐγών. Ideo et aspirarunt, quia γ plerumque vice densi spiritus fungitur*. Alias elementum istud in γ resolvitur, ut *nego*, *nay*; & vi ejusdem antecedentem syllabam brevem produci, haud aliter quam si per geminatam i scriberetur, notat Christ. Wase in Senario, c. xv. p. 207. In Ms. Bodleiano Symboli vetusti legitur *pisleugo* pro πισεύω, & igitur pro ἦτω. In specimine Franco-Gallici codicis, qui olim fuit Dionysiani prope Parisios monasterii, quod exhibet D. J. Mabillon, l. v. de re diplom. p. 366. ἐκπορεύομενον scribitur ἐκπορευομενον. In Cod. Alex. quod Millius adnotare neglexit, 1 Tim. i. 19. legitur ἐναυγάγησαν pro ἐναυάγησαν. Vid. Præf. Wetstenii ad N. T. p. 31. ægen Sax. *ozun*; *geap year*: *geapa yore*, et in sexcentis aliis.

Annon aliæ quædam ejusdem organi literæ eandem aliquoties sibi vindicent potestatem, & hinc primam in ἀποιέσθαι producat, cum π & vau sono sint adeo affines: Annon in αἰθάναιος, θ duplicis consonantis officio fungatur, & φ in πειθαίττω, discutiendum malo relinquere quam fidenter contendere. Sic in πυχάνω primam aliquando productam ob aspiratam χ sequens notat Barnesius ad Eurip. Alcest. ver. 487. Clarkius ad Il. α. 398. ait primam in αἰθάναιος, αἰνέμα[ι]ος, ἀποιέσθαι, ἀγοράσθαι, ἀποδιδωμαι, Ηραμίδης, &c. pro longa usurpant, “quod adeo parum in pronuntiando tribrachyn inter dactylumque interfit, ut uterque potuerit legitime usurpari.” Movet sane aliquid, sed meo judicio parum promovet; ut & nos forsan nimium minutiis hisce immorando.—Cum vero huc usque evagati simus, non gravabor Dissertatiunculæ partem hic subungere, ad Antiquarios sodales olim habitæ, ab instituto nostro non prorsus alienæ, ad pronuntiationem quippe veterum & ad rem metricam spectantis. Quoque tedium perlegendi minus lædat, accipe, qua scripta fuit, lingua vernacula †.

* Hinc ex γάη, FELIS, fit γαλῆα, *caſſis*, Anglice a *HELMET*, utpote *felina* pelle testæ; γάμμα, διγάνμα, & aspirata vicem alterutrius gerente.

† Already printed in the present volume, p. 139.

TWO LETTERS from Dr. BENTLEY in the SHADES Below,
to Lord ORRERY in a Land of THICK DARKNESS.

Written and printed by Mr. BOWYER, but never published.

“ quæ gratia currûm
“ Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
“ Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repôstos *.”

VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 654.

L E T T E R I.

MY LORD,

I N the noted controversy between your Noble Father and myself, I remember it was objected against me, that the same reasons, which I had brought to shew that Phalaris could not be the author of the Epistles which bear his name, would prove that I could not be the author of my own book. The style, it seems, was discordant to the age in which I wrote, and to the character I bore. The management of this part of the argument, I have been told, was left to the celebrated Dr. King of the Commons.

By a strange fatality, like circumstances come round again; and, I think, I can shew, with Dr. King, or against Dr. King, that your Lordship cannot be the writer of the “ Letters on the Life and Writings of Dr. “ Swift.” Since my head has been laid, I have been often reproached with saying, I would not believe Horace could use some particular expressions, though he were to tell me so himself. I will now be so bold as to say, that nothing less than having it from your own mouth will convince me, that you were the author of those letters: and while I am censured by many for my confidence, I trust I shall have your Lordship’s thanks for my charity.

* “ Those pleasing cares the heroes felt, alive,
“ For chariots, steeds, and arms, in death survive.” PITT.

The first province of a critic, and in which I have been long conversant, is to compare MSS. and editions. The writer of the "Remarks" declines this task, and seems to persuade others from it. "The English edition" (says he) of Swift's Works, I have scarce seen; and I have little inclination to examine it; because I was acquainted with the Dean, at the time Faulkner's edition came out, and therefore must always look upon that copy as most authentic; well knowing that Mr. Faulkner had the advantage of printing his edition, by the consent and approbation of the author himself. The four first volumes were printed by subscription, and every sheet of them were [was] brought to the Dean, for his revision and correction. The two next were published in the same manner: *and yet the dates were often guessed at (by the editor); and every scrap was thrust into the parcel, that might augment the collection.* From whence we may easily judge what wonderful advantages this edition received from the author's inspection. However, not satisfied with surmises, I procured, in compliance with this writer's recommendation, a sight of two of the Dublin editions, one in 8vo, 1735, the other in 12mo, of the same year; and shall from thence lay before your Lordship some singular efforts of the Dean's care.

The first tract I hastened to, was "A Letter from a Member of Parliament, concerning the Sacramental Test," written in 1708, in the fourth volume of the Dublin edition, because the author of the Remarks says, "It is preceded by an explanatory advertisement, that was either dictated, or STRICTLY revised by the Dean himself." By all means then let us hear what it says. It begins thus: "In the second volume of Dr. Swift and Mr. Pope's Miscellanies, I found the following treatise, which had been printed in London, with some other of the Dean's works, many years before, but at first came out by itself in the year 1708, as the date shews—I have taken the liberty to make an EXTRACT out of that discourse, omitting only some passages which relate to certain persons, and are of no consequence to the argument." So then the Dublin edition of the treatise is but an extract from the genuine copy, which is *fully* preserved only in the London edition; and That Mr. Pope, who has been accused of garbling the writings he was entrusted with, appears here at least a faithful editor, and the author himself to be the garbler. For he pleased to observe only what a magnificent passage the author has thought

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proper,

proper, among others, to leave out. After the words *Presbyterian brother*, in the third page of the letter, the English edition adds thus : “ The reason why I mention him [the Observator] is, to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel case. Last year a paper was brought here from England, called ‘ A Dialogue between the Abp. of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins,’ which was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his Grace of Canterbury, than you have with the Archbishop of Dublin ; nor can you love and reverence your Prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly by name, and by that paultry rascal of an Observator, and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern : I mean the business of the missionaries of Drogheda, wherein our excellent Primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the Lord Abp. of Dublin hath been, upon several occasions, of late years misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services, he was by the late King presented to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the Revolution ; wherein was an account of King James’s proceedings in Ireland ; and the late Archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the King, as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his Grace set out upon new principles, he has proceeded ever since as a legal subject to the Queen, entirely for the succession in the Protestant line, and for ever excluding the Pretender ; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent sect ; yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgment of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned he does not busy himself by entering deep into party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards. In short, in the practice of all virtues, that can become a public or private life. This, and more, if possible, is DUE to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned

“ among

“ among the greatest and most learned Prelates of his age, however his
 “ character may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the
 “ Observator, or such as employ him.”

The author of the Observator was Mr. John Tutchin, who died, if I am rightly informed, in a public house about the year 1707. The book written by Dr. King (afterwards Lord Primate) was “ The State of the
 “ Protestants in Ireland under King James II.” an answer to which was attempted, upon Jacobite principles, by the noted Mr. Charles Lesley. The author of the “ Remarks” informs us, that Dr. King, when Bishop of Derry, hindered Swift from being made Dean of Derry. So that, considering the violence of Swift’s resentments, it may seem harder to account for his inserting this encomium, than for his leaving it out. But he was then, probably, a stranger to the ill offices of his back friend, till he was initiated into the party to which he always adhered, and to which Dr. Boulter owed his advancement to the Primacy, in opposition to Dr. King. Whatever induced him to efface this character, the public, once in possession of it, will not contentedly part with it. It is too precious a morsel to be lost. And if authors (as they have a right) shall *castrate* themselves, they must not think to appear to the world with the same *spirit* they had before.

There are some other passages omitted in the Irish Edition, either through inadvertency or with design. But I proceed to another explanatory advertisement. The former explained away the sentiments of the text; this wants explanation itself. It is prefixed to the Drapier’s VIth letter, addressed to Lord Chancellor Middleton, in the fourth volume of the Dublin edition, and runs thus :

“ The former of the two following papers is dated Oct. 6, 1724.
 [This is repeated in the edition 12mo, except that it is there Oct. 6, 1725.]
 “ by which it appears to be written a little after the proclamation against
 “ the author of the Drapier’s fourth letter. It is delivered with much
 “ caution, because the author confesseth himself to be the Dean of St.
 “ Patrick’s; and I could discover his name *subscribed* at the end of the
 “ original, although blotted out by some other hand. I can tell no other
 “ reason why it was not printed than what I have *heard*.” [What other
 means of information could he wish for? By hearing cometh knowledge,
 though sometimes the fountain is corrupt. But he proceeds:] “ How-
 “ ever, having some encouragement to collect into one volume all papers

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“ relating

“ relating to Ireland, supposed to be written by the Drapier—to make
 “ the volume more compleat, I procured a copy of the following letter,
 “ from one of the author’s friends, with whom it was left while the author
 “ was in England, and I have printed it as near as I could in the order of
 “ time.” Here I submit to your Lordship a remark or two.

1. The first of the papers is said to be dated Oct. 6, 1724; and that it appears from thence to be dated a little after the proclamation against the fourth letter; now the fourth letter itself, against which the proclamation was published, your Lordship will see, is dated Oct. 13, 1724. This is a pardonable mistake any where, but much more in a country, where *going before just coming after*, is the characteristic dialect. But I little thought that the Dean, in his zeal for Ireland, would vouchsafe to adopt the *shibboleth* of it.

2. The preface-writer, in the choice MS. which he found, could discover the Dean’s name “ subscribed at the end of the original; but *blotted out by some other hand.*” As the former passage is a proof that the advertisement was drawn up in Ireland, so this affords a strong presumption that it was under the direction of the Dean himself: for who else could divine that his name was struck out by another hand? Other ink, it might be: but in these recent MSS. of one age it is the first time I ever heard of a blot carrying the evidence of a hand-writing. Whether the Dean or printer hit this blot, I shall not enquire; but lay before you the pleasant procedure of the latter upon this discovery. He had got, we see, the original in the Dean’s hand; but the NAME was obliterated. What does he, but sends away to England for a copy which might authenticate *this original*, and from such a copy the public is favoured with it. I remember in a cause before Sir Joseph Jekyll, a man began reading in court the title-deeds of an estate, which was contested. “ The original is a little blind,” says he. “ I have got a very fair copy of it, which I beg leave to go on with.” *Hold*, says Sir Joseph, *if the original is not good, the copy can never make it so.*

I am far, however, from accusing the printer of intending any fraud on the world. He who tells his story so openly, gives security enough for his honesty. I can easily conceive the advertisement might be in a good measure the Dean’s, who never was over-courteous to his readers, and might, for once, be content to be merry with them.

I shall not trouble your Lordship any further with collations of these editions: for I, who am used to tread on classic ground, shall not think it worth my pains to beat over this flowery field, which I leave to geniuses different from mine to sport in. I am, my Lord, &c.

L E T.

L E T T E R II.

MY LORD,

I Proceed to make good my proposition, that it is impossible your Lordship could be the author of the "Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift." I prove it from the inaccuracy of the style, the reflections which occur on several branches of literature, and on the writings of the Dean in particular; all below what I should hope for from your Lordship's reading and experience. Style is what few give themselves the trouble of examining, though all pretend to be judges of it. I shall, therefore, only touch upon some of the figures of oratory in these "Remarks," which, I am persuaded, cannot be found in your Lordship's rhetoric.

I. When *not only* — *but also* are opposed, if we advance no farther by the latter gradation, I would call it the art of *curvetting*, not of *writing*. Now let us try a sentence or two. "I shall have the happiness *NOT ONLY* of seeing you forming yourself every day for public life, *BUT*—What? —rendered more capable of exerting your faculties with dignity." Lett. i. p. 1. Undoubtedly, if he actually *forms* himself *every day*—he will be rendered more *capable of exerting* himself. Nay, the *formation* is something more than the *capacity of exerting*. Again, "Bailiffs, who are *NOT ONLY* sworn foes to wit and gaiety, *BUT* whose tyranny might have been fatal to Esther." Lett. x. p. 70. If foes to all wit, what wonder if fatal to a lady endowed with that quality. "Una dolo—si fœmina victa duorum est?" Read, *As they were foes to wit—so they might have been fatal*, &c. and all is well: it is not an opposition, but a consequence. There are more of this sort. But,

II. Comparisons had better be omitted which afford no entertainment to the imagination. "The scoffs and sarcasms of Swift, like the bite of the *rattle-snake*, distinguish themselves, and are not more *VENOMOUSLY DANGEROUS* (or *dangerously venomous*) than the wounds of a common serpent." Lett. xvi. p. 124. The *species* seems here to be put poetically for the *genus*: no more is meant than as subtly poisonous as the bite of a serpent. If the allusion had been to that animal's giving warning before:

before he bites, it had been properly formed from his distinguishing property.

III. The author of the "Remarks" observes very justly, that "Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and allusions with a justness particularly delicate and exact, and without the least stiffness or affectation." How ill has he profited by such example! He has metaphors discordant to the sense. "His MIND was equal to the WEIGHT of the laurel crown," p. 68. Rather the *head* was equal to the *weight*, or *mind* equal to the *dignity*.

"He looked upon women rather as busts than whole figures." So far well. He proceeds: "In his panegyrical descriptions he has seldom descended lower than the CENTRE of their hearts." Lett. x. 78. Who can go lower, in the metaphorical sense, where Pope, it seems, differently from the Dean, found them to be all rakes? But the author of the Remarks means only, that he descended no lower than the *situation* of their *hearts*; but the *heart* often implying something very deep, we are led on deeper still, to the *centre*, and the sense is confounded between *imagery* and *metaphor*.

IV. Some comparisons and citations are worn so threadbare, that a writer could not chuse to appear in public with them. They seem to betray more a poverty of fancy than an exuberance of reading. "The affection between Theseus and Pirithous was not greater." Lett. vii. 53. "A rock more dangerous to princes than Charybdis was to mariners." Lett. xxiv. Where the author, by avoiding *Scylla*, has fallen into his own *Charybdis*; for unhappily Charybdis is not a rock, though Scylla is. "In eo freto est scopulus Scylla, item Charybdis mare vorticosum, ambo clara fœvitia," Plin. N. H. iii. 8. "Scylla saxum est, Charybdis mare, utrumque noxium appulsis," Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7. "Their poets would have added her to the Furies—a fit companion for Tisiphone, Megæra, and Alceio."

After a common-place of two or three pages in Lett. xxvii. on the dignity of human nature, where we are sure to find *divina particulam autæ*, the author applies his discourse thus: "Swift deduces his observations from wrong principles: for in his land of Houyhnhnms he considers the soul and body of their most *degenerate* and *uncultivated* state.—He seems insensible of the surprizing *mechanism* of every part of the human composition."

" position. He forgets the fine description which Ovid gives of mankind,

" *Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri*

" *Iussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*"

One would be tempted almost to compare this with a like introduction of the very same passage by an eminent traveller. "I am free (says he) to unbosom all my thoughts to you, who are a lover of justice as well as war: man was not born to make war on those of his own kind, but to enjoy the sweets of peace; for otherwise God Almighty would have furnished him with claws, &c. *Os homini,*" &c.—I will not name the writer, because, I own, he is not worthy to be named in the same page with one who can be supposed to have personated your Lordship.

V. Words should be cautiously used in a new sense, never against analogy. *The whole affairs*, p. 59. is scarce allowable in prose, notwithstanding the authority of Mr. Pope in verse,

" Grasp the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense."

A corruption which, I own, is coming into fashion.

" The NOTIONS of his genius were often irregular." Let iii. p. 29.

" I must *renew* the same declaration," p. 79. We say *renew* a request, but *repeat* a declaration.

" I often *revert* in my mind," for *revolve* in my mind.

" *Sextumvirate*," Lett. xiii. p. 106; and again, p. 108. in imitation of *duumvirate*, *triumvirate*, which are so far from authorising, that they shew the illegality of the coinage.

But let these and a hundred more such inaccuracies in diction pass. I proceed to errors in sentiment.

Lett. xii. p. 96. A reflection occurs, which seems to have much depth, perhaps because it is not clear. "The real use of knowledge is to invigorate not to enervate the faculties of reason. Learning degenerates into a species of madness when it is not SUPERIOR to what it POSSESSETH." May we not add, *and when it does not express itself so as to be understood*. Try, if what follows will help us: "The scientific powers are most evident, when they are capable of exerting themselves in the social duties of life; when they wear no chains, but can freely disengage themselves, and, like a sound CONSTITUTION of body, rise chearful, &c." Here again I understand, how a *body* of a sound *constitution* rises, but know not by what figure a *constitution of body* can be said to rise, &c.

I have

I have been often admired for my profound observations fetched from Scholiasts. But I never equalled the following, and especially the learned introduction to it. Aristotle says, in the words of his SCHOLIAST, “eum
“præclara et magna vix posse exequi et præstare, cui facultates defunt,”
&c. Lett. x. p. 66. I suppose rather the Scholiast says this in *Greek* in the words of his master: but it is so important a sentence, that I leave the Critic and the Philosopher to contend for the property of it; and will beg your Lordship’s attention to a reflection on a beaten subject, the fall of Julius Cæsar.

The author of the “Remarks” having given us the stale observation, that not one of the conspirators died a natural death, proceeds thus, Lett. xii. p. 103, 104. “Even Brutus, perhaps recollecting in his last moments
“the benefits which he had received from Cæsar, was staggered in his
“thoughts of virtue, and imagining himself deceived by a shadow, broke
“out into a pathetical expression, signifying, that he had worshiped virtue
“as a substance, and had found it only a shadow. So that he seems to
“have wanted that fortitude of mind, which constantly attends true virtue
“to the grave. This defect [i. e. want of fortitude] in the character
“of Brutus is not improperly expressed in the famous gallery of the Great
“Duke of Tuscany, where there is a very fine head of Brutus begun by
“Michael Angelo, but left unfinished: under it is engraven upon a copper-
“plate this distich:

“Dum Bruti effigiem sculptor de marmore ducit,

“In mentem sceleris venit, et abstinuit.”

In ductile stone while Brutus’ image grew,

His crime appear’d before the artist’s view,

And from his hand the plastic power withdrew. }

Now we have the sense of the distich, how shall we reconcile it with the comment? Brutus having, upon a principle of virtue, embarked in a cause which failed of success, naturally cries out, upon the defeat of his well-meant struggles for liberty, *Virtue is but a name*; as every distressed patriot will, who sets aside the considerations of another world. Destitute of this last resort of the soul, no wonder if he wanted that fortitude of mind, which attends true virtue to the grave. But what says the comment? Why, that Brutus, reflecting on his *ingratitude* to Cæsar, was staggered at his false pursuit of virtue; as if he had repented of his attempt to restore liberty

liberty to his country, instead of discharging his obligations to the Dictator. Alas, nothing like it ever entered into his mind : Patriotism was his reigning principle to the last, and though it could not support him under the utmost pressures, yet it acquitted his conscience of having overlooked any other duty for the sake of it.—But the statuary, it seems, judged differently : shocked at reflecting on the heinousness of Brutus's crime, not (as the comment represents) on his *want of fortitude*, he left the bust unfinished. The Patriot broke out into his exclamation, and the Artist broke off from his design, from different sources of reflection ; and the Commentator has assigned a false one to each, making Brutus's ingratitude the cause of his want of fortitude, and the want of fortitude the *defect* which the statuary (our author would say) thus accidentally *expressed*.—So much does refined reflection obscure common sense.

To give another instance of it : Vaneffa, growing by degrees in love with *Decanus*, breaks through the restraints of female pride, and openly discloses her passion for him ; but at the same time apologizes for her conduct from a maxim he had taught her, viz. that honourable intentions need not be ashamed of being communicated—

- “ That Virtue, pleas'd by being shown,
- “ Knows nothing which it dare not own :
- “ Can make us, without fear, disclose
- “ Our inmost secrets to our foes.”

The sense is obvious : But the Author of the “ Remarks,” Lett. ix. in his charitable disposition having supposed that Vaneffa sued, not for marriage, but to become a prostitute to the Dean, tortures these words to make them an apology for her abandoned impudence. *He taught her*, he says, in these lines, *that vice, as soon as it defied shame, was immediately changed into virtue*. He should have said, Taught her, that VIRTUE, which knows no vice, fears no shame, and needs no secrecy. But then his comment would have been overthrown.

From the letter-writer's *occasional* reflections, let us take a taste of those he makes *particularly* on the works of the Dean. How penetrating are most of them !

- “ The papers-which follow are entirely humorous, and relate to *Partridge* the almanack-maker.” Lett. viii. p. 62.
- “ The *critical Essay* will make you smile.” Ibid.

"You will laugh at the story of Whist and Swabbers."

"When you have read it, *digito compeſce labellum.*" Lett. xx. p. 167.

I paſs by many more of this ſort. But one piece of the Dean's is honoured with a moſt ſingular encomium: "A piece, which will excite your riſibility, or I am miſtaken.—The whole is a ridicule too powerful for "the ſtrongeſt gravity to withſtand." Lett. xvi. p. 126, 127. Now what, at laſt, is this merry-making machine? Why, the author deſcribes the ſeveral artificers attending W Wood (repreſented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each of them expreſſing his reſentment in the terms of his calling: the cook will *baſte* him; the bookſeller will *turn over a new leaf* with him; the taylor will *ſit* on his *ſkirts*.—The letter-writer then leads up the laugh, with *Riſum teneatis, amici*: If he did not, we ſhould want ſuch a note as the prudent Parſon put to the pathetic part of his funeral ſermon; *Here pull out your handkerchief, and weep*. Every apprentice, who has not ſenſe enough to learn his art, is ſoon able to apply the terms of it to this kind of banter and ridicule. And though I blame not the Drapier for falling into it, as it was characteristic of the perſons he deſcribes, and ſuited to the taſte of thoſe for whom he wrote, yet I own I am too phlegmatic to ſhake my ſides at it.

While we are ſpeaking of wit, I cannot but obſerve, the writer of the "Remarks" does your Lordſhip great injuſtice, in his representation of the interview between You and Daphne. The Lady, it ſeems, was proud of her portrait, as drawn by the Dean; you, in your politeneſs, could not ſee the leaſt reſemblance. She ſtill perſiſted that ſhe had rather be Daphne drawn by him, than Sachariſſa by any other pencil; you had no other way of *retrieving your error*, than by whiſpering in her ear, as you was conducting her down ſtairs to dinner, that indeed you found

"Her hand as dry, as cold as lead."

I appeal to all the Daphne's in both kingdoms, whether you might not very ſafely have compounded the matter, and told her, than though her hand was cold, you ſtill believed her heart was warm; as the fruitful earth preſerves its central heat, while virgin ſnow adorns its ſurface. Something of this ſort muſt have come from *tam elegans formarum ſpectator*.

But the making of your Lordſhip an ill judge of wit is not the leaſt charge I have againſt the letter-writer. He has abuſed the Dean, in ſuppoſing him to have placed "the reſurrection (one of the moſt encouraging
"principles

“ principles of the Christian Religion) in a ridiculous and contemptible
 “ light.”—Now let any impartial reader judge of the words which are the
 foundation of this charge. “ They bury their dead (says he) with their
 “ heads directly downwards, because they hold an opinion, that in eleven
 “ thousand moons they are all to rise again; in which period the earth,
 “ which they conceive to be flat, will turn upside down; and by this
 “ means they shall, at the resurrection, be found ready standing on their
 “ feet. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine;
 “ but the practice still continues, in compliance with the vulgar*.” The
 utmost which can be made of this is, that it represents the resurrection of
 the *body* as groundless, and the opinion of the vulgar alone; but *supposes* a
 future state, that time of the *resurrection* when the people hoped to be
 found standing on their feet. Now give us but a state of rewards and pun-
 ishments for the sons of men, we shall not want the most encouraging
 principle of the Christian Religion. The disputes about the body, whether
 the body of youth or of old age, whether only a feminal principle of cor-
 poreity shall be reanimated, or larger stamina, are subtile enquiries, which
 will have very little influence on the lives of those who are, or are not, con-
 versant in them.—But, after all, had the passage above cited a view even
 to this doctrine? It is well known a custom has long prevailed of burying
 with the face towards the East, as if, while the earth turns round from the
 West, the design was the dead should be upright to meet the rising sun,
 the well-known emblem of the resurrection. This custom was what the
 Dean might *possibly* make the object of his ridicule; and I will venture to
 propose it to the letter-writer, as the most probable, I am sure the most
 charitable, view of it. It is not only unjust, but unserviceable, to Religion,
 to represent eminent writers as disbelievers, without the fullest proof.

Those that have written in favour of the sacredness of the East, have
 discovered perhaps some whim in defence of their opinion. “ Considering
 “ all these things (says an eminent writer of our own), I am altogether of
 “ their mind, who persuade themselves that the seat and tribunal of the last
 “ judgment shall be placed in the air over against the mount *Olivet*. *Joel*
 “ the prophet is thought to have foretold as much, when he saith, that
 “ *all nations shall be gathered into the valley of Jehosaphat*; and his feet shall
 “ stand in that day upon the mount *Olivet*, which is before *Jerusalem* to-

* Voyage to Lilliput, c. vi.

“wards the east—Yet not to be so particular as to point out the very
 “mountain or valley, or to take care, with that Doctor in the *Jerusalem*
 “*Talmud*, how the bones of wise men shall roll under the earth, into this
 “place; most manifest it is, that this great affize is to be holden on the
 “holy land,” &c. See J. Gregory’s works, c. xviii. A man may be al-
 lowed to speak lightly of such particularities, without the imputation of
 denying the doctrine of the last judgement in general.

Having vindicated the writings of the Dean from so heavy a charge, I
 may be allowed to censure him in my turn in a point of *less* moment, but
 in which I am *more* concerned. In the *Battle of the books*, in the Intro-
 duction, lett. xxiii. p. 196. our author observes, Swift never loses the least
 opportunity of venting the keenest satire against Mr. Dryden. But alas,
 he greatly betrays his want of judgment as well as temper, when he raises
 that high-sounding wight, Sir Richard Blackmore, above him: Blackmore,
 I say, that distinguished genius, who afterwards afforded his friend so many
 bright examples of the *art of sinking in poetry*. “Swift describes Dryden,
 “issuing from among the thickest of the enemies squadron, with *less speed*
 “than *noise*; for his horse, old and lean, spent the dregs of his strength
 “in a high trot—Lifting up the vizard of his helmet, a face *hardly ap-*
 “peared from within—the helmet was nine times too large for the head,
 “which appeared situate far in the hinder part, even like a lady in a lob-
 “ster, or a mouse in a canopy of state.—Next behold Lucan appeared on
 “a fiery horse of admirable shape, but headstrong, bearing the rider
 “where he list, over the field. He made mighty slaughter over the ene-
 “mies horse; which destruction to stop, BLACKMORE a famous modern
 “(but one of the moderns) strenuously opposed himself, and darting a
 “javelin with a *STRONG HAND*, which falling short of its mark, struck
 “DEEP in the earth. Then Lucan threw a lance; but *Æsculapius* came
 “unseen, and turned off the point. *Brave modern, said Lucan, I perceive*
 “*some God protects you, for never did my arm so deceive me before*—Lucan
 “then bestowed the modern a pair of spurs, and Blackmore gave Lucan a
 “bridle.” I need not tell the letter-writer, that *striking deep* has here a
 very different sense from what the wits afterwards meant by *sinking deep*;
 who, not having sagacity enough to restore Longinus to his true reading of
 of *περί Παύλου* instead of *περί Βάβυλος*, stumbled into an artful piece of ridicule,
 which has served as a net to catch others blunders, and to conceal their
 own.

But

But let that pass: I would only observe from hence, how proper an arbitrator the Dean was to decide in the contest between antient and modern learning, who has singled out to support his own cause of poetry so doughty a chief. But knights in poetry, like knights in romance, have their day. Sir Richard was placed in the foremost lists of fame by Mr. Locke, Mr. Molyneux, and Dean Swift; though his works are now begging about with an honourable pass*, signed by three such judges in learning.

As to Swift, I question whether he had any great taste for heroics. In his writings, as well as in his life, he loved *power*, but hated *pomp*—which accounts perhaps for his strong aversion to an Alexandrine. I am sliding insensibly into his character, and will conclude with a word upon it.

If we deduct somewhat from report, which is apt to add to the oddities of men of note, the greatest part of his conduct may be accounted for on the common operations of human nature.

“Choler,” Lord Bacon observes, “puts men on action; when it grows adust, it turns to melancholy.” In Swift that humour seems to have been predominant, governed, however, even in his younger days, with a fund of good sense and early experience of the world. He was thrown luckily, in the prime of life, into the family of a great personage, where he had the happiness of an interview with a monarch, from whence he had reasonable hopes of satisfying his towering ambition. But he found them followed by nothing but disappointment. He seems to have had too great a value of himself to owe his fortune to a wife; or too restless a spirit, too great a love of whim, to be confined to one. In a course of years, honours seemed a second time to make their court to him. He came into favour with a prime minister under another reign, even when different principles prevailed from those which guided his former patron. A rare felicity; which however, in the event, served only to convince him that he was banished to Ireland for life, and that all hopes were cut off of his rising, even there, any higher than the Deanry. What would one of his parts and wit do in such a situation, but drop mankind as much as possible, especially the higher class of it, which to a man of humour is naturally a restraint; where, at best, as he observes, the only difference is to have two candles on the table instead of one? What, I say, would such an one do, but cultivate an acquaintance with those who were disappointed like himself? What, but write compliments on ladies, lampoons on men in

* As far as relates to his admirable poem on the “Creation,” the pass has been counter-signed by Dr. Johnson. J. N.

power,

power, farcasms on human nature, trifle away life, between whim and resentment, just as the bile arose or subsided? He had sense, and I believe religion, enough to keep him from vice; and from a consciousness of his integrity was less solicitous about the appearances of virtue, or even decency, which is often the counterfeit of it. The patriot principle, which he had imbibed in Queen Anne's reign, lurked at the bottom of his heart; which, as it was more active in those days than since, sometimes roused him to defend the Church, and Ireland, his asylum, against any new incroachments.—View him now in his decline: passions decay, and the lamp of life and reason grows dim. It is the fate of many, I may say most geniuses, who have secluded themselves from the world, to lose their senses in their old age; especially those who have worn them out in thought and application. Providence, perhaps, has therefore ordained, that the eyes, the inlets of knowledge, should be impaired, before the understanding, the repository of it, is decayed, that the defects of the former may protract the latter. Few of us are enough sensible how much the conjugal tie, and the several connections which follow from it; how much even domestic troubles (when surmountable) are the physic of the soul, which at the same time that they quicken the senses, preserve them too. I myself, for want of falling into some innocent amusements, after a life of study, which is the ruin of a constitution, had my infirmities, which I could wish had been recorded more tenderly, not as an instance of *Computationis academicae*, but of *Virorum literatorum infelicitatis*.

I could easily recriminate on the great genius I have in my eye; and considering the strictures I have met with from him even since my death, I may be allowed just to shew, in my way, that he has left some instances of the weak side of humanity. In the fable of Dryope from Ovid, p. 69, &c. on her being half transformed into a tree, she tells her husband and father,

“ If to the wretched any faith be given,

“ I swear by all th' unpitying pow'rs of heaven :

“ No wilful crime this heavy vengeance bred ;

“ In MUTUAL innocence our lives we led.”

To clear herself from the imputation of falling under this judgement of heaven by any crime of hers, she bears witness, you see, to *their* behaviour equally at least with her own : but why that introduction, *Si qua fides*, Believe me ; if she appeals to *their* innocence, which they knew at least as well

well as she ; Then by what figure is mutual *innocence* put for mutual *harmony* ?

“ Si qua fides miseris, hoc me per hoc numina jura

“ Non meruisse nefas ; patior sine crimine poenam :

“ VIXIMUS innocuæ.”

Nothing is more common in verse than to use the first plural for the singular. *Patior sine crimine*, and *viximus innocuæ*, is but one and the same person ; a testimony of her *own* innocence, not of the *mutual* concord between her relatives. “ Don't think I have by private sins called down this judgement on me. No, I declare, my life has been innocent.”

By what I have offered, I would not detract from the wonderful writer before us. This translation was the attempt of his youth, and therefore admirable with all its faults. But my chief design is to shew, that a good stock of school learning laid in at first, will be of use to a scholar all his life. And to bring this age to a sense of it, I am persuaded, no means would be more effectual than to publish a censure of many of our modern writings. It would be of credit to good literature, if we even suppressed that load of lumber which diverts the channels or obstructs the avenues to it, and which, under the shew of politeness, is hastening on barbarity. I am sensible of my rashness in this attempt ; but reformations are sometimes begun even by the meanest hands. To bring about the former, I am content to lie under the imputation of the latter. I am, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Since the foregoing vindication of your Lordship was penned, you have been attacked by two or three writers of *Memoirs of Dr. Swift* ; in which you will have the pleasure to see, that as each finds matter for censure in his predecessor, so all of them are open to still further correction.

Is it not strange, that none of them should take notice of Swift's inconsistency with himself in his narrative of his own family ? If in the *Memoirs* he left, published by his kinsman, it appears his parents had no other children but a *daughter* and himself ; in letter xli. he no less expressly says, he was *the YOUNGER SON of a younger branch of a family not undistinguished in its time*. Whether it is inaccuracy only in expression, that he calls himself a *younger* son, because he had a *sister* born before him ; or whether he intended among his *English* friends to disclaim his *sister*, who had offended him in marriage, I leave others to determine. Men of genius,

nius, I know, are above regarding minute mistakes; their very failings pass for wit. Thus, I remember, the excellent translator of Cicero's familiar letters observes, that Swift *has applied a passage in them, with more humour, perhaps, than it was at first conceived.* And yet half the application is founded on a false fact. In the *Tale of a Tub*, he says, "Cicero writing to his friend Trebatius in *England*, with a caution, among other matters, to beware of being cheated by our hackney-coachmen (who, it seems, in those days were as arrant rascals as they are now), has these remarkable words, *Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere.*" Ep. Fam. vii. 10. Would any one think now, that the very next words in Cicero shew that Trebatius did NOT go into England? And yet it follows, *With how much greater advantage would your noble talents have appeared, HAD YOU GONE INTO BRITAIN?*

Is it not equally strange, that so elegant a writer as the author of the *Observations on Lord Orrery's remarks** should exemplify the correctness of Swift's style, from as unlucky a passage as he could have selected. It is this: "How would it brighten the character of the present and after-ages, if she [the Queen] would exert her utmost authority to instil some share of those virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn, only from her example." With which sentence the author of the *Observations*, &c. is so enamoured, that *whoever*, he says, *shall attempt to contract or make it clearer or more correct, will quickly subscribe to your judgment of Swift.* To your judgment I will readily subscribe, and yet will pretend to make this very passage clearer, by removing the word ONLY to the end of it. As it stands now, it is ambiguous, and at first view you might think it signified *unless, nisi; too degenerate to learn unless from her example: ONLY* the conclusion of the sentence would contradict the beginning of it. Read then, *which they are too degenerate to learn from her example ONLY.*

The former life-writers were collectors of materials for the last ingenious editor of the Dean's works. But has he always made a right use of them? He observes, that Swift did not receive the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin till after the Dean of Derry was given to another; therefore *his non-residence could not, as Lord Orrery supposes, be the reason why it was not given him.* Nor did the imaginary Lord Orrery *suppose* it was. He does not say that the Bishop of Derry charged Swift with *actual* non-residence, but

* Dr. Delany.

only that he feared it would be the consequence of his volatile temper. *I know Swift*, said the Bishop, *to be a sprightly ingenious young man; but instead of residing, I DARE SAY, he will be eternally flying backwards and forwards to London.* Remarks on the Life and Writings, &c. Lett. iii. p. 2.

To conclude all that has been said concerning the life of the author, I will presume to add one circumstance relating to his shadow, viz. that a portrait of him, presented to the University of Oxford, by John Barber, Esquire, is placed in the picture-gallery there, with this inscription:

IONATHAN SWIFT,
DECAN. S. PATRIC. DVBL.
Effigiem Viri Musis amicissimi,
Ingenio prorsus sibi proprio celeberrimi,
Ut ipsum suis Oxoniensibus aliquatenus redonaret,
Parietem habere voluit Bodleianum,
A. D. MDCCCXXXIX.
JOHANNES BARBER, Armiger,
Aldermannus, nec ita pridem Prætor Londinensis.

In English:
JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.
This portrait of the Muses' friend,
Of a happy turn of wit, peculiar to himself,
That Oxford might in some measure regain a genuine Son,
Was placed in the wall of the Bodleian gallery,
A. D. MDCCCXXXIX.
By JOHN BARBER, Esquire, Alderman,
and some time Lord Mayor of London.

MR. BOWYER'S PREFACE

TO A TRANSLATION OF

The DISCOURSE which carried the PRÆMIUM at the Academy of Dijon, in 1750. On this Question, proposed by the said Academy, "Whether the Re-establishment of ARTS and SCIENCES has contributed to the refining of Manners?" By a Citizen of GENEVA.

"Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor illis." OVID.

THE following Discourse has made such a noise in France, that I thought it, for its singularity, well worth the translating: it must be owned to be one of the finest modern pieces of oratory, and of so dangerous a persuasion, that if the author, instead of giving it in writing, had pronounced it with all the force which the fluency of tongue and the graces of action usually add to such orations in publick, I should tremble for all the libraries of Europe, and dread his elocution almost as much as the fire and swords of Goths, Vandals, and Muffulmen.

All I can learn of the author is, that his name is Rousseau, and that he is, as he says, of Geneva, or of some place in the neighbourhood of Switzerland. I also have been assured, that when the President of the Academy acquainted him with the success of his piece, it was in these or the like words: "Sir, the Academy have crowned your Discourse, for its elegance and purity of language; and have overlooked your sentiments, because of your country."

We may see by these words, that the Academy judged, as mankind must, that he undertook the wrong side of the question, and, like the scholar at he Jesuit's, deserved the prize and the rod. I was really at a loss, for a time, to find his sincere opinion; but his preface and notes, in support of his thesis, convinced me, that he spoke his mind. I was therefore once resolved to superadd a few critical remarks upon him, to shew how absurd his

his tenets were, and detect the art with which he would defeat art; but, upon a more mature deliberation, I feared I might be laughed at, like the Prelate who gravely undertook to prove that there was no Pope Joan; or one who should seriously argue against the ravings of Hobbes, Agrippa, Spinosa, or Nostradamus; and, desisting from the undertaking, thought it sufficient to say two words by way of advertisement to the reader.

This gentleman would have us believe that the arts and sciences have injured our morals and manners, and therefore would have them and their professors banished. But has he forgot that man, in all climates born naked and defenceless, cannot at all subsist without arts, nor, with any comfort, without sciences? His situation and capacity prove, beyond doubt, that they were by Providence intended to be improved by him. Is not art necessary for his feeding, cloathing, lodging, and defence? and is his daring mind a proof, that some science was ordered for his recreation; and some for cultivating the land in proper seasons for his provisions?

Was it not by art that Hannibal raised a reputation? and were Xenophon, Epaminondas, Cæsar, and all the famous Grecians and Romans, ignorant of arts and sciences? And since this man would raise War into a divinity belonging to Ignorance, how came it that the Barbarians could not stand before them? And if Ignorance increased strength and valour, surely all our common soldiers, nay, and a vast majority of our officers, ought to be heroes. He frets at the European or French politeness; but upon his own system, and allowing his hypothesis, that it is all counterfeit, is it not yet better that the rude, harsh, and different characters of men should be veiled under even a false urbanity and affected mild manners, than that an eternity of broils should disturb society, by each savage mind's being visible in all its uncouth and unpolished behaviour? Is it not a happiness that I shall be, even outwardly, well used by those from whom I expect no more? or would he prefer travelling among the banditti of Arabia, or his own savages of America, before a tour through Europe? and if the latter must be pronounced the most agreeable, and that the arts and sciences are the cause of the difference, what becomes of his goddess, Ignorance? In short, he had taken a laudable subject, if he had only lashed the abuses, which are ever the unfortunate attendants on all great systems: but to run down the sun because he sometimes scorches, or the rain because it sometimes falls to excess, contains hardly any thing

more delirious than what this orator has seriously undertaken; like Jack in the Tale of a Tub, he tears the coat to pieces because of a few useless embroideries; and yet, it must be confessed, his argument is worthy of admiration for its composition and elegance, and may be considered by those of his own opinion (if any) as a proof of the danger of arts and sciences, since, by their help, so much could be made of the worst of causes.

I have endeavoured to keep up to his spirit in the translation; and if the English reader finds any thing striking in it, I shall put him in mind of the unsuccessful Grecian orator, when he heard his adversary's oration praised on the reading, and cry out, almost in his words, "What would it be, " if you understood the original?"

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS is one of the finest and most important questions that hath ever been discussed. We are not here to debate on those metaphysical subtleties which have intruded into all the branches of literature, and from which the very academical occupations are not always exempt. No, we are this day upon one of those truths which are inseparably annexed to the happiness of mankind. I foresee I shall be severely attacked for having dared to appear on the side I undertake; I can expect no less than an universal outcry against me, for my audacious attempt at overthrowing the delight and admiration of mankind; nor is the approbation of a few wise men a sufficient warrant against the censure of the publick: but I have taken my party, for I value not what the wits or gentlemen of the mode can object to me. There will always subsist men who seem born to be slaves to the opinions of their age, their country, their society.

Some, who this day act the Free-thinkers, sceptic unbelievers, and philosophers, would, for the same reasons, have passed for Fanatics in the days of the League in France; no one, therefore, who has a mind to outlive his works, should write for such readers.

I conclude with one word more;—not expecting the honour done me, I had, since my sending it to the press, altered and augmented this Discourse so as almost to have made it another work; but now I find myself obliged to publish it in the same dress in which it was crowned. I have only subjoined a few notes, and inserted two additions easy to be remarked, which in speaking might have displeased the Academy. I judged that equity, respect, and acknowledgment, required this last advertisement.

REMARKS

REMARKS ON a SPEECH made in COMMON COUNCIL, on the Bill for permitting Persons professing the JEWISH Religion to be Naturalized, so far as Prophecies are supposed to be affected by it *.

First printed in 1753.

I With the Gentleman who went out of his way in Common Council to fetch an argument from Prophecy against the Bill for enabling the Jews to be naturalized, had said less on that head, or opened himself more fully upon it. I am always afraid for Religious topics when they fall into unskilful hands, or are made officiously subservient to temporal causes. Prophecy in particular is a two-edged sword, which should be trusted to those only who can use it with discretion. From the short sketch I have seen of his argument, I think he neither understood himself nor his subject.

The conclusion of his Speech, it seems, run thus: "By the Christian Revelation, the Jews were to be a dispersed and scattered people. They by theirs expect a restoration. We are going by this Bill to collect them together, and thereby, as far as in us lies, to falsify *our own* Prophecies, and verify the predictions of *theirs*."

I. The Jewish and Christian Prophets are here represented at variance with each other; by these the Jews are to be *dispersed*, by those *collected together*. Now I always apprehended the Jewish Prophecies are the very same in which the Christians believe; and if the latter have any which the former reject, I hope they are in no particular inconsistent. I am sure, before any argument can be drawn from them, it is incumbent on this City Orator to reconcile them. But,

II. Let us endeavour, if we can, to find out the opposition, which the Gentleman seems to point at. The great dispute between the Christians and Jews is, whether the Messiah is come or not. In proof that he is to come, that text is always urged, "The Sceptre shall not depart from

* This little tract was well received by those who were superior to narrow prejudices. See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 234.

"Judah,

"Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh come *;" and the Jews themselves are appealed to, a people dispersed over the whole earth, without laws or governors of their own, as a standing evidence that the sceptre has for many ages been departed from them. If this is *now* a good proof of the Christian Religion, it can *never* be overthrown. They have been held out to us as a monument, for a succession of ages, that their polity has been destroyed. Let us then, for a moment, even suppose them restored to their Jerusalem. Can they pretend to prove it was before the power of the sceptre was departed from among them; or, according to Daniel, before "Sacrifices were ceased †?" Nay, were a Messiah to appear, as they have lost the very genealogy of their tribes, would it be in their power to shew that he is of the tribe of Judah? The Gentleman then need not be in pain for the Christian Religion: An argument drawn from History which is once good, will always remain so, unless all the memorials of it are destroyed. But,

III. Are the Jews for *ever* to remain a mark of God's judgements, and a standing evidence for the conviction of Christians? or are they not to become a nation again, and recover the sceptre in Jerusalem? The more common opinion is, that they are to be restored; and so far are the Jewish and Christian Prophets from disagreeing, that citations to this purpose are urged from both of them. If it is said, Luke xxi. 24. "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled:" If, 2 Cor. iii. 15, 16. "when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart; nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away:" and to the same purpose, Rom. xi. 25, 26; We find it prophesied in the Old Testament, Hos. iii. 4. "The Children of Israel shall abide many days without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, and without an Image ‡, and without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim: Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their King [i. e. as many interpret, David their Prince, and Messiah], and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." Upon this theory then let not the Gentleman be afraid that we are fighting against God; while for aught he knows we are immediately seconding the gracious purposes of his will. And I

* Gen. xlix. 10.

† Dan. ix. 27. xi. 31.

‡ For *Image* the LXX and Vulgate read *Altar*; and therefore in the Hebrew for מצבה it was probably read מזבה.

might

might observe for his further comfort, that the Author of the "Short Method with the Jews" (not so *short a Method* perhaps as some could wish) observes, "That England is the most likely place where the conversion of the Jews shall begin." The Gentleman says, by the Bill we are going to "collect the Jews together," and by that means to defeat the Prophecies concerning them. What! to collect them all into England, and then to transplant them to Jerusalem! Not a hundred probably will be naturalized in ten years; and before we shall make a nation of them, we may trust that the "Times of the Gentiles may be fulfilled." We may as well then suppose we are making one step (how distant soever it be) towards the completion of all Prophecies, both of Jews and Gentiles, which is to take place in *the latter days*, perhaps after some thousands of years.

But whether the Jews are to be restored or not, are mere speculative inquiries, in which, let me tell the Gentleman, Religion is not concerned. There are both Jews and Christians who take the other side of the question, particularly Origen, Chrysostom, and Seder Olam, who suppose the times of the Gentiles will not be fulfilled till the day of judgement, and that the Jews will never possess their Jerusalem again. I refer him to Grotius on the place of St. Luke above cited; and the other passage, every Commentator will tell him, admits of very different interpretations.

The conversion of the Jews is much more universally believed than their restoration; but whenever the latter shall happen, the former is made a necessary condition of it. The Jews themselves conclude it is retarded by their wickedness, the Christians by their infidelity. "It shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the Blessing and the Curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee; and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart and with all thy soul; and then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. And if any of thine be driven out unto the utmost parts of Heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and
" from

“ from thence will fetch thee *.” Thus again : “ Thou shalt smite the
 “ Judge of Israel with a rod upon the cheek—Therefore will he give them
 “ up, until the time that she [the Mother Church, Rev. xii.] which tra-
 “ vaileth hath brought forth ; then the remnant of his brethren shall re-
 “ turn unto the children of Israel †.” Whether these and the like Pro-
 pheties were fulfilled, as some suppose, in the return of the Jews from the
 Babylonish captivity, or remain yet to be fulfilled, repentance or conver-
 sion is the previous step to their completion. And upon this supposition,
 the argument from Prophecy will run full as strong for the Bill as against
 it. “ Will you reproach us,” the Jews may say, “ with being an incom-
 “ municable people, while you, who have the powers of the earth in your
 “ hands, exercise them only to keep us at a distance from you ? Do you
 “ hope to bring us over to the faith of your religion, and yet not admit
 “ us to the terms of national society ?”—I leave the Gentleman, upon a
 religious principle, to give an answer.

IV. Whatever is the sense of these and other passages, let it be remem-
 bered, *Prophecies* in general are not *Precepts* : They are “ a light shining
 “ in a dark place,” given for the confirmation of our hope, not an abso-
 lute guide for our conduct : and, notwithstanding all the judgements de-
 nounced against the Jews, our duty is equally the same to behave to them
 according to the rules of humanity, justice, and policy. It may have
 heretofore entered into crowned heads, as well as into those of citizens,
 that to *scatter* the Jews was doing service to the Christian Religion. Such
 an event has proved a confirmation of it, and yet the instruments of bring-
 ing about that event were not a jot less guilty of injustice. If the ful-
 filling of a prophecy was any alleviation of a crime, the Jews might plead
 it for perpetrating the greatest, in crucifying the Lord of Life †. Let

* Deut. xxx. 1—4. and see Mich. vii. 20. “ Hoc est privilegium uni isti populo
 “ propter Patres datum.” Grotius.

† Micah, v. 1. 3.

‡ It is a noted observation, that the word *That* in the New Testament, when applied
 to Prophecies, denotes only the consequential *event*, not the intentional *end* of an action.
 As when it is said, “ THAT it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, &c.”
 But few observe how this sense is fetched out of the words. Now *ita* with the Subjunc-
 tive is used for *ita* with an Infinitive, and should in such instances be translated *So that*.
 Thus Rom. xi. 11. “ Have they stumbled, THAT they should fall ?” It should be
 “ stumbled, so AS to fall ?” Many places should be rendered after that manner, and I
 would so understand John vii. 23. “ If a man on the Sabbath-day receive circumcision
 “ so THAT the Law is not broken,” &c. &c.

not the Gentleman be troubled : God is able to effect his own ends ; and the less human counsels are *purposely* thrust in to forward them, the more clearly shall we see the over-ruling hand of Providence in their completion. It was foretold, for instance, that Ahab should be slain in battle. He was so, by the enemy who knew nothing of the prediction. But if such a report had been diffused through his own army, and they had on that account deserted him, the event would have added little to the credit of the Prophet : We may venture then to say,

V. That, after the destruction of the Temple, the bare *dispersion* of the Jews is nothing in itself wonderful ; and after the Empire became Christian, when honours were distributed among the followers of the Gospel, it was natural for the Jews to be contemned. But the other circumstance which attends their dispersion, their *preservation* through so many ages, notwithstanding their various changes and unsettled state, is what discovers the particular guidance of Heaven. “ Who can at this day pick out the “ ancient Romans from the numerous crowds of people who have thrown “ themselves into Italy ? who can distinguish, in Spain, the ancient Spaniards, and the Goths who conquered it ? The face of the world is “ changed both in the East and West ; and all nations are mixed and “ blended in a hundred different manners :—Without a singular Providence, a people disunited, and divided into an infinite number of distinct “ families, banished into countries whose language and customs were different from theirs, must have been mingled and confounded with other “ nations, and all traces of them must, these many ages, have entirely disappeared.—In spite of the general aversion conceived against them, in “ spite of the efforts of all those nations who hate them, and who have “ them in their power, in spite of every human obstacle, they are preserved “ by a supernatural protection, which has not in like manner preserved “ any other nation of the earth.—This preservation the Holy Spirit has “ declared to us in his work : Fear thou not, O Jacob my Servant, saith “ the Lord, for I am with thee ; for I will make a full end of all the “ nations, whither I have driven thee ; but I will not make a full end of “ thee, but correct thee in measure, yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished *.” Here let it be observed, that the Jews are themselves the

* Jerem. xxx. 10, 11. See more to the same purpose, Jer. xxxi. 36, 37. xxxiii. 24, 25, 26. xlv. 28. Isai. xxvii. 7. xxix. 7, 8. liv. 9, 10. lxxv. 8. Ezek. vi. 8. xi. 16, 17. xii. 15, 16. Amos, ix. 8, 9. Zech. x. 9.

chief instruments of fulfilling the prophecies concerning them: They studiously keep up an imperfect kind of union, which separates them from other nations; an union, which I do not apprehend that this act will either obstruct or promote. But of the two the Gentleman seems more desirous we should be a scourge to them in the hand of Providence, than second his intentions of their preservation: Or shall I say, he is afraid we shall remove "the vail from their hearts," and by our tenderness melt them into Christians? And yet these fears did not alarm the nation, when an Hospital * was founded for such of them as should be converted.

Upon the whole: the Prophecies concerning the Jews do not precisely determine whether they are to be restored to their country or not. If the Bill has any religious aspect, it tends naturally to their conversion, rather than their restoration; especially as Christians believe the former is to be made a necessary condition of the latter.

I meddle not with the political reasons for or against this Bill: my design was only to shew, that Christianity is no ways affected by it.

* Temp. Henry II. which is now the Office of the Rolls.

PREFACE to M. HEUSET'S "SELECTÆ R VETERI TESTA-
 " MENTO HISTORIÆ; ad usum eorum qui Latinæ
 " Linguae Rudimentis imbuuntur, 1726 *."

EXTRACT from Monf. ROLLIN.

As the following work was drawn up on a Plan of Monsieur ROLLIN, it may not be improper to give it the reader in his own words, from his "Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres," vol. I. p. 138.

I HAVE often wished there were some books expressly drawn up in Latin for the use of children upon their first entrance on this study. These compositions should be clear, easy, and agreeable. At first the words should be almost all in their natural order, and the phrases very short. Then the difficulties should insensibly increase in proportion to the progress the boys might make. Above all, care should be taken to introduce examples of all the rules they were to learn. Elegance should not be principally sought after, but clearness. Their business is to learn the Latin words, to accustom themselves to the different constructions peculiar to that language, and to apply the rules of Syntax to what they shall be made to read. One might give them some apophthegms of the Ancients, some stories taken from the holy Scriptures, as those of Abel, Joseph, Tobias, the Maccabees, and such like. Prophane Authors might likewise furnish us with some useful supplies. I shall here set down some short instances, which are fit only for the first attempts. In the stories taken from the holy Scriptures, I think too we should alter such expressive and phrases as are not met with in Latin authors. Thus in the following History of Tobias, for *in diebus Salmanasar*, I have put *tempore Salmanasar*; and for *in captivitate positus*, I have put *in captivitate abductus*. The word *Concaptivus* is not Latin, no more than *Consortium*, in the sense it is here taken; instead of the former I have used *exilii sui comitibus*, and for the latter *Societatem*.

* See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 155.

A former Professor of the University, to whom I communicated my design, has thought fit to draw up a collection of stories of this kind from the holy Scripture, for the use of such children as enter upon the study of the Latin tongue, or are in the first classes. I hope the public will be pleased with this small performance, and that their approbation will induce the Author to draw up a second in the same way, but of a different kind, containing moral stories and maxims, taken from ancient authors, and generally expressed in their own words, but free from all difficulties, and adapted to the weakness of young beginners.

This second work has been sent abroad since the first edition of mine, and the approbation of the public has confirmed my conjectures. And indeed I know of no book, which may be useful, and at the same time more agreeable to youth. It contains excellent principles of morality, collected with great order and judgement, with very affecting passages of history upon every article. I know some very considerable persons who acknowledge themselves to have found a great deal of pleasure in reading that little book.

M. HEUSET'S PREFACE.

THE generality of masters, who teach Latin, either publicly or privately, very justly complain, that we have not one ancient profane Author easy enough, or in other respects proper, to be put into the hands of children who are learning the first rudiments of that tongue, whom they might betimes accustom to translate into English. On this account, some have recourse to the holy Scriptures, where, besides the usefulness of the subject, they meet with a clear, plain, and less figurative style. But not to observe that children cannot conveniently make use of so large a volume as the Bible; the holy Scriptures, both in the historical and moral parts, contain many difficulties above their capacities: and we find in them a number of irregular constructions and expressions, either unknown to classical authors, or used by them in another sense.

The author of a judicious work, which has been lately published, upon "The Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres," was well aware of these inconveniences; and hath observed, that they might be remedied, either by comprizing in one small volume, some historical parts of the holy Scriptures that might be adapted to the use of children and

other persons who have only learned the elements of the Latin tongue; or by putting in a good plain style, some pieces of useful and agreeable history, selected out of the ancient Greek and Latin Authors. This plan has been thought by many a very useful one. And, in order to accomplish it, we have, according to the best of our abilities, drawn up this first collection, which we now publish to the world.

We have not proposed to make a continued abridgement of all the Old Testament, but only to extract from it some historical places, which yet we do not give entire, retrenching what appeared either too long, obscure, or not for our purpose. We have preserved, however, almost the whole of the Histories of Joseph and Tobias, because they are generally very pleasant and very agreeable to children. For the same reason, or to avoid too great alterations, which we must have made, in the choice of the histories, we have given the preference to some others, which may seem perhaps to be of less importance.

We have now and then departed from the expressions of the text, to substitute others that were more easy, or more agreeable to the rules of grammar, and the use of ancient Authors; so that there will be no reason to fear that the reading of these extracts may leave upon the memory of children several words and turns of expression, that may detract from the purity of Latin in the composition of their themes. For of such we have retained but a very small number, which we have distinguished by *Italick* in the narrations, and by Roman in the speeches, whenever they first occur, that they might be the better noted, and guarded against. Such, for instance, are the words, *sanctificare, benedici, humiliari, resurrectio, peccator, &c.*

With regard to the rest, it is proper to observe, that there are certain words which we are to make no difficulty of using in Latin on religious subjects, though they are not found in ancient Profane Authors, or are used by them in a different sense: for St. Augustin hath very judiciously determined, that these words became Latin, after the Latins became Christians; Religion having no less right to form some words, than Arts have when they are brought to perfection, and have occasion to express new objects.

We have almost always followed the Vulgar Translation, and have not left it but on some occasions where the Hebrew seemed to give us a more clear sense.

As

As there is room to hope that youth, and other persons who shall be put upon translating the first part of this Collection, will soon attain to a readiness in it, we have made the second part more difficult, by changing the natural order of the words, and by varying the expressions more, by making the phrases longer, and by using a style a little more elevated. We have also ventured to take a greater liberty of adding to the Text, and even to retrench what we thought necessary, particularly in the extracts of the History of David and Hezekias, which on that account we have placed after the History of the Maccabees.

We have nevertheless left in this second part some places in all their simplicity, because we would not have the same degree of difficulty run through the whole, lest we should discourage beginners, and because we thought it would be spoiling those places so much as to touch them. We have been well pleased that the holy Scriptures throughout are visible in this little work. The style, it is true, is by that means less uniform; but that is, on this occasion, so slight an inconvenience, that we did not think it our business to give ourselves any trouble to avoid it.

If we have not well executed the design which was proposed, we pray God to put it into the heart of those who are more capable of succeeding to set about it.

M. HEUSET'S PREFACE TO "SELECTÆ E PROFANIS SCRIPTORIBUS HISTORIÆ*"; quibus admista sunt varia
 "honestè vivendi Præcepta ex iisdem Scriptoribus deprompta; 1727."

THE approbation with which the world has received my little Latin Collection of select stories from the Old Testament, has determined me to present it with a second Collection from Profane Authors, together with some of their Moral Precepts. My design has been, in both, to put into the hands of children, and others that begin to learn the Latin Tongue, some little piece, that might be easy to understand, and at the same time improve their manners. No doubt can be made but that the Holy Scrip-

* See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 155.

tures afford us both those advantages; which is the reason, probably, that has induced so many masters, both in a public and private character, to make their scholars read that collection.

That this might, as far as possible, merit the same esteem, I thought it incumbent on me not to leave sight of these two objects, clearness of thought and expression, and usefulness of matter. With respect to the former, I have been obliged, and especially in the first part, to retrench, from the stories and maxims I borrowed, those thoughts which were subtle or obscure; to change sometimes expressions which were refined, and too far-fetched for children, into others that were more simple; to shorten phrases which were too long; and lastly, paying greater regard to plainness and facility than sound, to place the words in a more natural order; that manner of ranging them, which is so great a beauty to the Latin tongue, being a burden to all who first begin to translate the authors who have written in it. For this reason, the reader will find all the words almost of the first chapters of this book placed according to their natural and common construction. When we teach children language, it is sufficient at first to teach them rules, and make them know words. Time will follow, when they must attend to elegance. It is not till after the foundations of an edifice have been well laid, that we employ our thoughts about the decorations of the apartments.

The means I have taken to facilitate the understanding of the originals, have undoubtedly made them lose somewhat of their force and beauty: but, I dare promise, enough of it is left to render them pleasing and profitable to children. And I thought it would be doing no injury to the intention of these illustrious dead, whose works are designed for posterity, if in favour of those tender years, which are to be taught betimes to reap advantage from the lessons they have set, and to apply the remedies (as one of them expresses it *) which they have prepared for all mankind, I diminished for once somewhat of their majesty and ornaments. These will open to their young disciples in all their brightness and all their charms, as soon as they shall be capable of understanding them.

As much facility as we have endeavoured to give this little piece, we may now and then have left in it places somewhat difficult to children.

* *Posterorum negotium ago. Illis aliqua, quæ possint prodesse, conscribo. Salutares admonitiones, velut medicamentorum utilium compositiones, litteris mando. S. nec. Epist. viii.*

It is not therefore to be expected, that they who have but a slender knowledge of the first rudiments of the Latin tongue, should with ease understand it without the help of a master. It will be with this as with the easiest Classic authors, to understand whom every one at first has need of an interpreter and a guide. The advantage that it has above them, which yet we are far from intending to banish out of schools, is, that it unites, and places as it were in one point of view, a great number of maxims and examples, which may not only by their variety gain the attention of youth, but also contribute to the forming of their manners; the greatest advantage that can be drawn from reading Heathen Authors.

We shall there see, that these Heathens, even in the midst of the darkness of idolatry, teach us, That the Providence of God is not only watchful over all men in general, but over every individual: That he knows our most secret thoughts; and that it is he who inspires us with good ones, as well as condemns and punishes the evil: That the true worship due to him consists in purity of heart, and that unlawful desires are no more permitted than criminal actions: That he proves good men by afflictions, and gives them strength to bear them: That the happiness of man consists neither in pleasures, nor honours, nor opulence; but in virtue: That we ought not to indulge the body with any thing further than what is necessary for its support: That it is our duty to suffer injuries, not to render evil for evil; but to do good to all mankind, even our very enemies: That there is no such thing as true friendship, but what has virtue for its foundation and aim: That it is better to lose our quiet, our liberty, our life, than to be wanting to our duty, &c.

Good examples, generally of greater force than precept, especially upon the minds of young people, here present themselves throughout in crowds, and render virtue more lovely and respected. Sometimes we see generals of armies, whether Greeks or Romans, who, after having discharged the greatest employments of the state, and enriched their country with the spoils of their enemies, died so very poor, as not to leave enough to defray their funeral expences. Sometimes fathers renouncing the tenderest sentiments of nature, to secure the public liberty, and maintain the discipline of the army; or children inspired with courage by filial piety, and rendered ingenious to preserve the lives of those from whom they received their own. The richest bribes were not able to taint the noble disinterested

rested spirit of the Curii, the Fabricii, the Phocions, or that of Xenocrates. Nor the roughest threats, nor prison, exile, or death, shake the constancy of the Catos, the Metelli, the Reguli. Ill usage by them is borne with patience, is dissembled, forgot, pardoned. With them Friendship is sacred, religious, sincere; Liberty prudent and industrious: a frugal table, and plainness in dress, in furniture and house, is equally the taste of great Generals and Philosophers. Judges and Magistrates are clear, just, disinterested. Kings have the bowels of Fathers for their Subjects. Virtue is practised out of the love of duty, without any view of recompence; and nothing appears interesting that is not entirely agreeable to justice. In a word, the reader has here an assemblage of several strokes of Morality and History, many of which may serve as rules and models for the different conditions of life, and at the same time give some pleasure by the diversity of matter which they treat of; so that this little work, though designed for children, will not, perhaps, displease persons of more advanced age, who will here find summed up together, what they have formerly read dispersed up and down in various Authors.

If, amidst so many examples of different Virtues, we have mixed some of contrary Vices, it was only to shew the deformity of the latter, and to make them the more detested. We know what Livy has said of History in general *, That it furnisheth examples of every kind; some of which are patterns to be imitated, and others admonitions of what we ought to shun.

The examples I have chosen, are sometimes a little diffuse and circumstantial, and the precepts of morality more largely explained. Often, on the other hand, both are concise, and no more than the answer of some great General or Philosopher. The latter has this advantage, that they are the more easily retained. They are a sort of lively strokes, that penetrate deep: agreeably to the observation of Seneca †, who tells us, in his time, they made children learn moral maxims comprised in few words. And

* "Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi quæque reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vitæ." L. i. in Præf.

† "Facilius singula præcepta incidunt circumscripta, & carminis modo inclusa. Ideo pueris & sententias ediscendas damus: quia complecti eas puerilis animus potest." Senec. Epist. 33. Vide & Epist. 38. 94.

Quintilian * likewise advises to teach them, by way of diversion, the wise sayings of great men, and certain verses selected out of the Poets.

As I found it necessary to mix the precepts with the examples, as Cicero has done, that they might illustrate and enforce each other; I thought I could not do better than dispose this great field of matter agreeably to the method he has followed in his first Book of Offices, and to reduce to a certain order precepts and facts which are so diversified, that it would be difficult to retain them without such help. Cicero, every one knows, reduces his whole subject to Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. I have followed that division, being the plainest and the best known, dividing into four Books what I had to say upon these four Virtues; and have prefixed a very short one concerning God, Religion, and the Nature of Man. That which follows it upon Prudence is short likewise; because I straitened myself with respect to the Sciences, and to what relates to them.

The title of each chapter is generally a maxim proper to be remembered; because it contains in a few words the chief subject of the chapter. The Arabic Figures that occur in almost all the chapters serve to distinguish the different Sections. All that is contained in a chapter has not always a necessary connexion with the title. I thought it sufficient if it had a relation to the same subject. I did not think myself obliged to make all the chapters of equal length: but was generally ruled by the copiousness and importance of the subject. Nor have I been in any pain, through a scrupulous exactness, to bring into the several chapters a certain number of examples, and a certain quantity of morality. I sometimes give more, sometimes less. There are even some that contain nothing else but examples, and others nothing but moral precepts. I am persuaded, that the uniformity, which some perhaps would desire, would be less pleasing to children.

As there is a sort of connexion between all the Virtues, and often one great action, according to the different lights in which we view it, may be considered, for instance, as an act of Prudence or Justice; I have placed sometimes under one title what might be as well placed under another. It would be needless to say what determined me to this way or that. Since whatever occurs in a collection like this has its advantage, of what consequence is it that it be placed under one head rather than another?

* "Etiam dicta clarorum virorum ediscere inter lusum licet; & electos ex poetis
"maximè locos." Quintil. l. i. 2.

I have made use of all the ancient profane Authors, Greek as well as Latin, which I thought might contribute to the execution of my design. I have sometimes even blended them, as it were, together upon the same fact, or the same maxim, to make the object I proposed to the reader the more visible, and to avoid repetition. I have generally preferred, as I ought, the Latins to the Greeks; and have been exact in my references to both, that those who would might with ease have recourse to the originals.

If I have often abridged historical facts, and precepts of morality, it was to retrench what appeared less agreeable to my plan, or to prevent my work from growing too large.

I have not engaged myself in reconciling Historians with one another, in relation to the truth of a fact, or its circumstances. I cite my authority; that ought to be my warrant, and is enough for me.

I scarce any where pass my judgement, or make reflexions upon the passages I have produced in this work from the Ancients, leaving that care to the Masters, who will do it by word of mouth to more advantage than I could by writing*.

Seneca the Philosopher abounds with maxims and examples, many of which I have thought proper to make use of; and that the rather, because this Author is not usually read in Schools, and remains unknown to Scholars the rest of their lives. It is true, he betrays almost always an affectation in his style; but his expression is short, and his thoughts lively; and he embellishes his discourse with natural comparisons and images, which entertain the imagination: so that, with the alterations I have taken the liberty of making in what I have borrowed from him, I hope he will be able to please, and be intelligible to children, without any prejudice to them. I do not imagine I shall lie under any censure for having turned to a more favourable sense certain passages from this Author, and perhaps of some others likewise, with a view to render them proper for children. We meet in this philosopher, as well as in all the Heathen Writers, principles of morality, which ought not to be instilled into Christians without some correctives, to reduce them to that standard of truth which our Religion has taught us.

* "Ipse præceptor aliquid, imò multa quotidie dicat, quæ discipuli secum audita referant. Licet enim satis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione suppeditet, tamen viva illa, ut dicitur, vox alit pleniùs, precipuéque præceptoris, quem discipuli, si modo rectè sunt instituti, & amant, & verentur." Quintil. l. ii. c. 2.

Good men have the comfort of seeing the custom by degrees prevailing of sanctifying the public and private instruction of youth, by explaining to them, and making them every day get by heart, some passages of Scripture, which serve for a rule of conduct in the course of their lives. By these means they lay up insensibly a rich treasure, infinitely more valuable than what they inherit from their parents. Though that be sufficient to teach them the whole of their duty, since the word of God is a fruitful and an inexhaustible fund; yet they may add to it however another, which, though indeed of less value, is not without its use. What I mean is, they may furnish their memories with the purest maxims, both in prose and verse, that are to be found in profane authors, as we before said the Heathens used to do. These maxims, it must be owned, come to us through suspected channels; but that is no objection to their use, since they are eternal, and flow from the only source of truth and happiness. Those that shall think it proper to teach their children such lessons, will find this collection for their purpose: and it is partly for that reason I have added some verses, out of Publius Syrus.

Though man's reason has been much obscured by original sin, yet he has light enough left to trace the great lines of his duty. Those Heathen Philosophers, who were content to be guided by these faint lights of the law of nature, give us sometimes such solid and pure principles of Religion, that they seem to be not far from the doctrine of the Gospel. And then it is proper to point out to youth the likeness; and to observe what a shame it is that Christians, who have received the inestimable gift of faith, should have less rational sentiments of morality than those of a Heathen. Sometimes, on the contrary, we find in these pretended sages of antiquity such gross errors, that we plainly see the Divine Light, without which man sits in darkness, has not shined upon them. And from thence we should take occasion, to let children know how reason has been weakened and obscured by Sin, and how imperfect the morality of the Heathens is. The conclusion of all which is, That it is JESUS CHRIST whom we should give ear to: That it is the Gospel we ought to consult, as a sure and infallible oracle; that it is the Christian Religion alone that has the privilege of shewing the truth without any abatements of error. If therefore any principles of the Heathens should be found in this book, not agreeable to the doctrine of the Gospel, we trust the piety and vigilance of the masters will take care to observe to their scholars, in few words, in what particular those principles deviate from it.

There

There have been Heathens, no doubt, who, persuaded that it was reason which gave man his distinguished excellence and merit, endeavoured to follow it on many occasions, and practised it in several moral virtues. But, besides their want of the knowledge and love of the only true God, and Jesus CHRIST his Son, the only foundation for true solid Virtue; some of them, who passed for the most virtuous, lie under the imputation of great vices. Therefore we are far enough from proposing them here as perfect patterns. We report some of their great actions and wise sayings, without diving into the motives of either, or examining what inconsistencies they have fallen into upon other occasions. We generally shew their beautiful side, and so far as they may serve for an example of the virtue we recommend.

If the masters that shall set their pupils to translate this little book would give themselves the trouble to read, in the originals, the Lives of the Philosophers and great Generals, which we have given them but an imperfect knowledge of, they would find there a great many fine things to be picked up, from whence the youth under their kind might be insensibly, and very profitably, acquainted with the actions and sentiments of the heroes of antiquity.

It would not be improper likewise to let them into some knowledge of the several authors they translate; telling them, by the bye as it were, who they were; in what age they lived; and what subjects they wrote upon, &c. It is a great degree of learning, which costs little time, and is sure to be attended with good advantage.

Those masters, who have been well versed in the Ancients, and shall cast their eyes on this collection, will observe, perhaps, that we have omitted several examples and precepts of great beauty. They will be so good as to supply this defect, by word of mouth, or any other way. For my part, besides the necessity I was under of confining myself to certain bounds in every chapter, I chose the youth should read, some time or other, in the originals themselves, certain bright passages, which were too long to be suitable to my purpose, without being extremely injured. Some others there are, as well short as long, which slipped my memory. For this fault I humbly crave pardon, as well as for all the others I may have been guilty of in this little book: in compiling which I shall think my time happily spent, if it shall please God to give his blessing to it, to render it serviceable to Youth.

PREFACE

P R E F A C E

TO WALLIS'S "Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae, 1765 *,"

LINGUÆ Anglicanae Grammaticam, a viro eximio JOHANNE WALLISIO, S. T. D. Geometriæ Professore Saviliano in celeberrima Academia Oxoniensi, atque Regalis Societatis Londini sodale, Latine conscriptam, post iteratas editiones visum est, in Exterorum gratiam, denuo recudere, juxta exemplar inter ejus opera, Oxon. MDCXCIX. in Folio, prioribus longe auctius.

Subjungitur, utpote quæ cum Tractatu de Loquela Grammaticæ præfixo habet consortium quoddam & necessitudinem, "Epistola Auctoris ad Thomam Beverley, De mutis surdisque informandis."

Hujus Grammaticæ subsidio, adhibito Dictionario Anglico-Latino & Latino-Anglico accuratissimi nostratis Roberti Ainsworth, quivis Latine peritus ad linguæ Anglicanae notitiam perveniat. Quod si pleniorē ejus indolem pernoscere cupiat, consulat libellum, cui titulus "A Short Introduction to English Grammar, with Critical Notes," a viro ornatissimo Roberto Lowth, Canonico Dunelmensi, nuper editum, qui studiorum suorum complexu res fere dissociabiles conjunxit, aususque veteris poeseos orientalis fontes recludere, patrii sermonis rudimenta exquirere dignatus est.

In usum singularum gentium Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae melius forsan concinnata foret sermone cuique genti proprio; Italis una, Germanis altera, tertio Gallis, &c. Si vero hanc præ manibus intueamur exteris omnibus pariter aptam, opus esse censebitur non solum utile, sed summo judicio elaboratum. Vale.

Londini, Jan. 1, 1765.

* For the history of this Preface, and of that which follows it, see the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 361.

AN ENGLISH PREFACE,

Designed for Dr. WALLIS's Latin Grammar of the
English Tongue.

TO THE READER.

AS there are many rich treasures of learning and ingenuity contained in our English Writers, Foreigners often regret the want of being masters of them. And some of our natives, from a zeal for the honour of the nation, have wished that its language was more diffeminated, and not bounded with the extent of its conquests; that so the spirit of liberty, as well as knowledge, which breathes through every page of a Briton, might be communicated in its original channel to the proper objects of such a blessing, even to all mankind. As a manuduction, therefore, to this language, it has been thought proper to republish the incomparable Dr. Wallis's Grammar of the English tongue, written in Latin, that by the help of it, joined with the accurate Mr. Ainsworth's English-Latin and Latin English Dictionary, any one who understands Latin may attain to a knowledge of the English, and need no longer have recourse to the treacherous aids of French translations, "*malifidis Versionum Gallicarum auxiliis.*"

The edition which we now offer to the public is printed from the folio edition of that author's works, of the year 1699, corrected by his last hand, and much augmented beyond the former editions; which yet have left some gleanings for our further care. I shall just mention one or two of them:

P. 6. l. 21. Nam eorum קל et קל seu קל as it stands in the Folio edit. But we have presumed to omit the middle word as useless; for since the author instances only *Kametz-longum* and *Kametz-breve*, of what use קל could be, which is neither one nor the other, we could not understand. But if we have erred in this omission, we ask pardon of the reader.

P. 27. l. 3. *to glaze*, vitro obducere; *to graze*, gramen decerpere; we have ventured to add, which are necessarily to be supplied; to exemplify

the

the soft sound of *s*, in opposition to the hard sound before expressed in *glass*, *vitrum*, *grafs*, *gramen*.

P. 185. l. 19. *sed freeze* vox architectonica a *zephyrus*, by an error of the Printer for *zephyrus*.

Some other small inaccuracies of the like sort we pass over; and have only mentioned these, that, if in our turn we have betrayed some frailties, the common lot of printers and of human nature, the reader may be persuaded we have endeavoured to compensate for them in other particulars.

P. 103. l. 17. I know not whether I am to impute it to the author or the printer that *in the burning* [of] *this*, the word *of* was omitted in the other edition, which we have supplied in this. The English participle in *ing*, and the verbal noun of the same termination, require a different construction: *In burning this*, in *urendo hoc*, the participle governs an accusative: But *in the burning of this*, the noun has *the* before it, and governs a genitive after it. I the rather mention this, because it is an error, into which our best writers are apt to fall, as Dr. Lowth has shewn in his Short Introduction to English Grammar, p. 117. ed. 8vo. 1764.

P. 158. l. 9. The author tells us, that the groat was our largest silver coin before the reign of Edward VI. when shillings were first struck. This historical observation of his I durst not alter; but am obliged to observe here, that the word *shilling* was first applied to money in the latter end of Henry VII. A. D. 1504, as Fabian, who lived at that time, testifies*. I may further add, that the *Solidus*, called likewise *Sicilicus*, whence the Saxon *Scilling*, and afterwards our word *Shilling*, was a coin even from the Roman and Saxon times, as will be abundantly proved, against the opinion of all our antiquaries, in a work which will throw new light on various parts of polite literature, but of nummulary more particularly †.

To the Grammar we have subjoined an Epistle from the author to Thomas Beverley, *De mutis surdisque informandis*, in which, as in his *Traclatus Proæmalis de Loquela*, he has shewn (the first of any man) how every letter is mechanically formed by the mouth of the speaker, by which means even the deaf may be taught to pronounce it, so he has here shewn how a deaf and dumb person may be taught to write any language, and from thence to understand it.

* See Fleetwood's Chron. Pret. p. 40; and see Mr. Folkes's Table of English Silver and Gold Coins.

† Mr. Clarke's Connexion of Roman and Saxon Coins.

As one of the excellencies of this work consists in reducing our language to as few simple rules as possible, it may not probably be altogether perfect, it may perhaps be in some things deficient; and it were to be wished, that the before-cited ingenious author * would have vouchsafed, in notes or a preface, to have supplied such defects, the best qualified of any one for this task, who has made his progress from the earliest Eastern poetry to the most modern Northern prose, extending his views, like the royal master of all science, *from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall*. I cannot therefore oblige the reader more, or do greater justice to this book, than by improving it with some of his observations.

Dr. Wallis says, p. 76. that nouns substantive have no distinction of *Gender* or *Cases*.

As to the former, Dr. Lowth observes, "That the English tongue with singular propriety, following nature alone, applies the distinction of masculine and feminine only to the names of animals; all the rest are neuter: except when, by a poetical or rhetorical fiction, things inanimate and qualities are exhibited as persons, and consequently become either male or female. And this gives the English an advantage above most other languages in the poetical or rhetorical style. Thus,

"Was I deceiv'd? or did a fable cloud

"Turn forth *her* silver lining on the night?" Milton, *Comus*.

Here, however, a caution should be given, that such inanimate things only should be personified as authority has warranted, either from our best modern writers or the ancients, from whom we have borrowed most of our poetical genders. When Mr. Francis, in his *Horace*, l. ii. Sat. 6, translates:

"Nor yet to CHANCE this happiness I owe,

"Friendship like yours, SHE had not to bestow."

The reader, I believe, is in doubt whether he should admit this new Goddess or not. The Romans had two deities with nearly the same attributes, the one female, FORTUNA; the other male, BONUS EVENTUS; and we seem to have naturalized the former only.

In regard to *Cases*, Dr. Wallis, p. 69, to preserve the uniformity of his rule, makes the termination in *s* after nouns, which supplies the word or before them, a succedaneum to the adjective possessive. So that *man's nature* is *natura humana*; *Virgil's Poems*, poemata Virgiliana. But in the

* The present excellent Bishop of London.

first place, *poemata Virgiliana* does not necessarily express the force of *Virgiliæ poemata*; the latter denoting poems which are the product of Virgil; the former those which are made like his. 2dly, Upon Dr. Wallis's supposition, it must be said, that adjectives, which were before possessives, have still needlessly another possessive term added to them, and are made, as it were, *double* possessives, as *ours, yours, theirs, hers*, p. 92. 3dly, What occasion have we to go to the learned languages for this termination, when we can deduce it so clearly from our own mother tongue, the Saxon; where, in the first declension, the genitive singular and the nominative plural end in *s*, as they do to this day: as *Smith*, gen. *Smithes*; plur. *Smithes*.

We have several proper names, indeed, which seem in the nominative to terminate in *s*, as *Williams, Richards, Edmunds*, &c. but those were originally genitives likewise; for as the Greeks understood $\delta. \psi\omicron\varsigma$ before the genitive, $\tau\tilde{\epsilon} \Sigma\eta\tilde{\iota}$, $\tau\tilde{\epsilon} \text{Αδ\alpha}\mu$, &c. so *Williams* was used for the son of *William*. In like manner Harry Stephens observes; the French in some places said, *Les d'Hanri*, for *Les fils d'Hanri* *. By corruption we have gone further, and from considering *Stephens* as a nominative, add another *s* to make it a genitive, as when we say *Henry Stephens's printing*, &c. This termination the later Latin writers seem to have considered with Dr. Wallis as the mark of possessive adjectives, rendering *Williams, Gulielmus, Richards, Richardus, Edmunds, Edmondus*, &c.

But whatever imperfections Dr. Wallis has betrayed, they are very pardonable among his many excellencies. In etymology it must be owned he reigns, a branch of knowledge which, though often abused by bad hands, is of great service in good ones, and which not only helps us to the true meaning of words, but secures them from being corrupted by the mouths of the populace. I shall take the liberty of illustrating this by an instance, which is every day prevailing, and bringing on barbarity under an affectation of politeness. From the authority, I think, of the late Dr. Middleton, and some others since, the word PURSUE is daily written PERSUE, deriving it, no doubt, from the Latin PERSEQUOR, which is a remarkable proof of their ignorance in both languages. For, in the first place, English words derived immediately from the Latin, come from the supines, as *persecute* and *persecution* do. But by what powers will they bring *pursue* from any sense of *persequor*? I will add, secondly, from any sense of it likewise?

* See Hen. Steph. de la conformité du language François avec le Grec, p. 5.

The first and genuine use of which is not to *pursue*, to follow at a distance, but to follow so as to come up to, to attend and accompany. *Familia aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis persecuti sunt regem.* Liv. xxxix. 31 *. And thus in the metaphorical sense the word *persecute* signifies. But to follow at a distance is *prosequor*, from the supines of which comes our word *prosecute* †. Does not this plainly shew that we must fetch the original of *pursue*, not from *persequor*, but from the French *poursuivre*, and that from *prosequor*; who change the Latin *pro* into *pour*, as *pro me*, *pour moy*; *prosequor*, *poursuivre*; but *per* into *par*, as *per Deum*, *par Dieu* ‡.

As Etymology leads us to the true meaning of words, it is a kind of historical knowledge, which renders the study of Grammar entertaining. The progress of the Greek tongue to the Getes or Goths (mentioned p. 170), and from them to the Saxons, will open a theory, which the reader will some time hence see wonderfully illustrated, explaining the uniformity and the difference between the weights and coins of our nation with the Gre-

* And, to cite a Rhetorician in the cause of Grammar, *Æolica quoque litera, qua servum, cervumque dicimus, etiam si forma a nobis repudiata est, vis tamen nos PERSEQUITUR.* Quintil. l. x. c. 10.

† Would it not make one smile to see a late author happily tracing out old English words in Shakespeare from French, and at the same time antiquating modern English up to antient Rome? Thus, says he, *The Lord alloweth the Righteous*, i. e. approveth, from *à louer*, *laudare*. But for fear his own English should favour of such Gallic fetters, what a Hybridous compound does he make of the word *PERSUE*? Write it *pursue*, as our mothers did before us, it comes naturally from *poursuivre*: But if you derive it immediately from the Latin, it should be *persecute*.—After all, does the French *poursuivre*, whence our *pursue*, come from *persequor*, or *prosequor*? Is it not *pour moy*, *pro me*; but *par tout*, *per totum*? According to this taste, with fresh elegance and more propriety, it should be written *profue*.

‡ From this sense of the word *per*, Mr. Markland, *Quæstio Grammatica, ad finem Eurip. Supplic. p. 255.* 4to, corrects a passage in Hor. Ep. l. i. vii. 82.

persuadet uti mercetur agellum.

Mercatur: ne te longis ambagibus ultra

Quam satis est morer; ex nitido fit rusticus, &c.

Si dixisset *suadet uti mercetur*, recte subjecisse potuit, *mercatur*: sed *persuadet* satis significavit hominibus Romanis Vulteiū, jam mercatum fuisse, et sine necessitate addi *mercatur*. Lego et distinguo:

persuadet uti mercetur agellum:

Mercatus (ne te longis ambagibus ultra

Quam satis est morer) ex nitido fit rusticus, &c.

And see the same author in his Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, p. 27.

If any undoubted instances should be produced of *persequor* being used from *prosequor*, they will not overthrow what I have advanced from the general distinction in tense between *per* and *pro*; from the uniform change in French of *per* and *par*, and *pro* into *pour*; and I may add from the no less uniform derivation of English words from the supines of the Latin.

cian and the Roman *. In the mean time, I shall just mention one word, which our great restorer of Northern literature gained much honour in explaining; yet has not, I think, been traced far enough to its original. The Scotch word *Ule*, it is well known, he derives from the Scandinavian *Ol* †, from whence the Cimbric *Iol*, and the Dano-Saxon *Iul*, a *feast* in general; but applied in time to denote the principal one, the season of Christmas in particular. But he should not have stopt here. We have still the more precise meaning of it in the Greek *Ούλαι*, barley; a word as old as Homer, who mentions *Ούλαχυστα* ‡ the *mola-falsa* used in sacrifices, made of barley. And Hesychius explains *Ούλας*, by *κριθαίς*. As the Northern nations were distinguished for using a beverage made of malt, it is no wonder that their feasts and computations were denominated from that which was the principal concomitant at them, and that the principal feast went by that name. So that *ale* and *beer* come from the same denomination, as well as from the same materials; the latter from *barley*, as Dr. Wallis observes, p. 170; the former from *Ούλαι*, as we have now seen §.

To produce the various lights which Etymology affords would be endless, but I may be indulged to mention one more instance, as it opens an inquiry into some part of the history of our profession, in which the learned world has vouchsafed to be interested.

John Faust, or *Fust*, is by many, I believe, thought to have derived his name from *Faustus*, happy, and Dr. *Faustus* seems to carry an idea of grandeur in the appellation. But very erroneously: *John Faust*, or *Fust*, is no more than *John Hand*, whence our name *Fist*. This is of small moment in itself, if an eminent German critic had not refined too much upon it, and led himself into a mistake by his too great knowledge. The famous editions of Tully's Offices (for there are two at least) by John Fust, have generally these colophons:

“*Præfens Marci tullij clarissimū opus. Johannes fust, Mogūtinus civis. nō atramēto. plumali cāna neq. aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. Petri manu pueri mei feliciter effeci. finitum Anno M. cccc. lxx.*”

* Alluding to Mr. Clarke's book on Coins, at that time unpublished.

† Hicetii Thes. Lingg. Septentr. v. I. p. 211. Ejusdem libri conspectus brevis a G. Wotton, p. 28. Notes on Ælfric's Saxon Homily, Append. p. 29, 30.

‡ Il. A. 419. et alibi.

§ See a particular Dissertation on the Gule or Yule of the Saxons, by Mr. Bowyer, in the present volume, p. 154.

The second is worded with more exactness, and stands thus :

“ Presens Marci tulij clarissimū opus. Johannes fust Mogūtinus civis. nō attramēto. plumali cāna neq. aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. manu Petri de gernshem pueri mei feliciter effeci finitum. Anno M. cccc.lxvi. quarta die mensis februarij, &c.

Now Schmidius, in Nov. Test. Norimbergæ, 1658, p. 5, tells us, he was possessed of a copy of this book, with the first of these colophons ; and had heard of, but never seen, the other. This learned critic, full of the meaning of the name *Fust*, says, “ Moneo non rectè scribi *manu Petri*, &c. quasi *τὸ manu* esset ablativus instrumenti ; quum ab autore, licet *σολοικως*, usurpetur in Genitivo *, *arte Petri Manu*, & sit proprium, *Peter, Fust, oder Fautt*, non appellativum.” The Latin indeed, if so read, is not disagreeable to the rudeness of the age, when that language, though much diffused, was yet read and written with a very low degree of accuracy. But the misfortune is, Schmidius’s reading is inconsistent with history. For it does not appear that John Fust had any son or servant named Peter, except *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*, to whom, for being an useful assistant to him in his art, he gave his daughter Christian Fust in marriage, and I have not heard that it was a custom in Germany for the husband to change his name for the wife’s. There can be very little doubt, therefore, of there having been *two editions*, unless the variation is accounted for by supposing that the colophon in Schmidius’s copy was printed off before it was fully corrected ; which might possibly be the case, because the month and day seem to have been omitted. But, after all, if Schmidius had *seen* the colophon of 1466, he must have given up his interpretation of *manu*.—We leave this, however, as a curiosity to be sought after ; and as highly to be prized, when possessed, as Duke Lauderdale’s Bible, with the forgery in it of, *Paul, a KNAVE of Jesus Christ* †.

I have made these slight excursions as a diversion to the reader, before he enters on the drier study of Grammar, and to convince him that the first elements of it will soon lead him into inquiries of greater importance.

* So for the dative *Parce metu*, Virg. and *Sed adhuc supererat centies tibi laxum*, Martial, l. III. epig. xxii. adhibete manus annulum, Luc. XV. 22.

† See an account of this book in the Notes of Fortescue Aland, Esq. on Lord Chief Justice Fortescue on Absolute and Limited Monarchy, p. 42.

M R. B O W Y E R ' s P R E F A C E

To "JOHANNIS HARDUINI, Jesuitæ, ad Censuram Scriptorum Veterum Prolegomena, 1776."

QUALEM sententiam Johannes Harduinus de plerisque, ut perhibentur, Veterum scriptis tulerit, jam dudum ex operibus ejus innotuit. Ex quo Plinium ediderat A. D. 1685, ejus auctoris admiratione adeo videtur percussus, ut cæteri fere omnes præ illo sorderent: mox nihil antiquitatis sincerum crederet, nisi cujus vestigia ibi non deprehenderet. Hac trutina non solum priscorum sæculorum fidem librat, verum etiam stylum et eloquentiam. "Habebant, inquit, illi [impia cohors] idoneos artifices omni stylo. "Latinitas tamen in omnibus a PLINIANA, aliaque simili vetere longe discrepans*."

Ipsæ sane quibus gradibus morbus iste animi ingravesceret, in hoc libello narrat: "Nos mense Augusto, anno 1690, cœpimus in Augustino et æqualibus fraudem subodorari; in omnibus mense Novembri suspicati sumus; totam deteximus mense Maio, anno 1692, prolixis et singulis scriptoribus Græcis Latinisque excerptis descriptis †."

Circa ad igitur temporis, tanquam si in tertium usque cœlum jam raptus esset, caute et personatus nuntium inenarrabilem, certe haud credibilem, profert: "Afferam," inquit, "hoc loco non inanis quidem semper conjectoris, sed nunc tamen plus justo fortassis suspiciosi, ingenioque nimium indulgentis hominis conjecturam. Accipiet quisque ut volet. Deprehendit ille, ut quidem mussitabat nuper nobiscum, cœtum certorum hominum ante sæcula nescio quot exstitisse, qui historiæ veteris concinnandæ partes suscepissent, qualem nunc habemus, cum nulla tum exstaret: sibi probe notam illorum ætatem atque officinam esse; inque eam rem istis subsidio fuisse, TULLIUM, Plinium, Maronis Georgica, Flacci Sermones et Epistolas: nam hæc ille sola censet, quod vereor ut cuiquam suadeat,

* Proleg. p. 15.

† Ibid.

“ex omni Latina antiquitate sincera esse monumenta, præter inscriptiones
“admodum paucas*.” Pullulasse denique ait hanc largam fictionum se-
getem seculo quarto-decimo †.

Novum istud dogma ut non erat senectæ suspiciosæ delirium, sed maturæ
ætatis fœtus, ad annum quinquagesimum nondum provectæ; ita quosdam
ex Loyolitarum gente id monstri aluisse, erant qui multis argumentis pro-
bare niterentur. Postquam enim per annos quosdam fusque deque sparge-
retur, Dominus La Croze publice testatus est autorem summo honore a fra-
tribus habitum; adeo famæ ejus et suæ securis, ut novæ editioni concili-
orum procurandæ eum præficerent: totius familiæ cordi esse veteribus mo-
numentis pretium deterere, et quæ pro certis essent habita, incerta reddere:
eo forsan consilio Germon Jesuitam Mabillonii Benedictini librum de re
diplomatica, maxima laude ab omnibus receptum, oppugnasse; quem
P. Coustant iridem Benedictinus propugnavit; idemque certamen noster
mox redintegrat, p. 73. Tantus est ordinum inter suos fraternus amor!
Hæc si secum reputasset Middletonus nostras ‡, vix, credo, tam fidenter
contra Chapmannum sponderet Harduini commenta non esse nisi unius Je-
suitæ veterinosi somnia, ab omnibus ludibrio habita, et habenda.

Ut ut illud sit, exprobratio isthæc a Domino La Croze profecta A. D.
1707, hoc effecit, ut eopse anno Harduinus opiniones, quas Superiorum
permisso in lucem ediderat, eorundem jussu retractarit. Dissimulasse vero,
non mutasse sententiam, ex hoc opere posthumo abunde patet; ubi, ut
antea, bis triplicem solummodo veterum scriptorum turbam in vasto tem-
poris gurgite superesse docet. “Servavit antiquitas duntaxat e Latinis
“PLAUTUM, Plinium, Virgilii Eclogas novem cum Georgicis; Horatii
“Satyras et Epistolas: e Græcis Homeri Iliada et Odysseam, et Herodoti
“libros novem §.”

Cernis, lector, indiculum hunc expurgatorium a priori aliquantum dis-
crepare. Latinorum scriptorum convenit numerus, unica vero commutata
persona; qua in re doleres viri inconstantiam et humanitus aliquid patientis,
nisi dolus malus et artes inhonestæ elucerent, quæ bilem moveant magis
quam veniam efflagitent. Inter varia nova tentamina, Plinio suo, famæ,
scilicet, et nomini ejus consulens, patriam abjudicarat; cum enim ille an-

* Chronologiæ ex Nummis Antiquis restitutæ Prolusio de nummis Herodiadum, in
notis, sub ann. LI. Permissio datur 1692.

† Proleg. p. 14. 16. 18. &c.

‡ “The stale and senseless whim of a single old Jesuit, published about forty years ago,
“without any other effect than of being laughed at ever since by all men of sense.”
Middl. P. S. to Introd. Disc. p. 61.

§ Proleg. p. 196.

nos NOSTRÆ urbis sæpius memorans Romam intelligat, Romanus, inquit *, erat, non Veronensis. Huic la Croze Ciceronis istud objicit: "Ego me-
 "hercule et illi et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias; unam
 "naturæ, alteram civitatis: ut ille Cato, cum esset Tusculi natus, in Po-
 "puli Romani civitatem susceptus est †." Rursum, Juliam gentem a Ve-
 nere, indeque ab Ænea, profluxisse negarat ‡. Cui La Croze regerit §,
 C. Julium Cæsarem diserte Venere prognatum dici apud Cic. Ep. ad Fam.
 l. viii. 15. Quid ad hæc Harduinus?—Ex judicio sextumvirali Ciceronem
 submovet, et, ut vices ejus præstet, Plautum clam subjicit, ne posthac tam
 luculento suffragio obruatur.

Quanquam vero profanos Scriptores primum convellit, id præcipue in
 animo videtur intendere, ut patres et versiones sacri codicis, præter Vul-
 gatam Latinam, in exilium relegaret. Nil mirum igitur, si cum ratione
 et religione insaniens consilium primum nunquam abjecerit. Bellum sacrum
 indicit, et pergit monumenta vetera dejectum ut templum imperiumque
 Romæ super traditionis fundamentum stabiliat.

Ut, inter *Opera Varia* Amstel. 1733 edita, in Virgilii Æneïda et Odas
 Horatii Criticen contexuit, ita in his Prolegomenis palam facit se quosdam
 ex ecclesiasticis scriptoribus sigillatim ad examen revocasse: "Augustinum,
 "Bernardum, et Thomam confecimus, concilia quoque pleraque; cætera
 "similiter peracturi, et alia scripta, dum erit vita superstes ||."

Parti cuidam hujus incepti ista Prolegomena exarata videntur, ut disci-
 mus ex additamento ultimo mox subsequuto. Illud quidem in naufragio
 fortunarum suarum, quod tota familia Jesuitica nuper fecit, periit, aut
 nescio qua terrarum parte latet. Hoc vero fragmentum, quasi ex undis
 ereptum et in manus P. VAILLANT bibliopolæ traditum, noluit ille orbi lite-
 rario invidere. Paradoxa enim per se cum novitate sua delectant, tum
 longe magis Harduini artificio exornata, qui tam belle novit dare obscuris
 nitorem, lucidis umbram, fictis probabilitatem, omnibus denique speciem,
 prout velit, et gratiam. Istud, igitur, quicquid est, fideliter imprimendum
 curavit; autographumque ipsum in Museo Britannico reponendum, tan-
 quam votivam tabulam, posteritati consecravit. Paucula hæc, quæ raptim

* Chronol. V. T. sub ann. U. C. 608.

† Cic. de Legg. l. ii. init. La Croze, Vindiciæ Veterum Scriptorum, contra Har-
 duinum, Roterod. 1708, p. 149.

‡ Chron. V. T. sub A. D. 14.

§ Vind. Vet.

|| Proleg. p. 10.

prælibavi,

prælibavi, erudito colloquio, quo vir reverendus CÆSAR DE MISSY * me honestavit, accepta debent referri. Si quid imprudenter dictum sit, meæ tribuendum est inscitæ; si quid quod non displiceat, ejus laudi; qui mox, ut spero, plura super hac re publica luce dignabitur.

P. S.

* Who soon after published "De Joannis Harduini Jesuitæ Prolegomenis cum Autographo collatis, Epistola quam ad amicissimum virum Wilhelmum Bowyerum iisdem nondum prostantibus scripserat Cæsar Missiacus [vulgo C. De-Missy] Reg. Maj. Brit. à Sacris Gallicè peragendis."

The beginning and end of this curious Epistle are here extracted, as a proper complement both to Mr. De Missy and Mr. Bowyer.

"CÆSAR MISSIACUS WILHELMO BOWYERO salutem plurimam dicit; et gratias agit habetque quam maximas, de facta sibi tam liberaliter, non impressi tantum libri, sed autographi quoque copia. Utrumque legi; nec legi modo, sed inter se, quoad licuit, contuli: tum vero, quod velle te senseram, naevos in impresso, si qui forent, adeo non indiligenter sum venatus, ut quæ me pro te talium venatorem fecerat amicitia, hostilem paene videretur æmulari male feriat vitiligatoris inquisitionem. Sed exitum prævidebam: et hæc enim jam nobis existit adhibitæ diligentiae merces, ut sancte testari queam de summa tua præcipuis in rebus fide, talique vel in minimis cura qualem laudare Stephani Plantinique potuissent, vellicare certe non ausi fuissent: nam ne Stephanorum quidem Plantinorumque tam perpetua fuit felicitas, in sacris etiam Codicibus edendis, ut omnino nihil prætermitterent ab operis peccatum. quas autem tu non plane nullas id genus maculas in hoc officinae tuæ foetu non absterfas reliquisti, tales illae profecto sunt, ut eas recensere propemodum pudeat, vixque dignae videantur quarum caussa componas preloque mandes *Erratorum*, quem vocant, Indicem: ni forte pauculas quasdam carpamus.——Ultima nempe jam sola restat pagina, quæ quidem novae nobis ansam præbeat animadversionis. Ibi videlicet sic legitur quæ prior pars est ultimi paragraphi: Hactenus dicta sufficiant veluti *Prolegomena* quaedam, præmittenda lectioni censuræ nostræ, qua liquido apparebit, ut spero, tot operum Dogmaticorum et Historiæ (ut vocant) Ecclesiasticæ, eo spectasse opifices, ut Religionem totam, si possent, funditus pessumdarent: Hanc autem partem sic antea constituerat Harduinus: 'Sed hactenus dicta sufficiant, veluti *Prolegomena* quaedam, præmittenda lectioni Censuræ nostræ, tum jam peractæ de Augustini et Bernardi operibus illis, quæ vulgo genuina creduntur, et de Summa Thomæ Aquinatis, ut vocant: tum peragendæ de ceteris, sed contractius; si Deus vitam et vires et mentem dederit. Liquido apparebit, ut spero, ex illa quidem Censura, operum Dogmaticorum et Historiæ (ut vocant) Ecclesiasticæ, eo spectasse opifices, &c.' An ipse vero mutavit; itemque, si mutavit, an ex toto mutationem fecerit, an partim tantum; non possum, fateor, quin dubius hæream. Sed hac de re verbo monuisse, mihi quidem sat esto: ne professi modo pudoris nunc oblivisci videar. Paginam librumque claudit vox *Finis*. Hanc tu Prolegomenis apposuisti: eandem per me licet uti heic apponas, vel appositam videre simules. Et habet tamen etiam posterior postremi paragraphi pars non nihil, de quo non invitatus aliquid adjicerem: Adeo trahit me mea garriendi tecum voluptas: Sed neque mihi tantum temporis usque vacat ab officiis; et scio te nimis ab aliis occupatum, tuosque in literario studio cursus adeo non morari velim, ut, si compendium temporis futurum putes, hanc meam epistolam simul edere cum Harduini Prolegomenis; non intercessurus sum quominus vel expressis edatur nostris utriusque nominibus.

P. S. CUM in MSto loci sint nonnulli lineola obducti, indicante eos esse omittendos; alii qui corrigentis manus aliquantum postulate videntur, quos tamen sponte nostra religio erat immutare; utrosque singulos subjunximus*, ut si lector aliquando tanti viri curas secundas desideret, habeat saltem primas.

Vir iste Corisopiti in Britannia Aremorica natus, A. D. 1646; obiit Parisiis, Sept. 2, 1729; non infeliciter a M. DE BOZE hoc epitaphio ad vivum fere expressus:

“ In expectatione judicii
Hic jacet
Hominum paradoxotatos,
Natione Gallus, Religione Romanus,
Orbis literati portentum:
Venerandæ antiquitatis cultor et destructor.
Docte febricitans
Somnia et inaudita commenta vigilans edidit.
Scepticum pie egit
Credulitate puer, AUDACIA JUVENIS, deliriis senex.”

“ Les Jesuites des Paris ont condamné en termes tres forts les sentimens
“ du P. Hardouin, et l'ont contraint de les retracter d'une maniere honteuse.”

M. Le Clerc to Mr. Addison, Amst. 12 Feb. 1709; among
Swift's Letters, vol. I. Lett. XV.

“ nominibus. Quid enim, quaeso, si forte *exuberans*; aliquis indecorum censeat, palam
“ nos in partem venire libros vulgandi Jesuiticos? Ego certe clam nollem, si palam non
“ auderem. Vale, vir clarissime, meliusque vale quam valeo: Et quod has literas, quas
“ tibi strenae loco Calendis Januariis mittere cogitabam, non ante datas dicere licet
“ quam venerint *Idus Martiae*, id morbo dumtaxat assignandum puta gravi, tenacique,
“ nec dum plane depulso, cujus binas accessiones ita prae caeteris lethiferarum similes
“ expertus sum, ut si tertia talis incidisset in *Idus Martias*, forsitan mihi *Caesarum* mi-
“ nimo non minus illa dies lethalis venisset, quam venisse fertur Julio Caesarum maximo.
“ Quod hanc autem vivus adhuc, et infirmus quidem, veruntamen laetus contemplor, in-
“ gratus essem profecto nisi illud egregio Viro Medicoque *Francisco Philippo Duvallio*
“ acceptum referrem: quanquam nec illius immemor sum, sine cujus numine nec alius
“ nec sibi metipsis plus valent Medici quam Caesares. Solus ille perduxit nos ad annum
“ reparatae Salutis MDCCCLXVI. Faxit idem precor, ut quod cuique nostrum vitae su-
“ perest, id pie simul et hilariter transigamus.”

* For these it will be sufficient to refer to the publication itself, p. xi. et seqq.

CURSORY REMARKS ON DR. WOTTON'S Edition * of the
Laws of HOWELL DDA, 1730.

BOOKS, like the writers of them, owe their success to time, chance, recommendation, singularity, or merit. From one or other of these motives we might have expected the *Welsh Laws*, published by the late Dr. Wotton, to have had a better fate. The author was encouraged by the late Archbishop [Wake]; and so numerous were the subscribers, that he was obliged to increase the number of copies he first began printing, and to reprint 60 sheets to satisfy this growing patronage. In what then did it balk their expectations? They perhaps thought they should have had a code of laws of the Ancient Britains representing their Police before the times of the Romans.

Had they any reason to be angry if they were undeceived in this particular? If truth be the end of all our researches, it is no great matter whether the event prove agreeable to our prepossessions, or remove them: of the two the latter one would think should be the more esteemed, as it partakes more of a new discovery. Upon a general view of the thing, were not these laws as likely to be *useful*, when found to be drawn up on a plan of the Saxon government, as if they had been older than Julius Cæsar's time?

The editor then, at first setting out, examines an enquiry into the truth of that opinion which had been swayed by Leland, Bale, Pits, Priſe, Sheringham, Silas Taylor, Rowland, Hunter, Lluyd, &c. of a body of laws being drawn up by Dunwallo Molmutius many ages before Howell Dda, observes there are three testimonies besides that, of little authority, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and makes a laugh of its forgery, as it contradicts all true history.

The next testimony is from Alured of Beverley, which the editor of him, Mr. Thomas Hearne, would make more ancient than Geoffrey of Monmouth. But our author has fixed his age from his own account of himself, some time after the Council of Westminster, which was held in 1141, as is evident from Malmesbury, who says Easter was that year the 3d kal. April or Mar. and yet the editions print it 1142, as has Sir H. Spelman, and, notwithstanding this admonition, the learned editor of English Councils. This

* See the "Anecdotes," pp. 50. 73. 142. 529.

authority of Alured of Beverley is no more than that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, from whom he copies.

The next is of Caradoc of Lancarvon, who brought his history of Wales down to 1156, sixteen years after Geoffrey's History came out, and was never published except in English, 1584, with many marks of additions by his translator Humphry Lluyd. So that at first view it is a book little to be depended on. This book improves the story of the Molmutian laws, by letting Dunwallo's Queen Mertia appear in the title of them when Alfred had translated them into Saxon. And yet Bishop Nicolson has shewn abundantly that the Saxons never heard of any laws under that title.

As to the credibity of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is little to be depended on, if we may believe two of his contemporary writers, one of them his countryman, William of Newburgh and Giraldus Cambrensis. Newburgh's testimony against him David Powel would take off, by urging, that he wanted to succeed Geoffrey of Monmouth in the bishoprick of St. Asaph, about A. D. 1165; but was repulsed by the Welsh prince, from whence he bore a spleen against the Welsh nation. I must observe that David Powel cites authorities for this that never yet were produced; that it differs from better history, which makes it more possible for Newburgh, though so old, to stand for a bishoprick when Geoffrey died.

Having shewn the authority urged for these laws of Molmutius to be without foundation, he then says, that it is impossible there should have been any such, by examining into the state of the Britains, from the first notices we have of them under Julius Cæsar, who expressly tells us, that the Druids, who preserved these laws, made a part of their religion to commit none to writing.

Claudius was the first that reduced part of Britain to a Roman province, which from his time was governed, as other provinces were, by the laws of their conquerors. As a proof that Britain was so, he gives you the oldest inscription that has yet been found in Britain, to a better purpose where it is legible, and better applied where it is not, than it ever was produced before; by which it appears, that Cogidubnus, a king of the Regni, was admitted to a citizenship of Rome, if not made Claudius's lieutenant here. This inscription is the more lucky as it serves to remove the great Stillingfleet's mistake, who, observing in his time fewer remains of Roman antiquities among the Regni, concludes that, contrary to the usual custom of provinces, they had the exercise of their own laws allowed them. To the authority of this inscription, he adds the testimony

testimony of history, which tells us that the Britains, like other conquered provinces, every day became Roman citizens, and consequently were governed by Roman laws. A proof it is the famous victory, not rightly understood, of Boadicia at Camalodunum and Verulamium, where there were 70 or 80 thousand citizens and allies slain, among whom there were few of them foldiers. Whence then so numerous a slaughter, but among the Britains themselves, their fellow-citizens and allies, with their new conquerors? And yet in how obscure, or rather false light, do our historians represent this villainy! In this massacre about 7000 Romans and their associates lost their lives, says Milton.

Our author then tells us through what channels justice was administered, viz. by the emperor's lieutenant chiefly; only in matters relating to the treasury his procurator had a particular jurisdiction: the former by an uncertain kind of rule, indeed partly conformable to the prætor's edicts at Rome, or the emperor's on particular occasions, or his own when he sat, till Hadrian formed what was called the *Edictum perpetuum*, which was afterwards divided into *Edictum Urbanum et Provinciale*, which was a fixt and written law for the provinces to go by. This was abolished by Caracalla, who extended the rights of Rome to all the provinces, unless to those who had the privilege allowed them of following their own laws.

The Britains having been thus governed by a Roman law for near 400 years, the jurisdiction of the Druids was sufficiently worn out. Upon the departure of the Romans, A. D. 449, the Saxons, a new enemy, succeeded; who, about A. D. 504, reduced the poor Britains to the boundaries of the river Wye and the Severn. During these struggles for liberty, we see no footsteps revived of the ancient Druid discipline. In time the animosity against these new conquerors subsided, and in the 8th century it was decreed that the Britains should receive the Roman Paschal cycle and tonsure, Elbodius being archbishop of St. David's, who by the way is falsely after David Powel styled archbishop of South Wales, Elbodius Archiepiscopus Venedotiæ, instead of *Veredotiæ*. The Welsh and Saxons being thus united by religious and civil intercourse, Howel the Good first drew up this body of written laws, in conformity to the Saxons, in a great council held about 942 or 943. The æra of them our author settles from the time of the expulsion of the Northumbrians in the Saxon Chronicle, in which our historians were much divided.

Nor

Nor were they less so, whether these laws were drawn up on a Saxon plan, which our author proves they were, by an induction of particulars. Mulcts were paid by both, for murder and other crimes; part to be paid to the king, part to the kindred of the injured party. Among both, it was allowed to appeal to the written law, when either of the parties thought himself injured by the decision of the judge; which shews that the judges, having always in court what the Saxons called *Domboc*, was not only, as Hickes would have it, a *mark* of the office, but as a necessary appendage to his execution of it.

Another remarkable instance of conformity between the two nations, is in the two sorts of Compurgators made use of among them, the Greater and the Less, from the quality of each; the former not so called from being more in number, as Dr. Hickes maintains, but, as the Welsh laws clearly prove, from their better condition and quality. In the former the verdict was not good unless they all agreed; in the latter it was so though one third dissented. Here then we have the clearest and the most ancient proof of the original of our juries, the boast this day of the English nation.

Mulcts were usually paid in cattle; not but that they had the use of money (though none of it has yet been discovered), as appears from the laws against coining it. But the names of the different pieces they borrowed partly from the Roman, and some from their Saxon conquerors, which they retain to this day.

Another agreement was in the value of a pound, of 240 pence, which leads our author to settle a difficulty about which our antiquaries had long contended.

The Saxons had two sorts of land, Bocland and Folcland; the former of which they could ordinarily alienate, unless there was an entail to the contrary. In Wales the lands were chiefly of the latter kind, in which they came nearer to what Tacitus tells us was the custom of the ancient Germans. To omit other particulars of agreement, the priest and lay-judge sat in court together to exercise jurisdiction.

The names of titles of honour were borrowed from the Saxons, as *Edling*, from *Æthling*, Noble, the title of the king's eldest son, under the decline of the Roman empire, which, according to Pancirolus, was first given to *Licinius Valerianus*; and yet, we observe, an inscription found in Cumberland

land very happily discovers that it was given more early to Philippus Junior. And Selden observes*, that the title was at last attributed to those of somewhat inferior dignity, which is what Pitiscus was not aware of by his not being able, through his want of understanding the English tongue, to fetch out the treasures of learning in that work; and shews moreover the advantage it has over Pancirolus's, from whence it is said to have been taken.

These laws, called by the name of Howel, as chiefly drawn up under him, yet mention many customs much later, even down as low as the Norman times. Mr. Wharton was not aware of this: though he suspected the division of parishes in Wales to be as ancient as these laws, yet from their mention of *Domus Capellanus Villæ* he could not tell how to get rid of the argument. Def. of Plur. c. II. A proof of some customs being later than the Normans is the mention of some feudal ones, such as fines paid to the lord by the tenant when he married a daughter. Here some light is given to a passage in *Liber Censualis*, and another in the Honor of Richmond, which were scarcely to be understood without these laws.

Some customs, however, here are not borrowed either from the Saxons or Normans; remains of their original police before they had any laws in writing. Such in particular is *Gavelkind*, from whence our author takes occasion to examine Mr. Somner's book on that subject, which though Serjeant Wright has since treated of in his *Discourse on Feudal Tenures*, this preface will receive no disadvantage from the comparison. Under this head he takes occasion to correct Cowel, and all that have followed him.

* * * * *

* In his Titles of Honour.

LETTERS

LETTERS occasioned by the Publications of two
LEARNED DIVINES *.

L E T T E R I.

To the Printer of the ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE.

S I R,

April 2, 1766.

THE attention of the Literati has been much engaged lately in the controversy between a Right Rev. Bishop, and a late Professor of the University of Oxford; but, upon an impartial view of the conduct of these two learned disputants, as well as an examination into the merits of the point in question, a bye-stander will be apt to say, *adhuc sub judice lis est*: and for this reason, because each of them lays claim to first-rate authorities for the establishment of their respective opinions, which, though at present they seem to be diametrically opposite, yet a small abatement of the acrimony which seems to have got the ascendancy over them, may bring them to a better mind, and incite them to exert their kind endeavours in the same great cause which their profession demands from them, and to which their abilities must be allowed admirably fitted. If this should be the case (as is much to be wished), we may have a chance of seeing their difficulties reconciled, and both their great works so perfectly complete, as to be the standard of future ages, as they are the admiration of the present. The serious and well-disposed mind cannot but be hurt, when it observes persons so confessedly eminent and ingenious, as the Bishop and the Professor are, treating each other in the manner they have done. They need not be told how much the cause of Truth and Religion suffers by such intemperate management, and what encouragement it gives to little philosophers to discard all notions of religion upon the disagreement of the most learned of its professors.—It must be allowed, that the Professor's pamphlet was bought and read with the utmost avidity; it must likewise be allowed that there is merit in its composition; but the peculiarity of its style, and the half jest, and half earnest of it, would have been better fitted against a Hobbes, or a Bolingbroke, than against the author of Divine Legation.

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 365.

On the other hand, the Note in Divine Legation, which was the occasion of this pamphlet, cannot altogether be justified; but the proper place to have taken notice of it would have been in a new edition of the *Prælectiones*; for what difference is it, to be stuck up in an eighteen-penny or a six-penny pamphlet? none in the least. The very name of a pamphlet now-a-days immediately conveys to my mind the idea of scurrility however, be the cause of resentment ever so justifiable on the Professor's part: but I think the liberty he has taken to publish the Bishop's letters, cannot by any means be justified, though the letters do the Bishop the greatest honour; for there is such an openness and generosity of temper which breathes through the whole of them, that will be found to have more real merit in them, than any fancied havoc which is threatened against the Divine Legation.

In the further perusal of this famous pamphlet, I cannot help expressing the indignation which I felt on the contemptuous treatment which Dr. Bentley meets with there, which is ungenerous and unmanly. Surely Dr. Bentley did not deserve this asperity of treatment; for though it may be said that he gave up too much of his time to the minutiae of learning, yet as long as his confutation of Atheism can be read, wherein Spinozism, &c. are so effectually taken up by the roots, he will be entitled to respect from Christians of all denominations, but more especially from his brethren, the clergy. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

IL MODERATO.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

April 24.

I DARE answer for it that neither of the late ecclesiastical disputants will thank *Il Moderato* for the arguments he has used to reconcile them. Each (he tells us) *lays claim to first-rate authorities*.

"What!" says the Bishop, "does he mean the Jewish commentators which Dr. L. produces (and he produces no other), to prove that Idolatry was punished by the judge under the Patriarchs!"

On the other hand he owns, *The Note in Divine Legation, which was the occasion of this pamphlet, cannot be altogether justified*. "Was a single note," will Dr. L. say, "the occasion of this pamphlet? I had reason, and so had every good Christian, to be offended with the whole Appendix."

I beg leave to tell *Il Moderato* a story, which perhaps happened before he was born.

R r r

When

When the Divine Legation first came out, one of the opponents being convinced of misrepresenting it, began to relent and retract. Upon which a Letter was inserted in the Daily Memoirs of those times, whether from the author or his friends I will not pretend to say, in words to this effect; the very identity of the last I am sure of.

"Near that famed place where the city Naiads disembugue their fable
 "streams into the silver Thames, a good woman sat crying oysters. *What!*
 "*all the good people go by, says she, and none of them buy my oysters?* At
 "length, a furly porter passing on with bended shoulders, and with emphatic voice, crys out, *No COAXING, YOU BITCH.*"
 Good *Moderato*, beware!

Z. Z.

L E T T E R III.

S I R,

I L Moderato, in your Paper of April 22, discovers, in the Letters of a learned Prelate, lately published, an openness and generosity of temper which charms him. Private correspondence, it must be owned, lays open the dispositions of the respective writers; but sets them in a different light to different readers. However, where two correspondents keep copies of the Letters they send (as one did here, and probably both), they write with caution, and under restraint; and when such are published, there is little breach of confidence, for none subsisted between them. Let us see what conclusions may be fairly drawn from one or two of the Letters which I L Moderato calls upon us to admire.

From Letters III. and IV. it appears, that Mr. Lowth (the father of the late Professor) sent some notes to Mr. Reading, to be inserted in his edition of the Ecclesiastical Historians; in which he had charged Basnage with wilfully suppressing the unexceptionable evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the destruction of the Temple by lightning; and had likewise made an application of the meteoric appearance of crosses, from Casaubon's Adversaria, to this subject. Both these circumstances the Bishop likewise had taken notice of in his Julian, without knowing that they were pre-occupied by Mr. Lowth, till he was informed of it by Dr. Jortin, when, it seems, he had finished his book, and it was half-printed off.

Query

Query 1. Was this notice imparted by Dr. Jortin, while the first edition of Julian was printing, or before the second was put to the press? If the latter, why was no mention made of it in the second edition at least? For (2), it was communicated time enough for his Lordship to charge Mr. Lowth, very undeservedly, with an uncharitable reflection on Basnage, in Julian, 2d edit. p. 256, but too late, it seems, to acknowledge that Mr. Lowth had made the two observations above, which makes so great a figure in the Bishop's work: so easy is it with some persons to find occasion for censure! so hard to find room for praise! (3.) The censure on Mr. Lowth is manifestly proved to be unjust. Does his Lordship any where retract it? No, he promises, indeed, to strike it out in a future edition. But why? Not because he was himself in an error, but out of a tender regard to the filial piety of the late Professor. *Credo, præ amore excludet hinc foras.* But (4), when his Lordship, in his Julian, censured Mr. Lowth, why were we not referred to the place where Mr. Lowth was guilty of what he is charged with? It would have been but fair to have referred us to the note in Reading's edition of the Ecclesiastical Historians, which a common reader was at a loss to know, till this private correspondence laid it open. I know of no good reason for this procedure with the publick; unless it was, that, had he cited Reading's edition, we should there have discovered the observations on Casaubon's narration, and on Basnage's omitting the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, which the Bishop descants upon, already anticipated. But, for fear that should appear, he lets off his random censure of Mr. Lowth, and conceals from us where the foundation of it is laid.

But Il Moderato is charmed, I suppose, with the delicacy of the Bishop, who declares, "no Author was ever more averse to take to himself what belonged to another."

Shall I tell him a secret? The buskined prose which Dr. Lowth has cited [Letters, p. 66] from another work of the Bishop's, is taken from Milton's Arcopagitica, Works, 4to, Vol. I. p. 168, only somewhat mangled, and in a good measure spoiled. The words of Milton run thus:

"Methinks I see, in my mind, a noble puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle nursing her mighty youth, and kindling her undaz-

zled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she mourns, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

PARRASIUS.

L E T T E R IV.

We have heard of the patience of Job, and almost as much of the dogmatical superciliousness of Dr. Bentley; but two late writers have made little use of the former, and (I think) have aggravated the latter beyond measure. The Bishop indeed has sometimes set Dr. B. in a more favourable light; but, as he tells us he suggested to the Poet the plan of the Fourth Dunciad, we may attribute the outlines of that character to him. If the inhumanity with which that great Critic is charged is owing to the stigma fixed on him by the Hon. Mr. Boyle, every one who reads the Preface to his Remarks on Phalaris must acquit him.

And I will venture to say there is not a Librarian now living who would equal the candour and prudence of his behaviour at that juncture.—With regard to his superciliousness in his writings on that controversy, they speak for themselves; and let posterity judge of them. But I will mention one particular*, where he owns an error with such openness as does honour to humanity; and I would recommend the example to the two late writers, who have left abundant occasion for it * * * * *

* This alludes to the epigram of Callimachus, which both Bentley and Madam Dacier had misunderstood, as he ingenuously acknowledges in the Preface to his "Dissertation," p. lix. ed. 1699.

NOTES

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF JULIAN *.

P. 326. Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ Τίγρην]. Julian was buried at Tarsus. How then can it be said in his epitaph, that he lies ἐθαδὲ καῖται, μετὰ Τίγρην? This is an elliptical way of speech among the Greeks, in which they understand ἐλθὼν, or some such word. So Herodotus in Urania, Ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τροπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρῆσας Θεσπιῶν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ Πλαταιῶν ὡσάντως, ἦκε τε ἐς Αθήνας, &c. *Exercitus enim cum Xerxe Bæotiam ingressus, incensa Thespiensium urbe, quam ipsi desertam reliquerant, in PELOPONNESUM FUGIENTES, et similiter Plataensium, Athenas pervenit, &c.* —Diod. XLIV. p. 242, μετὰ τε ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς, ταῖς Λαλίναις ἐπίκλησιν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν META τῆς Ἀλβανῆς ἐσελάνειν—ut ipse foris Latinis peractis *ex Albano* in urbem curru invehetur. The edd. now read ἐκ τῆς Ἀλβανῆς; but it was heretofore μετὰ, as Pighius in his Annals cites it, and would correct it, Vol. III. p. 63, but whether justly or not may be matter of doubt.

P. 333. *Christianized.*] Pere Harduin mentions one or two coins with the monogram on the Labarum; but, if they are genuine, they denote the *faith* of the army, not of the Emperor, two standard bearers supporting the ensign. It is certain, he says, in the same year, another coin is found of Constantinus junior, who, with the Claudian family, adhered to heathenism all his life. Hard. Num. Sec. Const. p. 473, c. 1. ed. folio, op. select. The gold coin of Constantine, which Eusebius thinks was struck on the occasion of the vision in the sky, has never yet been seen. Ibid.

P. 333-4, Bonus Eventus was a *male* Deity, and Fortune a *female* Deity.] This distinction is preserved in the English language to this day, and every one will disapprove of Mr. Francis's turn given to Horace, 2 Sat. vi.

*Nor yet to CHANCE this happiness I owe,
Friendship like yours SHE had not to bestow.*

Where *she*, though proper to be said of Fortune, is very improperly applied to CHANCE †.

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 185.

† This instance has been elsewhere used by Mr. Bowyer. See above, p. 473.

NOTES on Bishop Warburton's JULIAN.

P. 31, l. 17, For "civil tribunals," should be read "civil offices." See Jortin's Rem. on Eccl. Hist. Vol. III. p. 223.

It has been said, that if the Jews had rebuilt their temple under Julian, yet they would not have had time to make use of it, because his Christian successor would have pulled it down, or converted it into a church. But if it was not fit that the Jews should have a temple, it might surely be as *proper that God himself should interpose*, as that he should leave it to the christians. Jortin, *ibid.* p. 389. Compare this with what Mr. W. says of a *waste of miracles*.

P. 32. Forbidding the Christians to teach humanity and the sciences.] *Lege data prohibiti sunt Christiani docere Literaturam & Oratoriam*, Aug. Const. l. viii. c. 4. i. e. Grammar and Rhetoric, as Valesius observes in *Valesiana*, p. 65. And what is this but a similar law of our own times, which prohibits all, who will not take the oaths, from being school-masters?

P. 73, l. 15, 16. He cannot allude to his restoration of idolatry, for that had not been restored *three* years, nor yet two. In the spring of the year 363, it was not more than three years since he had been declared *Augustus* by the soldiers in Gaul; nor yet quite a year and half since his being sole Augustus; and not more than two years since he at all made an open profession of Hellenism, allowing him to have begun to make it when he was in Illyricum, before the death of Constantius. Julian, in this place, probably, uses a definite for an indefinite number; as, in his work against the Christians, he says, *he will demonstrate the laws of Moses* [to have been designed to be everlasting] *not from ten, but from ten thousand passages of Moses himself*. Lardner's Coll. of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Test. Vol. IV.

P. 74. l. penult. Or, if Julian is to be understood literally, we may suppose that he refers to the subversion of Jerusalem and the Jewish people in the time of Adrian, spoken of by Eusebius in his History and his Chronicle, and other writers. Lardner, *ubi supra*.

That Julian never began to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem has been, since the publication of Dr. Warburton's book, made probable by Mr. Lardner.

I. In his letter to the community of the Jews, he desires their prayers for the prosperity of his reign; tells them, that, "if he succeeded in his war with the Persians, he would rebuild their holy city of Jerusalem." But he did not succeed in the war; and he never returned from Persia: therefore, he never set about rebuilding Jerusalem, or the temple there; nor did he, at the time of writing that letter, intend to set about it, unless he first succeeded in the war with the Persians.

II. It is not likely, at such a juncture, he should set about such an arduous work. He was sensible he should want all the resources of money and treasure for his Persian expedition.

III. Ammianus Marcellinus might take up this story from some Christians without examination. He was credulous, as appears from other parts of his History, particularly l. xviii. c. 3.

IV. The history of this event, as related by Christian writers, is loaded with pretended miracles, which appear to be incredible; that by divine interposition crosses were formed in the air, and impressed with a *fine embroidery* or *painting* upon men's bodies or garments: not to mention other things silly and trifling. But all God's works have a dignity becoming himself.

V. There was no need of miracles to hinder the execution of this attempt, if it had been begun. Julian did not live long. Supposing the Jews to have begun in his reign to erect the temple, the Christian Emperors who succeeded him would take care that they should not proceed. If they had set about the work A.D. 363, they could not have done a great deal before Julian died.

VI. There are several Christian writers who have said nothing of this affair, who were very likely to mention it if there was any truth in it: *Jerome* particularly, *Prudentius*, and *Orosius*. The first, on Dan. xi. 34, tells us that prophecy was by some applied to Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to offer sacrifices in their temple; but says not a word of his attempting to rebuild it. *Prudentius* has gone over the history of Julian's reign, and of the Jewish people; but nothing of Julian's attempt to rebuild their temple; and yet he was contemporary with Julian, being born A.D. 348.

Orosius,

Orosius, not far below the beginning of the fifth century, who seems to hint at all Julian's incivilities to the Christians, says nothing of his attempting to rebuild the temple in opposition to them—nor does Cyril of Alexandria, in his books against Julian, or in any other of his works, say a word of it.—Zonaras's mention of it in the XIIth century deserves no notice.

W. B.

REMARKS on Dr. JOHNSON'S Criticism on POPE'S Epitaphs.

THAT pruriency of finding fault, which is the essential part of a critic, sometimes blunts his understanding, as at other times it sharpens it. I submit whether the former effect is not discoverable in Dr. Johnson's Remarks on some of Mr. Pope's Epitaphs :

“ Kneller, by heaven, and not a master taught,
Whose art was nature, and whose pictures thought,
Now for two ages having snatch'd from fate
Whate'er was beauteous, or whate'er was great,
Lies crown'd with princes' honours, poets' lays,
Due to his merit, and brave thirst of praise.
Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie
Her works ; and, dying, fears herself may die.”

The fourth couplet, he says, wants grammatical construction, the word *dying* being no substantive. In the name of elegance, what does he mean? What would he do with a substantive if he had it—if *dying*, for instance, was changed into *death*? The construction, surely, is clear enough : take it in the manner of Stirling, the schoolmaster; KNELLER *living* (ablative absolute), *Nature fear'd he might outvie her works ; and, KNELLER dying, fears herself may die.* The *Latin*, perhaps, may make it clearer ; for Dr. Johnson did not at first tell his readers, that these lines are no more than a translation of an epitaph on Raphael :

*Hic situs est Raphael; timuit, quo sospite, vinci
Rerum magna parens, & moriente mori.*

The line, "Lies crown'd with princes' honours, poets' lays," I, for my part, can easily bear; but the following, "Due to his merit, and brave thirst of praise," I own, is not worthy of its place, and is made not so much for sense as rhyme.

On Mr. Pope's epitaph on Gay, Dr. Johnson's observation is very true, "that works of imagination are often influenced by causes wholly out of the performer's power, by hints of which he perceives not the origin." But I will beg leave to remind him of another, viz. that every thing has two handles; and a more candid reflection might arise on the epitaph before us. Mr. Pope was remarkably delicate in all his praises; he did not lavish out flattery where there was no foundation for it, and therefore tempers his love for his friend with the nicest discrimination and propriety.

Of this I think we have an instance, in his Imitations of Horace, Book II. Ep. vi. where, while he tells us what Geniuses the Law has spoilt, he laments an Ovid lost in Lord Mansfield. A more fulsome panegyrist would have said, a Homer, Virgil, and a Milton, were sunk in him alone. I mention this the rather because his Right Reverend Annotator says, that epistle is writ *con amore*. It may have all the excellences he gives it; but the poet refrains himself within due bounds when he speaks of the patron of it. Read now the epitaph on Gay, as dictated by the same turn of mind, and we shall admire the amiable friendship of the surviving poet, and the just character of the dead one.

After all, we are obliged to Dr. Johnson for his Remarks; and if he had at his leisure continued to write annotations on Mr. Pope, I will venture to say that, notwithstanding the labours of a venerable Prelate, the world would *at least* have dispensed with them.

W. B.

AYR 1800

S f f

To

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

To the Printer of the UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.

S I R,

UPON a view of the Printer's Letter Case in your Magazine, one or two observations occurred to me, which may suggest others to your numerous readers.

In the first place, I admire the apt disposal of the letters; those placed nearest at hand which occur the ofteneft; *z*, *x*, and all the double letters, removed to the greatest distance.

Then I see, by the different capacity of the several boxes, in what proportion each letter occurs. The vowels, and *c*, *d*, *r*, *n*, *m*, *t*, *h*, the ofteneft: but, above all, the vowel *e* in the English language half as often again as any of the rest. A circumstance, which the ladies and the shorthand-writers take advantage of.

In the next place, I would observe, that, as it is natural for a letter to fall from its proper box into a neighbouring one, it would not be amiss for the Critics to try a new method of accounting for faults in the several editions of books, which has not yet been hit upon. From the similitude of sound in some letters, and of shape in others, their sagacity has restored many an error: but a new field of glory would be opened, were they all to turn Compositors; a proper reward, for having lashed the *Scribes*, to become *Printers*.

I am yours,

MECHANICO-CRITICUS.

OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS on the Sixth Chapter of DANIEL.

1. WE are totally unacquainted with Darius the Mede, who must have reigned at Babylon between the death of Nebuchadnezzar and the reign of Cyrus in that city. The most authentic monuments of Antiquity afford us only three or four princes during that period. We may add to them (if we please) the Cyaxares of Xenophon, who probably never reigned at Babylon; and the Astyages, grand-father of Cyrus, who certainly never did. Every circumstance of the names, characters, and history of these princes, which could bear the least analogy to the Darius of Daniel, has been minutely sifted; but all in vain! A more elaborate enquiry would be improper in this place. Let any fair reasoner peruse what Scaliger, Martham, Prideaux, Freret, Sir Isaac Newton, &c. have published on this head: he must acknowledge, that each of these learned men has completely refuted his adversary; and that, amongst them, they have proved all their various systems to be equally destitute of truth or probability. What then must a story appear, whose principal personage seems to have no more than a fabulous existence?

2. Darius the Mede appointed Daniel the first of the three presidents who were set over the 120 princes or governors of his empire. So great a promotion excited the jealousy of the Babylonians against a foreigner. I have nothing here to object. Such a jealousy and desire of supplanting the minister is perfectly agreeable to the practice of all courts, ancient and modern. But, not being able to find the least flaw in his administration, they were obliged to attack his religion. Had they forgot in how wonderful a manner the God of Israel protected his servants? They must have been witnesses of the miracle wrought but a few years before in the plains of Dara; the surprising deliverance of the three children from the fiery furnace, and the royal edict, which in consequence of it was published among all nations. Blind zealots have sacrificed every after-thought to the dictates of their present fury; but crafty statesmen would not have chosen a plan of revenge, which promised nothing but danger and destruction to themselves.

3. Daniel's enemies obtained an edict from the King, That no person, under the penalty of being cast into the Lion's den, should, during thirty days, ask any thing either of God or man, save of the king only; that is, in other words, that all religious worship of every denomination should be prohibited during thirty days. Can such an edict be paralleled in history? Particular sects have been often persecuted; but this prohibition extended equally to the established religion, and forbade what every age, nation, and religion, has always considered as the first and most important duty of man. The maddest of the Cæsars, in their mad pretensions to divinity, never attempted to shut up the temples of Rome, much less to forbid under pain of death all worship, private as well as public. Yet Darius, who is represented as a man of sense and humanity, consents to so extraordinary a prohibition, for which he could have no sort of inducement. Let me add, that were it possible to find any reason totally to abolish divine worship, there could be none for suspending it during the arbitrary term of thirty days.

4. The edict was published, and ratified according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not. Daniel, regardless of the event, still continued his private devotions. His enemies, who watched all his motions, seized the lucky opportunity, accused him before the king, and called loudly for the execution of justice. Darius wished to have saved his favourite; but was much surprised to find himself embarrassed in the unfortunate consequences of his own edict. I should be glad to know what were those unforeseen consequences, which seem to have astonished him. That the laws of the Medes and Persians were irrevocable, and that the king could never recall the consent which he had once given to them? It is scarcely conceivable that a Mede (take the word in any sense) could know nothing of the nature of the laws of his own country, whilst the Babylonian ministers were so perfectly acquainted with them. Or, did he suppose that all religious worship would be silenced by his edict, and that a general persecution would produce no martyrs? So profound an ignorance of human nature is still more incomprehensible, and yet I see no medium between these two suppositions.

5. The most learned reader will be a good deal in Darius's situation, as to any knowledge of those irrevocable laws. None of the ancients, who have treated the most copiously of the Persian history and constitution, have ever

ever given us the smallest hint of them. Such laws, indeed, seem only to agree with the nature of a limited monarchy; like ours, for instance, where the sovereign gives his sanction to the resolutions of his great council; resolutions which he authorizes, but which he cannot afterwards repeal. It would be displaying a very idle learning, to prove that the Medes and Persians, at least from the time of their union, were plunged in the most abject slavery, and that the will of this monarch was the only law they were acquainted with.

6. The miracle which saved Daniel determined very little the merits of the cause, and not in the least the guilt of the accusers. How then could it operate such a revolution as to enable the same prince, who just before had sacrificed his favourite to the clamours of the grandees, to order 122 of those same grandees to be cast into the Lion's den, with their innocent wives and children? So quick a transition from the most confined authority to the most boundless despotism can be accounted for upon no principle which I can discover.

7. I shall dismiss this subject with an observation on the edict of Darius, by which he commands all nations to tremble before the God of Daniel, who is the living God, who worketh great wonders both in heaven and upon the earth, and whose kingdom shall not be destroyed. Here I find the same fault which historians are often guilty of, when they ascribe Greek and Roman ideas to a Scythian or an Indian. A miracle is *always* to the *believer* a proof of supernatural Power; but it is only to Christians, or a Jew already convinced of the Divine Unity that it can prove its Author omnipotent and eternal. A Polytheist, like Darius, would have acknowledged the power of the God of Daniel, without indirectly renouncing his own gods, and those of other nations, whose merits had never been tried on this occasion.

Account of the **CHRONICON** of **DEXTER**.

Translated by Mr. BOWYER from M. CROUSAZ, *Epit. de Systeme du*
PERE HARDOUIN, p. 250, &c.

HIERONYMUS ROMANUS of Higuera, a Jesuit of Toledo, observing in the works of St. Jerome, that Dexter, son of St. Pacian bishop of Barcelona, had written an universal history towards the end of the fourth century, concluded he found a proper name and occasion to substitute under the name of this author; in which, besides the particular traditions of the Spaniards, he might establish the antiquity of all the fabulous opinions of the Romish church. This work he published in 1594. He pretended that a Spanish Jesuit, named Thomas of Torralta, had found it at Worms in Germany, in the possession of a villager, who had it out of the library at Fulda; but not with any design to keep it, but to take only a copy of it. This work was soon spread through Spain; and as, among other fables which it contained, it mentioned miracles of certain pretended martyrs of Granada, buried in a neighbouring mountain, they did not fail to find, in the following year 1595, the pretended relicks of these martyrs, with plates of lead, upon which were engraved the histories of them, with their prophecies, one part of which was in Arabic, the other in Spanish, such as was spoke at the time of the discovery of these relicks; though they made the people believe that these pretended martyrs were buried in this mountain in the first ages of the church. The finding of these relicks, which were followed with many other miracles, which are never wanting on these occasions, established intirely the credit of the history of the false Dexter, which was made use of to discover the imposture among the more enlightened people.

The Chronicon of Dexter, which till then had appeared only in Ms. was first printed at Saragossa in 1599. It afterwards had many other editions; but the most famous was that at Lions in folio, 1627, with the Defence and Commentary of Francis Biver, a monk of St. Bernard at Madrid.

The Jesuits need desire nothing after this history. All the fabulous traditions of their church are established in it; the mass, the worship of relicks and images, the invocation of saints, the primacy of the Pope, the coming of St. Peter to Rome, that of St. James to Spain, prayers for the dead,

dead, and monkery; in a word, every thing in their religion the most contrary to the word of God. They have not omitted the coming of Dionysius the Areopagite into France; and in other fables there is mention of the letter of the holy Virgin to the citizens of Messina.

Some learned Spaniards censured the assurance with which they durst introduce so gross an imposture; but means were soon found to intimidate them. Bernard Aldrate, one of the most learned men of that time, is an excellent example of it. He had advanced, in a treatise of the Spanish tongue, that it was formed from a corruption of the Latin. How indubitable soever this opinion was, it seemed to lessen the authority of the prophecies which had been found in the mountain near Granada. Aldrate knew very well *ce qu'il en devoit penser*; however he was obliged to explain his sentiments, which did not appear to interfere with this miraculous invention; and, to remove the doubts which he had raised, they obliged him to acknowledge the truth of those false relicks, by a Latin inscription which they extorted from him, and which he was forced to prefix to his excellent work of the Antiquities of Spain.

The fraud succeeded too well to stop here. They continued the Chronicle of Dexter, and they published a continuation from 430 to 612, under the name of Marcus Maximus, bishop of Saragossa. This Chronicle discovered new martyrs and new relicks at Arjena in Andaloufia; and to these pretended martyrs, Francis Biver, who had signalized himself in the defence of the false Dexter, dedicated his new work, that appeared at Madrid in 1651, folio, with a long commentary, and a magnificent approbation of the Inquisition.

SPECIMEN

SPECIMEN OF POPE'S ESSAY ON MAN,
ATTEMPTED IN PROSE BY MR. BOWYER.

COME then, my friend, let us abandon the trifles of this world to the meanness of ambition, the preposterous pride of kings. Since life affords us no more than just to look round us before we quit it, let us borrow one moment of it to survey this scene of Man; an amazing labyrinth, but not without its regularity; a wild, where the flower shoots forth promiscuously with the thistle; a garden, which tempts us with forbidden fruit. Let us together beat over this extensive field, and try what the open, what the covert contains. Let us explore the secret paths of whatever creeps in darkness, and the giddy flights of what is lost in rapid elevation. Let us trace Nature's walk, shoot Folly in its flight, and catch the Manners as they rise. Let us laugh where we ought*, and exercise our candour wherever it is possible; but, above all, let us justify to Man the ways of the Almighty†.

What can we affirm of God or Man, but by reasoning consequentially from what we know of each? Now what farther do we know of Man than just his station in this world? from thence, then, all our reasoning concerning him must proceed, and there must center. And as to God, though he manifests himself in worlds unnumbered, yet it is our business to search him out only in our own. He, whose penetration pervades immensity, who discerns how a multitude of worlds compose one universe, the connexion

* *Laugh where we must, be candid where we can.* The conciseness here admits of some ambiguity. Does the Poet mean, that some of Man's actions are so ridiculous, that we cannot help laughing at them, that it exceeds all power of face to contain? In this sense the words are matter of *indulgence* to a satirical observer. Or does he mean, that in some cases we *must*, i. e. *ought*, to laugh; it becomes us to do so. Thus the words are a matter of *precept* to a serious contemplator. The former, though the more obvious sense of the words, is less suitable to the spirit of the Poem; and therefore I have followed the latter. And yet perhaps I shall be accused of deviating from this spirit, when I observe that there is too close a jingle between *candid* and *can*, which had better have been avoided.

† *To vindicate the ways of God to Man.* Not to vindicate the dispensations of Providence towards Man only, but to vindicate to Man its dispensations to all its creatures. This sense would have been more easily seen, if a comma were inserted after *God*, as I see it is in one edition, and only one, 1758.

and dependence which one system hath on another, how one planet is open to another, what different inhabitants people every star, may tell (and he only can) why God has made things as they appear to us. Have our pervading souls seen through the bearings and ties of the different parts of the universe, their strong connexions, their nice dependencies, and their just gradations? Or can the whole be contained by the minutest particle of it?

Is the great chain, which attracts and unites all the parts, and by that union supports the whole, upheld in the hands of God, or Man?

Presumptuous Man, would'st thou discover the reason why thou art formed so weak, so little, and so blind? First, if thou canst, find, what is more unaccountable, why thou art formed no weaker, no less, or no shorter-sighted. Ask of thy parent Earth, why oaks are formed taller and stronger than the shrubs which grow beneath them? Or ask of the azure sky, why Jupiter is larger than his Satellites?

If it is agreed, that, of all possible systems, infinite Wisdom must form the best, in which all must be full, otherwise it would not be coherent, and every thing must rise in its proper degree; then it is plain, that in the progression of reasonable beings there must be somewhere such a creature as Man; and the whole question is (how long soever we dispute), whether God has placed him in a wrong station?

Now, what we may call wrong in regard to Man, considered in relation to the whole, not only *may* be just, but must be so. In human works, though wrought with the utmost labour and most exquisite art, a thousand movements are necessary to gain one design. A single one, in the works of God, not only produces the end it was intended for, but seconds some other. Thus Man, who of himself seems here the principal, acts perhaps only as a second to some unknown sphere, moves some wheel as a second means to some end. We see but a part, not the whole.

When the proud steed shall know why his fiery course is restrained by his rider, or why he is urged cross the plains: when the dull ox shall understand why he now is goaded on to break the clod, and now, an Ægyptian deity, is crowned with garlands; then shall Man, with his sottish presumption,

sumption, comprehend the use and end of his actions, his passions, or his being; why he is a slave this hour, and the next adored. Let us not say then Man's imperfect, Heaven injurious. Man is as perfect as he ought to be: his being proportioned to his station, and the place he fills in it; his time a moment, his space a mathematical point. If he is to be made perfect in some sphere or other, what matter is it, whether sooner or later, whether in this world or another? He who commenced his happiness to-day, enjoys his ease as fully as the man that entered upon it a thousand years since.

But let us see how he is provided for here: Heaven hides from all creatures the book of their destiny, except the page which contains the lesson set them, that of their present condition: it conceals from beasts the extent of Man's understanding, and from Man the extent of Angels; for were it otherwise, what creature could bear in this world to reflect on its own existence*? Would the lamb, who is doomed this day a sacrifice to luxury, bound o'er the fields, if burthened with thy reason? Gaysome to the last moment, he crops the flowery food, and licks the hand that's armed against its throat. Oh happy blindness to futurity, out of kind compassion allotted to us, that we may all fill the circle prescribed by the Creator, who, as Lord of the whole, sees with equal eye a hero perish, or a sparrow fall; systems or atoms jumbled; a world burst, or a bubble!

Hope then with humility, and let thy thoughts tremble in their ascent to heaven. Wait for death, the great instructor; and, in the mean time, adore the Divine Being, who conceals from thee thy future happiness, but gives thee Hope, to be thy present good; a spring that flows incessantly in the heart of man, who is never blest, but always wishing to be so; whose restless soul is always panting for its home, or fixed on the ideas of im-

* In the original, *Or who could SUFFER BEING here below?* in which words it is dubious whether *being* is a Participle or a Substantive, whether the Poet meant, Who could BEAR TO BE here, or who could BEAR his BEING OF EXISTENCE here. If the latter, why would he not with more preciseness express it, *Or who could BEAR EXISTENCE here below?* And yet the former construction would be scarce English: For though we say *Who could bear to be here below*, yet not without impropriety, *Who could suffer to be here below*, because *suffer* requires, as the Grammarians term it, some Accusative after it. I have preserved therefore the better sense, and what the French translation calls *qui pouvoit ici supporter son existence?*

mortality, whether it expatiates, or reposes. This is a happiness denied to no part of mankind. View the poor Indian, whose untutored understanding sees God in the clouds, or hears him in the wind. Though his soul was never taught by learned Pride to mix with the solar orb, or tread the milky way; yet simple Nature has not left him destitute of hope: he fills his imagination with an humbler heaven behind the cloudy mountains; a safer world in the woods; some happier isle immured in the midst of the ocean, where slaves shall find again their native country, where no demons shall torment them, no Christian be tormented with the insatiable thirst of gold. Satisfied with bare existence, he longs neither for the wings of an angel, nor the fire of a seraph; but thinks his faithful dog will be his companion in that equal heaven.

Go then, thou that art of a higher class, weigh, in the scale of thy reason, thy opinion against Providence: call imperfection what thou fanciest to be such: say, "Here God gives too much, there too little:" destroy all creatures for thy pastime, or thy palate; yet cry, "If Man's unhappy, if he alone does not engross all the care of heaven, alone made perfect and immortal, then God is unjust:" snatch from his hands the balance of equity and the scepter of power; re-judge his justice, and be the God of God

Our mistakes take all their rise from Pride: we rush beyond our sphere, and boldly thrust ourselves into heaven. Pride is always claiming its promised mansions of heaven: men would be angels, and angels would be gods; and what in them was ambition, is rebellion in us; for whoever wishes to reverse the laws of order, sins against the Eternal Cause of it.

Now, to shew to what lengths Pride will carry us, ask, to what purpose the starry firmament is bedecked with light, or for whose use the earth and waters were created? Pride says, "It is for mine: for me, her favourite child, kind Nature, summoning all her prolific powers, furnishes each herb with healing juice, and spreads out every flower. For me the grape yearly swells with nectarious juices, the rose with refreshing odours. For me the vine teems with infinite treasures, and impregnated health flows in a thousand springs. Seas roll to bear me on their waves; the submissive earth is my foot-stool, and the exalted heavens my canopy."

But does not * Nature deviate from the great end she proposes, of making every part of the creation promote the good of the whole, when burning suns send forth pestilential diseases? when cities are swallowed up by earthquakes, and tempests sweep away whole nations?—No; we readily answer, the first All-powerful Cause does not act by particular laws, but by general. If there are some seeming irregularities in them, it shews us that whatever is created cannot be perfect. Let Man therefore reflect, that neither can He be so. Absolute regularity is as necessary in the natural as in the moral world; and Man has just the same reason to require an uniform succession of rain and sunshine, as of his own several desires and passions; eternal springs and cloudless skies are as necessary to the mind of Man as perpetual cheerfulness and serenity, never overcast with folly or intemperance. If plagues or earthquakes don't break through the true designs of Heaven, why should a Borgia or a Catiline? So much we may conclude in general. But to what end these irregularities all co-operate; who knows, but He, whose hand formed the lightning, who tosses about the ocean, and adds wings to the storm; He, I say, who swells a Cæsar with ambition, and lets loose an Alexander to be the scourge of mankind? It is from Pride, from Pride all our objections arise; which would easily be removed, by only contemplating the exalted world about us. Why should they inconsistently acquit heaven in one part of the creation, and condemn it in another? To reason right concerning both, we have nothing to do but to submit.

Better perhaps it might appear to us, indeed, that there should be nothing but harmony and virtue among us; that the sea should be never ruffled with the wind, nor the mind with passion. But upon the least reflection we find, that the contention of the elements is the preservation of the whole system, and that life is circulated by the passions. One general

* The connection in the original is obscure: better

But errs not Nature from this gracious end?

What end? The end just before mentioned, for which Pride says all things were created? So a reader would, at first, be apt to think, till he finds, by what follows, that this line refers to the position laid down ver. 51, &c. that Nature consults the *Good of the whole as well as of particulars*; which would have been much easier perceived, if the Poet had only altered it thus:

But errs not Nature from her ONE GREAT END?

I,

order.

order has from the beginning run through all Nature, and is no less uniformly preserved in Man.

What would he have? One while, looking upwards, while he prides himself on being little less than an angel, he would be more than they are: at another time, looking downwards, he repines no less that he wants the neck of a bull, or the fur of a bear. Alas, in vain were the creatures made for his use, if he alone were endued with the powers of all of them! Nature to these has with just liberality assigned their proper functions, and proper organs for them, and compensated every seeming want with some degree of excellence; assigning swiftness to some, to others strength, with so just and exact proportion to their several conditions, that nothing can be added to each species, nothing taken from it: the beast, the insect, each equally happy in its own properties. Is Heaven, then, unkind to Man, to Man alone? Shall Man, Man endued with the exalted privilege of Reason, betray the weakness of it so far as to be satisfied with nothing, unless blessed with every thing!

The happiness of Man (if we were not blinded by Pride) is, not to act or think beyond himself; to claim no powers of body or mind, but such as is suitable to his nature and condition. For why has not Man an eye that needs no microscopic aid? The reason is obvious, because he is not formed a fly to need it. * * * * *

POPE'S Verses on his GROTTO, imitated by Mr. BOWYER*.

QUISQUIS ades, Thamefis speculum qua leve renidet
 Unda per umbrosam, fide ministra, domum;
 Aspera qua stillant lentas laquearia guttas,
 Ramosoque vitro fracta fluenta micant;
 Gemma ubi non luxu violatas ventilat ignes,
 Inque toro ingenuâ luce metalla rubent,
 Accedas propius: Naturam exquire; fodinam
 Conspice, sed spernas, quas tibi servat, opes.
 Accede; Egeriæ sacrum tibi panditur antrum!
 Intres, perculsus relligione loci.
 Lælius hic scrutans mundi penetralia, menti,
 Quam fere divinæ! libera fræna dedit.
 Hic moriens Wyndham fuspiria duxit honesta,
 Marchmontumque ardens vis agitare solet.
 Tales hæc turgent, tales hæc limina, fortes
 Servare et patriam, pauperiemque nati.

* THOU who shalt stop, where Thames' translucent wave
 Shines a broad mirrour through the shadowy cave;
 Where lingering drops from mineral roofs distill,
 And pointed crystals break the sparkling rill,
 Unpolish'd gems no ray on pride bestow,
 And latent metals innocently glow:
 Approach. Great Nature studiously behold!
 And eye the mine without a wish for gold.
 Approach: but awful! Lo! th' Egerian grott,
 Where, nobly pensive, St. John sat and thought;
 Where British sighs from dying Wyndham stole,
 And the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul.
 Let such, such only, tread this sacred floor,
 Who dare to love their country, and be poor.

EXTRACTS

EXTRACTS from Mr. MARKLAND'S Letters to Mr. BOWYER.

DEAR SIR,

Uckfield, May 3, 1747.

"IF you will put a wafer, and pay a penny with the inclosed to Dr. Tunstall, you may read it for your money. It is upon a whimsical subject, which I must let you into beforehand. Cicero, in his Orator. p. 45, says, that the Romans never said *cum nobis*, but *nobiscum*; quia si ita (*cum nobis*) diceretur, obscœnius concurrerent litteræ; for the *m* before *n* was pronounced like an *n*; so that it would be *cunne-bis*. Now as there is just the same reason in all other words whose first syllable is *no* long (as *nodus*, *nobilis*, *nomen*, &c.) and as I had observed my old friends the Auctor Orat. *De Domo* writing (cap. 9.) *cum nominibus tantum uteretur*, and Cicero to Brutus, i. 3, *cum nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem*, I had the curiosity to enquire into this matter: the result of which you will here see."

Uckfield, Sept. 19, 1748.

"Mr. Ruffel was here on Wednesday last, and left the proposals for the two Volumes of Letters *from a young Painter to his Friends*, &c. I carried it with me to Mr. Strode, whose subscription I easily procured. From an hint in the proposals, I find they would be glad of ready money.

"I shall soon send you Mr. Arnald's *Wisdom*, &c. having been hindered hitherto from transcribing them. I think it contrary to all equity to rob an author of the fruits of his labours: *leges latronum esse dicuntur, quibus pareant, quas observent*; and therefore, if you have any account with Mr. Arnald, I had much rather you would allow him eight shillings for the Ecclesiasticus. As propôs to the *Latrones*, I am afraid the *Flamen* *, whose letter you sent me, will not be *Flamen Dialis*, but *Subdialis*. Mr. Gerison brought me your information concerning Mr. Say, and told me he made an answer for me; to which I replied, "*Rectè respondes, Domine*. I should be as glad to see you his successor, as I should be sorry to see myself. I never doubted of your jockeyship; but I doubted much whether it would be to any purpose, and am glad to find myself mistaken, and that you are

* Dr. Jortin.

to be paid *in verbo sacerdotis*." The paralytic you mention, to whose case that of Horace is applicable, *Mergas profundo, fortior exsilit*, was formerly my acquaintance, and great benefactor; for I won an hundred pounds of him at whist, and got it every farthing. I knew his wife too, who was the widow of a neighbour of yours in Fleet street. The moral of the story, if I take it right, is, *Vexatio dat intellectum*.

"Last week I saw the Dean of Chichester, who tells me Mr. Clarke is very well. He puts me in mind of a question, which I want to ask you by the bye: Are you acquainted with any young (or middle-aged) clergyman, whom you know or believe to be a truly good man, a gentleman in his behaviour and manners, and a tolerable scholar? If you know of any such person unemployed, or lowly employed (as it is not improbable he is, if he be such an one), please to let me know his name and abode, that he may be enquired after; and if his character agrees with this description, I may possibly put him in a way of *bearing* (as the News-papers express it) *of something to his advantage*. But do not mention this to any living soul, except Mrs. Bowyer.

"In all probability the person I want might be found among the London Curates."

May 2, 1749.

"Pierce's Paraphrase and Notes I have met with here, and have read the first chapter to the Colossians, which I greatly admire; taking to myself the liberty, which every man must and will take, of differing from him in some little things. I could not but wonder to see, in the very beginning (Pref. p. iv.), that passage of 2 Pet. iii. 16, *in which are some things hard to be understood*, by him interpreted as belonging to *St. Paul's Epistles*, as if in St. Peter's time there were heretical and perverse explications of passages in St. Paul's Epistles: or as if, at that time, St. Paul's Epistles were numbered among the *Γραφαί*, as it there follows, *ὡς καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς γραφαῖς*."

June 9, 1749.

"To-morrow will be a fortnight since Mr. Strobe sent me word that he would be here either at the latter end of the last week, or, at farthest, the beginning of this; but that I should hear from him before that time:

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since when I have not heard a word of them. This puts me into as much flutter as can happen to one who thinks that all events are right and for the best; for that something extraordinary has fallen out, is past all doubt: of what kind is uncertain. I suspect the small-pox, and upon my youngster. This makes me impatient for the post to-morrow: so that I have sent a messenger to Grinstead this afternoon to wait for the letters, and to carry this for you.

"I thank you for the first volume of the book you sent me, and wait with somewhat of impatience for the second, in which I want to see several places. It fully answers the expectations which I had formed from his former performance; and I have had a very full and very innocent revenge upon him for his pertness and want of judgement in undertaking what I then saw he knew nothing of, and now see so many instances of his ignorance and want of skill and taste in these matters as, if I could shew them to you, would make you laugh, even though you had a moderate fit of the colic upon you. But this between ourselves; for this is the *Esoteric Doctrine*, which I shall communicate only to Mr. Clarke and yourself: the *Exoteric* is, that the English is very good, and the Notes (scarce one of them his own, but taken from others, without any acknowledgement for the most part) very useful, and such as I could wish might be read by every body. I do not doubt but he will get a great deal of reputation from this work.

"By the last post I had a Letter out of Lancashire, whence I learn that Dr. Cobden has had a fall from his horse, which has impaired his memory so much as that he did not know two persons of his acquaintance who went to see him. You say nothing of this. Pray inquire into it, without mentioning the author of your information."

A joint Letter from Mr. CLARKE and Mr. MARKLAND.

June 20, 1749.

"THE last account I had from you was so little to my satisfaction, that, unless you can explain yourself to more advantage, I must desire Mrs. Bowyer to do it for you. What puzzles me is, that you should be so active, and yet so irresolute; that, when you want exercise so much, you should refuse to take it; or, what is more surprising, that you don't like a ride to Buxted, because you cannot lie unless it be at an inn. Why I

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would have you know, Sir, that there are few houses in England more like an inn than this is at present. There is very little furniture in it, and that very dirty. Every body goes to bed when they please; and the several companies, that make up the whole house, seldom converse much with one another, or care about what passes in the other apartments, and our great business is smoking and drinking in our own every afternoon. If this is not enough in taste, I will endeavour to make it more so. Your horse shall really go to an inn, for I have neither hay nor corn; and, if you please, the hostler himself shall come up and pull off your boots.—If all this won't do, I must needs say you are very difficult to please, and Mrs. Bowyer must have a poor time on't. I wish she complained of her belly half as much as you do of yours; I dare say she would do all the proper things, and carry it off, so as not to be uneasy at any trouble the Doctors gave her, nor averse to any motion that would procure ease. If you come here, Mr. Markland can talk, and I can ride; both of us shall be a match for you. We shall give you a fair meeting, and then, as I do now, soon bid you farewell.

“My most humble service to Mrs. Bowyer, and I desire her answer to these difficulties as soon as possible, because I must return the first week in July if I can. W. C.”

Tuesday Afternoon, June 20, 1749.

“P. S. Mr. Clarke sent me this, that I might add a postscript as a *spur* (as he calls it) to bring you down. I do not know the use of a spur, not having worn one for near these twenty years: but it is not so long since I have had a *whip* in my hand; and if that would be of any service in bringing you down, I wish I were behind you with such an instrument. But when he says *I can talk*, do not regard him; for I have as great an aversion to it, from disuse, as a Pythagorean in his state of probation: where I speak one word, he speaks ten; and we are both in the right.

“I thank you for the books. As soon as ever I received the second volume, I opened it eagerly, to look into Lib. ix. 22, the most difficult epistle in the whole collection. But how great (or rather how small) was my disappointment, when I did not find a single difficulty explained or taken notice of! only three notes (none of them his own) upon that long and obscure Letter. I have just now sent the book to Mr. Clarke, not
having

having had time as yet to read it. I do not understand the Postscript of your last, where you tell me that you could give me a better reason than you are willing to do, why &c. But, if I guess right, I can say I am very certain, that nothing Mr. R. can *say* or *write* at present, in this way, will or ought to make me take any notice of it.

"I had not read three pages of the new book you sent me before I said to myself, 'I'll be hanged if this man be not an admirer and imitator of a certain friend of yours!' I was pleased to see my guess verified at the end of the Preface, which I have read twice over; but, finding that I shall never understand it, I will go no further in the book. The *absurdity* (as he is pleased to call it) of a conjecture of the criticks upon a passage in Statius might with much more justice be taken off their score, and placed to his own, if δίκη ἰδίαι γένοιτο. But there is no dealing with this kind of whimsical writers, who know nothing of the language upon which they criticise.

"Master Strode is returned well: my apprehensions were just, but owing to the miscarriage of a Letter.

"I want to know more of your *controverſie Irlandoise*."

August 21, 1749.

"AT last I have sent your books, together with Bos, who is an excellent fellow, except in Horace; for there he seems to me to be much out of his element. I must keep back your Strebaeus a little longer, having made another attack upon Cicero de Oratore, in which I fancy I have found out strange things.

"I am glad you have determined to your satisfaction concerning Thomas, which (I mean, doing it to your own satisfaction) is the greatest concern of your life. What is best for us, God only knows: we can do nothing more than follow our own judgement in what appears most probable, and liable to the fewest objections: after which we are to expect that one half of mankind will differ from us; and, nevertheless, we ought to follow our own judgement, by which only, and not by another's, we must stand or fall, since (as Prince Prettyman in the Rehearsal says upon another occasion)—*Love in his breast is not Love in thine*. By which wise stuff I would signify, that I think you are in the right in acting in this matter according to your own opinion, not that of Mr. Clarke or mine.

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"I like the method of your sheet *, and wish you would constantly have it in view. I have kept it, because I suppose you have more of them.

"P. S. This moment casting my eye upon Cicero's Epistles, vol. II. p. 489, just before I put them up for the carrier, I find (not. 5) that Victorius prefers *confeci* to *conjeci*; which, says the editor, he interprets to have the same construction as *deprendere in ludum*. I wish you could get a sight of Victorius's note, as a matter of curiosity; for, if I have any skill in guessing, Victorius's remark is express in the participles of the verbs, *infusus* in culleum, *depressus* in ludum, which last participle our editor formed from *deprendor* instead of *deprimor*, and so has made *deprendere in ludum* instead of *deprimere in ludum*: as Fam. x, 35. cum *depressus* in ludum bis gratis depugnasset.—I had written thus far, when remembering a note of Gronovius upon Seneca, De Ira iii, 8. relating to this expression, I turned to it, and find, that, in the passage of Cicero just now quoted, Victorius instead of *depressus* would read *deprensus*; so that it is probable the editor is safe, and Victorius only faulty in making a bad conjecture: nor is it worth further enquiry, unless you have Victorius by you. My thinking it impossible that Victorius could make so ill a conjecture, and knowing it to be probable that the editor might make such a mistake, struck me suddenly with this surmise."

Sept. 19, 1749.

"WHAT I mentioned in my last and a former concerning the return of a small sum of money was this: *Ἐχω ἀδελφὸν* (in comitat. Eborac.) ἢ τὴν ἰσορίαν I will acquaint you with some other time. *Quod a te peto, hoc est; ut ad illum scriberes, primâ occasione, ad hunc effectum?* 'I am desired to acquaint you, that, any time after next Michaelmas-day, you may draw upon me for seven pounds ten shillings, and for the same sum any day after next Lady-day, and so on half-yearly, till I receive orders to the contrary.' Ego et ἀδελφὸς ἐμὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος volumus illum nescire unde hæc illi pecunia obveniat. Specimen tibi misi chirographi ejus, ut manum agnoscas. Sic ad eum inscribas, *To Mr. R—M—, to be left with Mr. Oates, a Curryer in Wakefield, Yorkshire.* If you would that he should draw at any number of days after date or sight, you will specify it ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.

* An early Specimen of the "Conjectures on the New Testament."

As to the India bonds, do what you please. To be sure the most advantageous way would be to sell them while the premium is so high (the reason of which I do not comprehend), and to buy into the *Three per Cents.* I would have done so two months ago, had I been in town, while the premium was above 4 *l.* for I then foresaw, and told to several, what has now happened: and, being *φύσει πολιτικός*, I now foretell that the national funds, which at present pay *Four per Cent.* will ere it be long pay but *Three.* After Michaelmas, *quando accepisti pecuniam*, please to let your man buy into the *Three per Cents.* of that year, for which you have my Letter of Attorney, which I suppose will save trouble.

"I have seen Mr. Strode, who has satisfied me concerning the transactions at Peter-house, in the late election of a Master *."

October 21, 1749.

"THE expression in Cæsar, *ab Sequanis et Helvetiis*, I take it, is elliptical: the full would be, *si eam species ab Sequanis et Helvetiis.* The version may be this, or somewhat like it: *It likewise reaches to the river Rhine in that part which is inhabited by the Sequani and Helvetii*: for, by mentioning these two people, he had two things in view, viz. first, to acquaint us that the *Sequani* and *Helvetii* were *Celtæ* or *Galli* properly so called: and, secondly, the bounds of *Gallia Celtica* on the north-east side, viz. the *Sequani* and *Helvetii*, as far as the Rhine. Or *ab* may be taken in the sense of *post*: *attingit etiam, post Sequanos et Helvetices, flumen Rhenum*: *It reaches also, taking in (or comprehending) the Sequani or Helvetii, to the river Rhine.* For if it goes on *ab Sequanis*, &c. it must of course leave them *behind*, and consequently *comprehend* them, or *take them in*, as having *passed over* them to the extent of its limits the Rhine. This last will seem more specious, if you understand me.

"The specimen of Kuster I like very well, and your annotations, in which I have taken the liberty to fill up some of the abbreviations, to which I am a great enemy, as causing obscurity.

"I am glad my brother has received the money. I was afraid your Letter to him had not come to hand."

* Dr. (now Bp.) Keene, on the death of Mr. Whalley.

August

August 31, 1755.

"DR. BURTON breakfasted with me on Wednesday morning, and tells me that one Mr. Musgrave of Corpus in Oxford has been at Paris to collate Euripides, and has put into the press at Oxford his *Hippolytus*, which he thinks will be out by Christmas. I understand that there is to be no Latin version, which I fear will hurt the sale; and if he prints it without accents, in the modern fashion (which I forgot to ask him), it will hurt it still more, however skilful in other respects the work may be. He (the Doctor) put into my hands a little piece he has just published at Oxford, to be had at Rivington's, with this title, Τὸ δεινὸς νοσήσας, καὶ περὶ τῶν νοσήσων μελέτημα. It is only 32 pages. I did not know before that he had been dangerously ill of a fever."

June 14, 1756.

"THE inclosed parcel to Mr. Hall, I wish you would let one of your boys carry to Tom's Coffee-house, Devereux-court, and leave it there. It is on this account, chiefly, that I send you the Sermons back, to make up a convenient parcel. I wish there had been two more volumes of them; and I was very sorry when I got to the 20th of the second volume. The History of the Jews * I have not yet read. The other two volumes (you know whom I mean) I will keep a little longer, though I am sorry to say I have a much worse opinion of the critick than I had before. To me there seems to be more satisfactory learning and true judgement in one page of the notes upon Chariton's Aphrodisiaca than there is in the whole performance of this positive, confident, unproving writer. He has borrowed (or rather stolen) an observation from a very young writer of our country, which is directly false, and destroys all metre, as far as it goes. It is a fine thing to have got a name: nothing else could have passed off this work; of which, if you have not already the first edition, you would do well to procure it, if you think it worth while; for, by the time this book has gone through two or three more editions, it will be perfectly unintelligible: it is already so to me in many places, though this is but the third edition of 1740."

* The translation of Abbé Fleury, published by Mr. Farnsworth. See the "Anecdotes," p. 268. 340.

Nov. 15, 1756.

"**KNOWING** that you have concerns enough of your own upon your hands, I was desirous to have excused you from those of others; and accordingly mentioned twice to Dr. ———, that if he had any bookseller or acquaintance in town to whom I might send his papers, he would let me know. To my first, in his answer, he mentioned nobody; to the second, you. So that I shall send on Tuesday a small parcel, directed to him, to be left with you, which he will call for when he comes to town; I suppose soon. I have written to him, to acquaint him that the parcel will be with you on Tuesday night, or Wednesday morning.

"I am very sorry for your distresses; one of which (that of the Friars*) I think is of the number of the τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, and may be put an end to at any time. For what is money given for but to make a man easy? And if others will be iniquitous, there is nothing to be done but to have recourse to the *redime te captum quàm queas minimo*: a very good maxim, which we learn in our grammar, and forget in our lives. The other trouble is not so easily set aside; but it has the comfort of necessity, and must be borne whether you will or not, which with wise men is the same thing as choice; for a fool in such a case goes about bellowing, and telling every body he meets (who do but laugh at him) what a sad calamity has befallen him: but a man of sense says nothing, and submits. This is very wise, you will say; but it is very true. I hope things may be altered since you wrote.

"I envy you if you can keep yourself warm this bitter weather, which often puts me in mind of a piece of an old ballad:

'He laid on his coals, by two and by three;
But the more he laid on, the colder was he.'

"If you see the abovementioned gentleman, and he should talk of sending me any more papers to look over, I beg of you to put him beside it, if you possibly can, by telling him, that to your knowledge it is at this time quite hurtful to me. More of this when I see you; and pray let me know whether your press is to be employed in what he is about to print. This I want to know much.

"The above was written at the end of last week, when I expected an opportunity of sending this to London the next morning, but was disap-

* Alluding to a dispute with Mr. Emonson; at that time Mr. Bowyer's partner in White Friars. See the "Anecdotes," p. 239.

pointed.

pointed. Παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀποστείλας τὸν δαίνα, if you can, from sending me any more papers. I dread men of great vivacity and little consideration."

Jan. 6, 1757.

"THE place of Acts xvii. I understand thus. I think it does not appear that there is the least reason for supposing that St. Paul was carried to the Areopagus as a *Criminal*; nor that there is a single word in the relation which tends to that supposition. Nor is it reasonable to think that a stranger should be hurried before a Court of Judicature as a *Criminal* for relating only a *Matter of Fact*, which to his knowledge had happened in another country, viz. "That at Jerusalem in Judea there was one *Jesus*, "who had brought a *new Doctrine* into the world, in which doctrine all "mankind were concerned: that this person was put to death; but that, "in confirmation of the truth of his doctrine, after he had been dead "three days, he *arose* to life again, as he had said he would: and that he "himself (Paul) knew all this to be certain." That St. Paul informed them first of the *Matter of Fact*, before he proceeded any further, we may be certain, because the omission of that would have been most absurd. Now where can be the *State-crime*, to tell a piece of news which he knew to be true, to men of curiosity who spent all their time in hearing and telling news? And accordingly, the more sober part of them say to him, "May we know what this new doctrine concerning this *Jesus* and the *Re-surrection* is? for what you tell us is very *strange*, and we never heard any "thing of it before. The Court of Areopagus, which is the judge of these "matters, now happens to be sitting:" (they sat of course three days in a month, Pollux viii. 10.) "be so good as to go with us, and relate this "affair before them." Paul was undoubtedly glad of this opportunity, and went with them: and when he had given the Areopagites what account he thought fit, ὥτως ἐξηλθεν ἐκ μέσσης αὐτῶν (ver. 33), he then *departed from among them*, and went about his business, as any other indifferent person might do, after having said what he had to say. But not a single word of his being *acquitted* or *dismissed* by them, which could not *possibly* have been omitted had he been brought thither as a *Criminal*. Thus far I agree with P. Hardouin. But the reason he gives, that if Paul had been before the Court as a *Malefactor*, he would have begun, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, but in more respectful

respectful terms is nothing at all; and the instances of Festus and Felix, governors of a province, and who thence had a civil right to the title Paul gives them, are not to the purpose. And it is easy to shew, from several pieces and orations still extant, spoken before the Areopagus as well as other Courts, that the highest title given to the Athenian Judges was ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, or ὡς ἄνδρες δικάσαι. The words ἐπιλαβόμενοι and ἤγαγον perhaps may have occasioned the mistaking the sense of this passage. But look into the Greek Concordance, and you will find instances enough where these words are used in a friendly and civil sense, without implying any *constraint or violence*."

Nov. 22, 1764.

"THAT ἄρχοντες and ἐρατηγοὶ may signify the same persons, I can believe; but that Luke should put them both here, I can never believe, unless he had a mind to shew his erudition, and to puzzle his readers; but any other writer, who in the 19th verse had said, ἔλκυσαν εἰς τὴν αἰσίδα ἐπὶ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ, would have put, Οἱς παρασπασγόντες αὐτὸς, ἔπεν &c. For my own part, I have no doubt but ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχοντίας is from another hand, as I believe hundreds of other supplements are, which it is now to no purpose to call in question; for nobody will believe you, nor does it signify three straws whether they do or not, most of them being only explicatory, and doing no harm, except defacing the style of the writer.

"I have often said to you, that the person who you tell me cannot keep any thing in his stomach is not a long-lived man: I judged so from his sudden growth, and from the state of temperate intemperance he was in. Dr. Bentley used often to say to his nephew, *Tom, I shall thrash thee*: meaning that he should out-live him. The same I say to you concerning that person, *You will thrash him*, and I believe by many years. There will be a fine job for some bookseller when he dies; for I reckon the books will be disposed of that way.

"The sixth of the Acts has exercised me much, and I have just got over it. The 40th verse, as far as I can find, seems to be greatly misunderstood in several particulars. What say you to ἀργυρίε μυριάδας πέντε, ver. 19? I mean to the *language*, μυριάδας ἀργυρίε, and to the *sum*, *fifty thousand pieces of silver*. What pieces?"

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Dec.

Dec. 8, 1765.

"DO not stir from the fire-side; I mean, so as to think of Darking. The days are short, the roads bad, the weather cold; and here you will meet with nothing but pain and flannel, to which I have been assigned for some time. The greatest comfort I have met with for a long time is the pamphlet, which has curried our friend handsomely; and yet I confess I wished, in reading it, that several scorpions had been added to his lashes. The answer I suppose will be an Irenicum, such an one as may prevent the adversary putting in execution what he threatens at the end of the work, the very thing which I want to see, and which the other will give any thing rather than see. I cannot but wonder, with you, at what the author says concerning Dr. B—y: but when you say that he shuffles about the magistrate's right of punishing idolatry, and knows not what to assert, and does not understand his adversary's system, all this may be so; but I fancy he does not apprehend himself in any danger, and I confess I do not see how he is."

Jan. 29, 1766.

"I SAW your hand with pleasure a post or two ago in my Newspaper*, in some queries. I have read Dr. Le Neve's Answer to Phillips's Life of Pole. I think he has proved his point very fully: but the book will not be much sought after by modern readers."

Feb. 5, 1766.

"THE Queries I mentioned I see are answered†; but not satisfactorily, to me at least. What he calls *blasphemous*, is, at worst, no more than what others might call *profane*, there being no evil-speaking against any Person of the Trinity; and, had it been in a sermon, it might have been reckoned *elegant*."

* St. James's Chronicle, January 25.

† Ibid. February 1.

June

June 30, 1766.

"I WISH you had not reason to be less pleased with ***'s Letter of the 10th of this month than I am. There seems to me to be a great deal of ingenuity and natural eloquence in it. You must consider, that he is at present under a distemper which is to be cured by matrimony, as an ague is by the bark. This cannot be avoided, because it is part of the constitution of his mortality; but if it be suffered to run on, without taking the recipe, perhaps it may fly into the head, and end in madness, or some other permanent disorder."

Dec. 21, 1766.

"YOUR heart-breaking Letter of Yesterday *, which I received this morning, has superseded all paltry regards of money, which please to put off till you hear from me again. In the mean time, I have got spirits enough to write to my L. C. †, who was Mr. H.'s great friend, and who was well-affected towards the people here, whose only dependence was on Mr. H. I defy any man, much less you, to give me any offence, when it is not designed: but the suit is no more out of my hands now than it was before; though nobody was more sensible of my inability to manage an affair of business; which was the reason I got it transferred to one whose knowledge, purse, and acquaintance with lawyers, might be of service. If I have a favourable answer from L. C. I heartily wish your great-coat may be made, and the weather continue favourable; otherwise, I had rather pout by myself."

Dec. 25, 1766.

"I THINK you are so totally wrong (to use your own words) in every article of moment, as far as I can yet perceive, either through your impetuosity or misinformation, that it is to no more purpose for you, than for me, to say any thing at this time, more than that I am yours, &c.

"I will only mention to you one thing, which the person you blame me for writing to (who, by the bye, has no more to do in this affair than

* On the death of Mr. Hally of whom, see the "Anecdotes," p. 117.

† Lord Camden, then Lord Chancellor.

you have) told a friend of mine some time ago, That the thing was so clear that it would not take up above a quarter of an hour with the then Chancellor, before whom at that time it was thought it would be heard. I find you are quite ignorant of every circumstance relating to the matter, except that it is *Law*. And yet I think the cause may be lost. Why? Because I know the most unjust things in that kind happen every day: though I have not the least reason to think that it will."

May 28, 1767-

"I DID not receive your Letter of yesterday till last night, just as I was going to-bed. If I could have been surprised with any thing, it would have been at the contents of it *, in a person of so regular and temperate a life as you are, and of so small a portion of flesh; a great quantity of which renders a man liable to every thing that is deadly. It brought to my mind an expression of an odd fellow, whom we used to laugh at when we were young men, who, upon some occasion or other, said, That he thought he should have *lost the use of his face*. I guess it was on your right side, and that the whole side was in some measure concerned, because you say it affects your writing. It is a comfort that you are near the best of advice, which I am very sorry to find Mr. Clarke is forced to come up to take. When persons of his and my age (though I am several years older than he is) begin to complain, it is a sign that the affair is almost over, and that the watch will not go much longer. Soon after his book came hither, I lent it to a friend, which is the reason I have not yet read it quite over: a great part of it is much above my pitch; but I read it with pleasure, as his, and because of the quotations from the Ancients, which are numerous. I hope in a few days you will be able to send me an account that you are perfectly recovered. You cannot send it me with more satisfaction than I shall receive it.

"Any time before the end of June, be so good as to order your broker to sell 100*l.* of my stock. I know the stocks are at present very low: but I fancy they will be much lower in a little time, and never higher while I live; and what name would you give a man who suffers himself to want money which he has in his pocket? Probably you will offer me your purse; but that will not be near so satisfactory to me as the other: which I mention before-hand, to prevent giving you offence by a refusal."

* The news of Mr. Bowyer's having had a paralytic stroke.

July 12, 1767.

"WHAT is the meaning of your *Frigidus obliterit*, &c.? I fancy it would have been of service to you to have seen and experienced part of the distresses which I have undergone here*; for *vexatio dat intellectum*, that is, spirits. When this cause was at the worst, and the ungodly as green as grass, I was certain, and have told the woman so an hundred times, that folly, wickedness, and undutifulness, must, somehow or other, I could not tell how (nor do I yet see), work out their own punishment. It is impossible it can be otherwise; though I believe there never was such a fortuitous concurrence, since Epicurus's, of such unfavourable and discouraging circumstances. But this, I fancy, is Providence's way of dealing with knaves.

"It is with infinite concern I say any thing of poor Mr. Laxton†; though I must contradict the accounts you have in your papers. He was coming hither on Thursday July 2, when his horse trod upon a stone, and fell upon his head. His fall threw Mr. Laxton over his head, who was so much bruised that he was forced to be carried home; but they could not prevent a mortification in his back, of which he died on Tuesday last. The papers say he died upon the spot."

October 23, 1767.

"THE Letters of Dr. Swift served me only for two days amusement; and the others I shall expect with eagerness. The thing which struck me most was a saying of Col. Disney's, concerning Mrs. Kingdom, the maid of honour; who being pretty far gone in years, the Colonel said, that the Queen should give her a brevet (as they do in the army) to act as a married woman."

Nov. 5, 1767.

"WHAT Cicero, or rather Brutus, meant by *Architecti†verborum*, you may see in that place, De Clar. Orat. cap. 31, in the edition you gave me, Schrevelius's, Lugd. Bat. 1661, 4to. So that I will not dispute with you about that. *Chacun a son goût*.

* By the family law-suit in which he had so benevolently interested himself. See the "Anecdotes," p. 23.

† Rector of Leatherhead, in Surrey.

‡ On the authority of this passage, Mr. Bowyer used to call himself, as a Printer, ARCHITECTUS VERBORUM. See his Portrait prefixed to the "Anecdotes."

"The

"The book of Debtor and Creditor is quite needless to me, who have no accounts with any body but yourself: and I know every farthing I owe, and every farthing due to me, as exactly as if it were set down in an hundred account-books.

"I am glad you have got an horse. It would be an excellent thing for me; but am past it (being in my seventy-fifth year) as much as I am past country-dances.

"I deal in Hoare's notes for security. If they miscarry by the post, I have time to send up word, and stop payment: but a bank-note, once lost, is lost for ever; or, if I could detect the stealer, his being hanged would be no satisfaction to me for the loss of the money, and would give a great deal of trouble."

Jan. 13, 1768.

"I HAVE received all your progg for the mind and body, the books and nuts; and will endeavour to return the books before the 9th of March. I could not forbear peeping into Mr. Br. *, concerning the τὸ πρὸ διδασκαλίας. I thought the expression was faulty; but the place he quotes out of Chrysostom shews the contrary: so that, at present, I do only simply not understand it, not being able to get any idea of it consistent with the sense I have made up in my own head. Perhaps a common sailor could explain it better than all the learned men in the world who never were at sea. But I will read again, when I have time, more carefully what he says."

Feb. 5, 1768.

"YOUR Letter gives me as much joy as it is possible for me to receive in the melancholy circumstances we are in at present, having lost Mrs. Stilwell, who died this morning, leaving a child in the month, and another of about four years old. The mother's reflection is, that she has lost her daughter, and her son is a Turk to her. I hope I shall be a comfort to her, and to the family. I have this morning received a Letter from Sir Robert Foley †, who still wants to be in this neighbourhood. I have a thing in my eye, which I hope will suit him. You shall hear from me again as soon as I have determined what is agreeable to humanity and œconomy, without any regard to money, farther than is consistent with the latter."

* Mr. Bryant.

† Who married a sister of Mr. Markland.

Feb.

Feb. 5, 1770.

"YOUR Letter of Feb. 1, gave me a new and melancholy light concerning * * * * *. But the spirit which appears in many of our nobility, and the cession of one great wicked man, whose parts I was afraid (and there was more reason for the fear than I perceive was generally apprehended) had got an intire superiority over the weakness of another, have made me very easy as to political matters. I had expressed my apprehensions in many political squibs and crackers, which I had occasionally let off; but shall now suppress them as unnecessary. The last was this:

' To the D. of G.

- ' How strangely Providence its ways conceals!
- ' From *Pratt* it takes, *Torke* it takes from, the seals.
- ' Restore them not to *Pratt*, lest men should say
- ' Thou'st done *one* useful thing in this thy day.'

"These are the ebullitions of 30, not of 77; and of one laid up with the gout, as I am at present: it has spared me till now, but is now returned with its usual vehemence, which I am not sorry for."

July 30, 1770.

"IN mine to you yesterday I expressed some unwillingness of having any thing printed which is written in the margin of my Greek Testament: I had not then thought of an obvious expedient, which has occurred since, viz. that my name may be concealed (the chief thing I aimed at); and at the end of each note, if any be made use of, may be put the letter R*. This will answer the intent of each of us."

April 25, 1774.

"*Religè atque ordine fetisti*, when you told the Bp. of Carlisle † (for so I suppose you mean, not *Peterborough*), that there must be some mistake in what he says concerning the Ms. of the Fragments of Ennius. I never saw such a Ms. nor did I know, or ever heard, that we had such an one in our library.

* This signature was adopted in the 8vo editions of 1772.

† Dr. Law.

"On

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

"On Sunday I wrote to Dr. Heberden, to acquaint him, that, as you had some time since told me that he intended one of his sons for holy orders, I would, on demand, send him up a copy I had of Kuster's edition of the New Testament *, with a large margin, on which I had written many things on the Evangelists and the Acts, which perhaps might be of use to the young man towards setting him up."

From the Bishop of CARLISLE.

April 26, 1770.

"I AM obliged to you for your Letter, and sorry that we have given Mr. Markland this trouble. My best respects to him, and please to let him know that I will examine the Catalogue on my return to Cambridge, and acquaint you with the result of the enquiry.

E. CARLISLE."

August 28, 1770.

"I THANK you for the biblical progg, which I did not receive till yesterday. I turned immediately to some places in the version; but I soon found that *this is not the thing*. However, in two places that I consulted I perceived that he saw the version was wrong; but he has not set it right. It is something however to see what has escaped others: but I will venture to repeat it, *this is not the thing*.

"You are so well employed for Thomas, that I do not desire to see you till you have settled that affair. Mr. Deane called here last week, from Ned Clarke's. He says as you do, that Amport is worth 400 l. a year, and that 800 l. has been made of it. Ned is now very easy and happy.

"Junius is come to life again; the person whom I always suspected since the Buckingham petition; because I thought nobody could write it but himself. I am sorry to see that he is spoken suspiciously of. How few men are there in England who are honest men; that is; who act like rational creatures! God preserve us from temptations; which, I believe, is the only way of keeping us honest! Whether I am of that number I cannot tell, *ὁ ἀνταρπύων με χαίρειός ἐστιν*: but I know that I am out of the way of temptations."

* This copy was kindly communicated to J. Nichols by Dr. Heberden, when the improved edition of Mr. Bowyer's "Conjectures," 1783, 4to, was going to press; and the notes taken from it were all accurately examined by Dr. Owen.

"THE

Dec. 2, 1770.

"I UNDERSTOOD long ago that Ely was designed for Keene *. He is so very fat, that I fancy it will not be long before he has a successor; for, as H. Finch used to say to Armstrong in his jocular way, 'there is no being sure of a fat fellow for half an hour.' Dr. Bentley used to compare himself to an old trunk, which, if you let it alone, will stand in a corner a long time; but if you jumble it by moving, it will soon fall to pieces. *Nimirum hic ego sum.*"

Feb. 1, 1771.

"I HAVE just peeped into the account of Homer †, which I am much pleased with; but probably shall send you no remarks upon it.

"If you have not seen the character of the late Lord Waldegrave, written by his wife, and put up in Navestock Church, it is worth your seeing. It is in the paper of Saturday last, January 26."

Feb. 10, 1771.

"THE notes ‡ in the two paper-books were written a long time before those in the folio edition. I am still as clear as ever I was in my opinion concerning Acts xii. 10. There seems to me many absurdities in the other: but if it appear otherwise to you, the right way will be to print my note, and then your own. You know the similitude between ΕΣΕΛ and ΕΞΕΛ might easily occasion such a mistake. What you take to be *wards*, I take to be *guards*, the sixteen soldiers, divided into two parties, the first at the prison-door, the second further on, nearer the iron-gate; all in the suburbs.

Acts xxi. 11. The reason why I said that there was nothing to answer in the Antitype was, because it does not appear that St. Paul's *feet* were bound; he was bound only ἀλύσει δει, but not with πῶδας, *fetters*: nor indeed is it conceivable how Agabus could bind his own *hands and feet* with

* Translated from Chester in 1771. He died July 6, 1781. See some Memoirs of his Lordship, Gent. Mag. vol. LII. p. 343.

† Mr. Wood's. See the "Anecdotes," p. 416.

‡ On the Four Gospels, used in the "Conjectures."

one girdle. However, you see what opinion I have of the words χ τὰς πόδας, though I dare say nothing. The instances brought out of Pliny and Alciphron, are they of *criminals* of state? If ἄλυσες ever signifies a chain with which the feet are bound, Artzenius's explication may be right. St. Mark, it is certain, thus distinguisheth: and though I never saw the Dissertation, yet I would venture five to one, that St. Paul's feet were never fastened by either of the two ἄλυσες: I mean, that it is not proved.

“xxi. 24. I point it as it is there (though I do not know how that is from the question), because otherwise I cannot construe it. Τέτων is understood before ὧν, which otherwise ought to have been ἃ. ἐδὲν [τέτων] ὧν (for ἃ) καὶ ηχ. περὶ σβ, ἐςιν. It may be so, or otherwise xxv. 11, because καὶ ηγορεῖν governs a genitive case, which καὶ ηχέθαι does not.

“xxi. 3. I am not concerned in this note. But I think Mill is right. ἐπάραι, Luc. vi. 20, would not have been written ἐπάραι by an Attic; nor σημήναί, in Sophocles, σημαίναί by a Greek who was not an Attic. But ἀναφανέντες, the participle of the Aor. 2d passive, is most intolerable.”

May 20, 1771.

“I SHALL send you the sheets on the New Testament by Friday's carrier: you will receive them that night, or the next morning. The reason of my sending them is, because, as I see you have taken a great deal of pains to transcribe into the margin out of the papers I sent last, it may save you or Mr. Nichols a good deal of trouble, if ever there should be occasion for a second edition. I have not had ability or inclination to read them: but I see the letter R. often occurs. Curiosity (they say) is one of the last things which dies in a man: this prompted me to look for five or six places, which I find are mostly omitted here; which I do not wonder at, knowing the difficulty and the distraction of such an undertaking. You say you are afraid of me: you need not; for there is not a more quiet man in the world.”

May 23, 1771.

“WITH this you will receive the sheets on the New Testament; in some of which, viz. Acts xii, xiii, xxi, 3, &c. I could not forbear scribbling

bling something, which perhaps you will not be able to read, owing to the weakness of my hand when I wrote it. I think that your undertaking is enough to distract even a *younger* man than yourself, and one who is perfectly at ease both in mind and body. Had I considered the difficulty of it sooner, I should have been against it.

"To the question in your last, *What have I hope for?* I answer, Every thing that is good, if you please; or, on the other hand, nothing but misery: both, I am sure, in your own power and choice. This is true, in spite of what all the world can do to the contrary. What stuff is this, say you, to a man who is upon the rack with the strangury, and whose only child refuses to live with him? The very things, say I, looking a little higher, that were *perhaps* intended for your advantage, both in mind and body: or, if they were not intended so, may certainly be made so by yourself. *I don't know that*, say you. Why then I can only reply, as they do in the schools, *Pergas tuo modo*. "I am strangely disordered in my mind and head," says t'other day Mr. * * * * of Pall-mall. "Shall I bear this, I, who have some thousand pounds a year?" Yes, say I, you had better bear it, unless you are sure that you are an independent being, and that you have nothing to account for hereafter. "No," says he, "I will not bear it," and clapt a pistol to his head, and so *died like a fool*, and a modern gentleman, who owns no superior, and believes nothing of a future state.

"I have sent a few pens, all I could find, to be cobbled by you at your leisure*; for I cannot meet with any like those of your emendation. These will last my life. You may bring them with you, if you come after Midsummer."

May 26, 1771.

"WHERE there is no likelihood of *conviction* on either side, I think all disputing is foolish: but *ἐπάρας* could not be otherwise in any Greek writer; and *ἐπῆρας*, the participle, would have been as wrong as *ἐπάρα* in the first person of the Aorist for *ἐπῆρα*.

* Mr. Markland for many years used no pens but what were made by his friend.

"I have said somewhere, that a verb or word of a contrary signification to the expressed, may be fetched from the inexpressed; by which I explain that line of Horace, where the most *evident* thing is denied,

Nil extra est oleâ; nil intra est in nuce (wall-nut) *duri*:
where from *duri*, in the latter part of the sentence, I fetch *mollis*, to the former."

July 7, 1771.

"I do not mention Dr. Heberden's opinion of your complaint with the usual style of pity, because I am firmly persuaded that nothing can befall a man but what is to his *advantage*, if he pleases; and more cannot be desired. This is Reason, little considered or thought of; but strongly and clearly confirmed by the Book you are employed upon*. Hence, total confinement, mill-post legs, and apprehension of a stone in the kidneys, are of no great weight with one who is firmly under that persuasion, and thinks he has good authority for it, that no man is miserable but through his own fault. Providence and Religion have ordered otherwise; though he who thinks differently will have most human votes on his side, if that will do him any good."

July 18, 1771.

"I HAVE read over the articles marked with *R.* as well as I could, without any fair copy, and by guess; and I have sent them, that there might be no delay on my account; though you say in your last, 'I am sorry that I undertook it.' I should say so too, were you under any *necessity* of publishing it. But I suppose you are not, and am very sorry that you have such an unanswerable excuse to plead; a disorder, to which I believe all *intention* and *application* are hurtful, as perhaps they chiefly, joined to too much sitting-still, may have been the cause of it.

"Your last Letter (the first part of it) surprized me much. I imagined it would have given you (as I am sure it ought to have done) great pleasure, to know that by your means I should be enabled to do the greatest of kindnesses to a poor widow and three helpless children. What must be my

* The New Testament.

surprize,

surprize, when, instead of giving you pleasure, I found it had only alarmed your fears and suspicions? My good friend, how could the same person act in so great and so mean a manner? To give a man 500 *l.* and to be afraid at that man's laying out ten pounds on a poor woman and three fatherless children, much greater objects of humanity and compassion than he himself? *Courage, mon ami*: I will never hurt either you, or myself."

August 15, 1771.

"YOU ask what I mean by *καὶ ἄνθρωπον*. I answer, I do not know. There are so many significations of that expression, that it is difficult to say which is the *true* one; the *certain* one is, I think, impossible. I have noted in my margin some places which you may see, I suppose, in any Concordance. See also Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. 9. 12. and Aristid. Serm. Sacr. II. p. 292. Homer. Il. A. 271. *καὶ μάχημην κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔγωγ*. And qu. whether *Εἰ* in that place to the Corinthians may not signify *licet*: *although I had fought*, &c. but still that does not explain *καὶ ἄνθρωπον*, and is of no consequence.

"As to 1 Tim. ii. 5, I knew that *ἄνθρωπος* could not signify *THE man*, which made me translate it *one man, mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus*. In the next verse, I do not understand the sense and construction of *τὸ μαρτύριον καυοῖς ἰδίαις*. If I have translated *μεσίτης* *the mediator*, I have done wrong."

Nov. 1, 1771.

"I RECEIVED your Letter this morning; and though you say I have the pen of a ready writer, yet I must beg your forbearance some little time, till I can upon consideration answer your Letter.

"I never knew a person increase in bulk so much as he we speak of, who was a long-lived man; though, very likely, he may out-live you and myself. Harry Finch used to say to Armstrong, that he never knew a fat fellow whose life could be depended upon for half an hour*. Recollect how few old fat people you remember."

* See p. 529.

Dec.

Dec. 22, 1771.

"I HAD another reason for writing to you, which was, to mention a sentence in your last Letter to me: *I wish you would not conjecture too much about Providence. What if Latin and Greek does go out of fashion? What if all the Royal Family relinquish a dissolute life, and marry among the subjects?*

"It would have seemed very odd, that an old Christian, in his 79th year, should want such a piece of advice concerning *Providence*. And what follows, concerning *Latin and Greek*, and *the Royal Family*, would have been equally surprizing, had you not before in that Letter told me, that 'your head is strangely confused.' I hope this will find you in a better situation of mind and body."

Feb. 16, 1772.

"I THANK you for your literary prog, which I have not had time even to look into; but will give you my opinion of them when I have read them. In the mean time, I am greatly prejudiced (I should not use that word) against Mr. Mordecai's opinion, as you represent it; knowing that there are many things which I do not know, and which were never designed that I should know in this world. I know how *weak*, and how *strong* this argument is.

"I shall soon want your advice in the form of a will,* of ten lines, which I have drawn up, and will send you."

April 19, 1772.

"DR. H. in his Letters to me, has never said a word of your state of health, which I think he would have done had he thought it desperate; and as to myself, I am of opinion, that the gout and the piles are not distempers, but remedies."

April 23, 1772.

"SO then our accounts, I find, are not to be made by the rules of Justice, but of Mercy. Be it so. They are both very good girls, and daughters of the same Father.

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 26.

"I was

"I was in hope that your other complaint had jostled out the stone; which I am sorry to see makes his appearance again. One night as I was lying in bed under the greatest torment with that disorder (mine was in the kidneys), I snatcht up the chamber-pot (I could scarce tell why, or what I was doing), as if to make water. After striving some time, I did at last make about two spoonfuls; on which I immediately found myself perfectly at ease, and in a much more comfortable situation than if I had not been in pain at all; whence it appears what a luxurious thing *pain* is. I repeated the experiment several times afterwards, with the same success: whence I concluded that this little scoundrel of a stone had stoppt up the water-gang in the kidneys, which I opened by striving. I mention this, if it may be of any use to you."

August 13, 1772.

"YOUR case is very odd, and seems to me singular. I suppose you have already, or, if not, I wish you would propose it to Dr. Heberden, in the state you have done to me; because, if there be any assistance in Art, I fancy you may have it thence: or, if not, that part of your situation, *without hopes of life, or fear of death*, is a very desirable one.

"The printing of the notes in the two little quarto's next summer is a thing of so great uncertainty, both with regard to me and yourself, that I shall say nothing of it at present, as there is time enough to think of it: but any thoughts of coming to London, in my present circumstances, are death to, dear Sir, yours sincerely."

October 4, 1772.

"WHAT I meant by the *ab ipso* I now understand; and from it we may judge what the Librarians did in the Ancients, when a thing was obscure to them; as I do not doubt have been done (though it cannot perhaps now be proved) in many places of the Scriptures.

"What is said by the Socinians, Arians, or Orthodox, seems to me to be very little worth regard, when they are talking of things which they cannot understand, and perhaps never were designed to be understood by *man*

in this state. The Letter of *Ben Mordecai* is most excellent to this purpose. O shameful Creed of Athanasius!

"From several circumstances (which perhaps I do not understand, as being so much out of the world), I own I am very suspicious of the people of the Feathers-tavern*; and cannot forbear thinking that Rome or Scotland (who, I do not doubt, would unite on such an occasion) may be concerned in the affair. Οὐκ ἀγνοῦμεν τῶνδε μηχανήματα, as an ambi-dexter would say. What *ought* to be done, is very clear and obvious: what *will* be done, very uncertain."

Nov. 27, 1772.

"I HAVE a great opinion of Mr. Lindsey, as of a good and sincere worthy man; and of the Querist as a judicious one. If you ask my opinion concerning the form of the edition, I answer, BY NO MEANS: because you will find insuperable difficulties before you are got half-way through, though, I confess, any thing pleases that explains. But, upon consideration, you will find that the old *John Trott*-way is the safest: and it is pretty much the same thing whatever copy you follow; for you must make no considerable alteration in the text (though you be sure it is right) against all the copies, or the majority of them; of which very many instances might be given; which, in these books, any blockhead can defend from the consent of copies, and all the learned men in the world can never prove to be otherwise: for, in this case, 'non probasti, etiam si probaveris;' and sense, reason, use, and criticism, are nothing against fact and obstinacy. In this very specimen which you have given there are three or four things, which probably did not come from the Evangelist himself. But I would not be the man who should say so. Why? Because St. Paul has taught me a much better private rule, Rom. xiv. 22. Σὺ τίςιν ἔχεις; Καὶ σεαυτὸν ἔχει, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Are you firmly persuaded of the truth of any thing? Keep it to yourself, before God. Poor Mr. Lindsey was not at liberty to make use of this rule: you and I, private men, are; who need not profess what we cannot believe: he, by his office, was obliged to do it, had not his honesty preponderated. Who can say how he would have acted on the same occasion?"

* The application from the Dissenting Clergy to Parliament, for relief in matters of subscription.

"It

"It seems to me impossible that our Saviour's *Divinity* can be eluded, except a person who is certainly often called Θεός, can be without Θεϊότης. I believe we are quite ignorant of these matters, notwithstanding all our systems; and when the *Father's* Godhead is spoken of, it is called ΑΙ΄ΔΙΟΣ δύναμις & Θεϊότης, Rom. i. 20; whereas our Saviour says, that "all power hath been given to me."

Feb. 7, 1773.

"NO wonder Castalio interpreted as he did. He saw, when he came to translate, that ὦν ὁφθῆσομαι * was nonsense in any shape. But Beza was a Genius, and of the Vulgate's *quibus* he would make ὦν signify *in quibus*: and his authority was sufficient to our great interpreters. So John iii. 13, when he could not tell what to do with ὁ ὦν ἐν τῷ ἔραυνῳ (and he must have been very skilful if he could), he contends, that ὁ ὦν signifies *qui erat*; as he might better have said, that ὦν signifies ὁ ἐσόμενος, *qui futurus est*; which would have been equally true in language, and much more to the purpose in that place."

April 16, 1773.

"I THANK you for your information concerning the quoter of ὁ ὦν, which was a matter of curiosity; for I was sure it never could be of conviction, from all the authorities in the world, till I could see an instance of those words signifying *qui erat*: especially in one who distinguishes (Revelat. i. 8) ὁ ΩΝ, & ὁ ΗΝ, & ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the same as ἐσόμενος. I should be very glad if you would send me (but I believe you cannot) an instance of those two words clearly signifying *qui erat*; especially when the foregoing are, ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἔραυνῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ. For if it be said of any person, that *he came down from heaven*, there seems no great need to say in the next words, that *he was in heaven*. Ὁ ὦν εἰς τὸν κόλπον, &c. is right, because it was spoken by the Evangelist in his *own* person, *after* our Saviour's ascension: but ὁ ὦν ἐν τῷ ἔραυνῳ is spoken by the *Son of Man* himself, at that

* Acts xxvi. 16.

very time converſing upon *earth* with Nicodemus, and affirming that at the ſame time *he is in heaven*. How this could be without *two* Human Natures, I do not underſtand. Dr. Whitby's (*according to his Divine Nature*) labours under the ſame difficulty. Erasmus's and Grotius's notes ſeem to come from perſons who thought themſelves obliged to ſay ſomething upon what they did not underſtand. In the edition of *Conjeſtures on the New Teſtament* which you ſent me, in the margin, againſt John iii. 13, I find theſe words, ' If Joſ. Scaliger, If. Caſaubon, Grotius, Salmaſius, Bochart, and Bentley, were to give their unanimous opinions, that $\delta\ \omega\upsilon$ might ſignify *who was*, I ſhould not believe it without an exemplification. It is contrary to the nature of language, which all the opinions in the world cannot alter now. Surely Dr. Cl. could not be impoſed upon by our verſion, $\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\upsilon$, *whereas I was blind*, John ix. 25.

" I fancy the note of Erasmus, which you have ſent, diſcovers the whole affair. It was impoſſible the words $\delta\ \omega\upsilon$ could be taken in their uſual ſignification here: and therefore Erasmus gives them a new one; " Participium " *verti poteſt per præteritum perfectum, qui erat* (he ſhould have ſaid *fuit*) " *in calo, &c.*" Beza, who underſtood it no more than Erasmus did, was glad however of ſuch an authority, and ſo tranſlates it *eſt vel erat*. It is no wonder that thoſe who came after, being under the ſame circumſtance of *not-underſtanding*, ſhould follow ſuch great examples. This is not the only inſtance of the kind in the New Teſtament, where a word has been *forced* into a ſignification it never has, for the ſake of an hypotheſis."

October 27, 1773.

" WHEN you aſk me a queſtion in the *Res Nummaria*, you aſk one who knows as little of that matter as if he were of the R. S. I never had the leaſt inclination to ſtudy that part of Antiquity; of which I ſhall give you a ſurpriſing inſtance, when I tell you, that I have *not read our friend's account of the Ancient Coins* *. From ſome ſcraps of it, I perceive a prodigious ſhew of erudition; but whether it be exact or not, I am not a judge."

* Mr. Clarke's, which however he had *begun* to read; at leaſt the quotations in it from the Ancients. See p. 524.

Dec.

Dec. 3, 1773.

"THE affair of Pompey's reduction of Athens, I believe, you will find in Plutarch's Life of him; for I have no books, nor much memory; and the *Hero* you inquire after is, if I remember, among the *Cataleſta Pitifci*.

"It is pleasant to obſerve how naturally a man returns to the point whence he ſet out, viz. milk, which is now the chief ſuſtenance to me at 80 years old: not to mention other infirmities of infancy, among which I muſt very poetically mention one, *madidique infantia naſi* *."

Mr. MARKLAND to J. NICHOLS.

June 22, 1774.

"IT would be a great comfort to me to think (for I ſhall be dead long before that time) that this boy John Freeman † (who will be ſeven years old in July 1) will be your apprentice in due time: *hæc cura et cineri ſpiret inuſta meo*, as the poet ſays. I have a very great regard for his mother's induſtry, honeſty, and frugality; inſtances of all which I know."

October 12, 1774.

"DR. BARNARD of Eton has called upon me twice within theſe ſix weeks. Mr. Lindſey's preaching will make no more alteration in religion, than the diſſolution of the parliament will in politics: we are juſt where we were.

"I have breakings-out in my legs, with very troubleſome itchings: I fancy they are ſcorbutic, and in a few days intend to try Maredant's drops, which are ſaid to do wonderful things in that way; but perhaps νεκρὸν νεθελῆν καὶ γέροντα ἰατρῆν, ταυτὸν ἐστὶ."

December 13, 1774.

"IT rejoices me to find that you have laid aſide the deſign of publiſhing the N. T. I think we are both now too old to be engaged in that undertaking; I above 40 years, and you above 30: I ſpeak according to the uſual meaſure of the life of man. And though I know there are many depravations there, and am very well ſatiſfied of the truth of ſeveral of the reſtitutions, yet I chuſe to keep them to myſelf, ἐνὸς τῷ Θεῷ, as

* Juvenal, Sat. x. 199.

† A grandſon of his landlady at Milton-Court. On Mr. Markland's death, in 1776, the boy was bred up to other purſuits.

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being only matters of curiosity chiefly; except one, which perhaps I may mention some other time. I never read Dr. Clarke's *Sermon on the Doctrine of the Trinity*. I believe Mr. Lindsey to be a very worthy man; though far from being of his opinion in all things."

Jan. 27, 1775.

"DO not forget me if you meet with any folio edition of the N. T. the paper of which will bear ink: Beza's (I have that) will not. I shall not write much upon it (I am too old), and yet I would not have every thing I can say lost. I did not think it reasonable to take your edition; that is, the meat out of your mouth. As far as I remember, Gregory's Oxford edition would answer my purpose. Perhaps you are better acquainted with it.

"What will become of us? For I foresee the American petition will be rejected. I have feared it a long time. I have less reason to be concerned than you have, being much older; and yet I cannot forbear being uneasy for posthumous calamities, which I foresee will be owing to the weakness of some, and the wickedness of others. The Provost of Eton brought his son hither, a youth of about eleven years old. I told him, I was afraid he will see evil days in England; for that it seemed to be ripening apace. You, I believe, will laugh at all this, as appearances are different to different persons; and yet I think every man in England has reason to be uneasy at such a majority of members of parl—t who will sell you to the best bidder; in which case you have only one way (and that a very disagreeable one) to help yourself. We seem to be in a very bad situation; and worse, if Sophocles's remark be true, ταῦτα πάντα ζῆν; which probably is the case."

Jan. 29, 1775.

"IT amazes me when I consider what strange oversights have been made in the N. T. by men of the greatest learning and sagacity, in a book that has been read more than any book in the world. What can be the reason of it? They would not have done so in any other author. Reverence, perhaps, has got the better of common sense. I could send you instances which would astonish you.

"Poor America! and poor England!"

Feb.

Feb. 5, 1775.

"DR. P.'s * wealth, you say, is confirmed by good authority. I am sorry for it, because I think a Christian priest, with no children, to die worth 30,000 *l.* has a very unscriptural look. One news-paper says, that he left to twenty fellows of the College, who were his contemporaries, 100 *l.* each. This would have been very pretty and commendable, had it been done a fortnight before he was taken ill: otherwise it has the look of playing fast and loose, and seems to declare that, if he had never died, he never would have done any good with his riches."

Feb. 12, 1775.

"I HAVE long wanted to ask you a question concerning your note on Rom. ix. 6. You say that 'J. Munthe contends, that $\epsilon\chi$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$, or, $\epsilon\chi$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ OTI, with an Indicative followed by $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, is agreeable,' &c. There are several instances of $\epsilon\chi$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ — $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, but not one with $\epsilon\tau\iota$, which word to me makes it quite unintelligible. Beza says, that Budæus has shewn, by several instances, that $\tau\epsilon$ is often omitted, in this sense. I have no doubt but tricks have been played here, from not understanding the ellipsis of $\epsilon\kappa$, which ellipsis is seen in all the places of Diodorus: $\text{Οὐχ ὅσον δὲ ΟΥΚ ἐκπέπλωκεν, \&c. \& \epsilon\delta' \text{ΟΙ εἰσὶ τέκνα ἀλλ', Ἐν Ἰσαακ, \&c.} Non solum verò non excedit, \&c."$

Feb. 19, 1775.

"I BELIEVE I mentioned in my last, but the word might be blotted so as that you could not read it, that ϵ or $\epsilon\kappa$ was the ellipsis: $\text{Ὀυχ ὅσον δὲ [ε\kappa] ἐκπέπλωκεν, —\& \epsilon\delta' \text{οἱ εἰσὶ τέκνα ἀλλ', Ἐν Ἰσαακ \&c.}$ Look into all the instances out of Diodorus, and you will find the same ellipsis: $\text{Ὀυχ ὅσον [ε\kappa] ἐπιζητῶσι \&c. \epsilon\chi$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ [ϵ] $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha\iota$ &c. $\epsilon\chi$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\tau\iota$ [ϵ] $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon$ &c. rightly expressed in the version, though the Latins use the same ellipsis of *non* exactly in the same manner.

"It is easy to conceive that $\epsilon\tau\iota$ might first come in from some reader, who took $\epsilon\chi$ $\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ to signify *it is impossible*, instead of *not only*; as our translators did:

* Dr. Powell, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

"I am

"I am very well satisfied within myself with this explication; but perhaps another may not be so. It seems wonderful that Mr. Munthe should miss what all his instances prove, and not one of OTI."

Nov. 5, 1775.

"IN a former I mentioned Acts ii. 13, in which I thought I had made a new discovery; but, upon looking over some old papers, I found the following note written in Latin: I do not know how long, but I am sure near thirty years (at least) ago; and I then recollected that I had mentioned it to a D. D. The note is as follows:

"Acts ii. 13. Ἕτεροι δὲ χλευάζοντες, &c. In his verbis nullus videtur esse χλευασμός, neque aliquid *faceti* & ad risum commendum apti. Expectaffes magis ut Lucas diceret κακολογῶντες quàm χλευάζοντες: sunt enim hæc reverà κακολογία, *maledictum* et conviciam. Accentus mutatione en tibi horum hominum χαριεντισμὸν: ἔλεγον, ὅτι Γλευκῆ, &c. A voce γλεῦκω, *missum*, ridiculi causâ fingitur, *Persona* seu *Dea*, Γλευκῶ (Gen. -άω, -ῶς), ut Θαλλῶ, Αὐξῶ, in jurejurando Athenienfium, apud Pollucem viii. 9. segm. 10. et ad hanc formam Ἀμεσῶ et Εὐεσῶ, *Deæ Politicæ* de quibus vide viros eruditos ad Hesychium, Diog. Laërtium et Harpocracionem. sic Αἰδῶ, *Dea Lacedæmoniis habita*, Xenophon. Sympos. p. m. 91. Δημήτηρ Σιτῶ (ἀ σῖτ'ω, *frumentum*), Siculis culta, Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 27. Ἰασωῶ Aristoph. Pluto, Πασῶ, *Suada*, Βριμῶ et Βριζῶ, Clem. Alexandr. Protrept. et multa talia.

"The person * to whom you made the present of Kuster's Greek Testament, folio, not long ago, has often, to my knowledge, thought that there is no book in the world which he would not rather publish than the N. T. because it is impossible to give an edition which would satisfy others and himself too. What can be done, says he, in cases where there is no Greek, no sense, contradiction, the negative wanting or abounding, and yet all the copies agreeing? Instances of all which, not yet given, are easily given, and any one of them would bring all the world upon his back! 'But have not all these things,' say you, 'been taken notice of long ago?' It is wonderful, and almost incredible to say, *They have not*: and the reason is not difficult to those who will consider the case of the great men who have written upon the N. T.

"All this I believe to be true (you perhaps will not); but I have put no name, because of accidents: and I would not give a straw to have every

* Mr. Markland himself.

body think as I do. A man in Mr. Lindsey's situation is obliged to *speake out*; in mine, to *hold his tongue*, if he be not a fool."

April 28, 1776.

"I HAVE of late been disordered by the gout, and otherwise; so that I have not been able to attend to any thing; consequently, not to thank you for Mr. Harmer's notes, which I have read over with a great deal of pleasure: it would have been much greater, had he taken in more places of the N. T. of which there are very few.

"Mr. Deane has brought with him Dr. Harwood's edition of the Greek Testament; his notes on which I am now reading, and will return Mr. Harmer's by the first opportunity; perhaps by the carrier on Tuesday. I have just now read one note in Dr. Harwood that surprizes me, on Luke xi. 35. *ρομφαία*. This word occurs in Val. Flaccus, lib. vi. ver. 98.

"Æquaue nec ferre brevior, nec *romphaea* ligno."

"It is well known to scholars, that Val. Flaccus wrote but seven books, and the eighth is only a supplement by a modern; and to make a dactyl of *rōmphæā* is wonderful."

May 12, 1776.

"The person *, whose note on Luke xi. 35, I sent you, in his edition, has followed the copy which Beza gave to Cambridge; of which Dr. Mill somewhere says in his notes, that, of all the copies he ever consulted, this is the most faulty one. Doctors differ. The editor thinks, that, after having been engaged in the study of the Scriptures for a considerable number of years, this Ms. and the Clermont copy of the Epistles, come the nearest to the originals of any Mss. in the known world. *Utri creditis, Quirites?*

"I don't know your opinion in politics: but I often think of that line in Horace †, *delirant reges, plebuntur Achivi*: I translate *reges* Scots, and *Achivi* English."

May 18, 1776.

"THE annotations I sent you in my last, on Luke xi. 35, was misrepresented, my old eyes mistaking a figure of 6 at the end of a line for a figure of 8. The rest was, as it is there, bad enough;

"Æquaue nec ferre brevior, neque *rōmphæā* ligno."

"I have not a Valerius Flaccus: Dr. Heberden has."

* Dr. Harwood.

† Ep. I. ii. 14.

Extracts from Mr. CLARKE'S Letters to Mr. BOWYER.

St. Luke's, 1726.

"I SHOULD be glad to have your account of the medal in Vailant, because I have still some suspicions about that thundering legion. Xiphilin's authority is of no great weight, because he tells us that the legion took its name from this action; and Tertullian lived at a great distance, and his Montanism is too good an argument of his credulity: I don't at all doubt but that there was something miraculous in the victory, and should have no scruple in ascribing it to the prayers of the Christians, if I was sure that Antoninus's pillar (as cited by Mr. Richardson from Cafalius) was fairly represented; but the misfortune is, that Mr. Moyle quotes the very same pillar (as Baronius has drawn it) as the surest proof that the Christians had nothing to do with the miracle. How is it possible to reconcile this difference without consulting the best description of the *Columna Antonini* extant? I wish you would do it, who cannot want opportunity. The medal that Mr. Moyle quotes proves nothing. REL. AVG. is an inscription upon two of M. Aurelius's medals with different reverses, and probably not both struck upon the same occasion. Ant. Augustinus mentions both these, but does not apply either of them to this miracle: and though he mentions it in his Dialogues, he does not seem to have seen any medal that related to it. PIET. AVG. is common, and I believe means much the same thing. I thank you for inquiring of Mr. Chishull.

"*Bizus* has a pretty good character among the engravers, though I believe few of his medals are very curious."

October 13, 1728.

"ONE of the pleasures of going into the country is the opportunity I now have of conversing with you: I was so taken up with ceremonies in town, that I cannot say whether I was more plagued with them, or pleased with the Coronation. I am sorry that I had so little time to spend with you, when I had so much to ask and talk with you about: I found the passage in Dion. It is lib. lx. p. 779. edit. Steph. where he is speaking
of

of affairs in Britain. It is read so, as I found it quoted. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν ΑΤΤΟΝΟΜΟΙ, ἀλλ' ἄλλοις βασιλευσι προσεγγόμενοι. By αὐτόνομοι, he only means that there were no democratical governments in Britain; that is the proper sense: but then the *alii regibus* is scarce sense. Does ἄλλοι alone ever signify *diversus, varius*? If you read it ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις, all is right *. The passage in Zosimus I could not readily find, and I had but little time to bestow upon it, though I wish I knew where to find it: he says that when the Romans left the Britains, they καθ' ἑαυτὲς ἐβίοντο†.

August 11, 1729.

"AS to your scruples about the division of Britain, I can answer them all at once; *i. e.* that I am resolved to say not a syllable about it. I can't please myself with it, nor find any authorities that determine the time of it; and as it does not greatly concern my question, I had rather not meddle with it than make nothing of it.

"It is certain that Severus made two provinces of Britain; and after that, all is conjecture.—I believe Dioclesian divided it into three. First, because Lactantius says of him, *Provinciae in frustra concisæ, multi præfides, plura officia singulis regionibus, &c.*—Secondly, because there were three bishops from Britain at the Council of Arles 314. That these were divided into four before Valentinian, is evident from Sextus Rufus: who was the author of this division is again only matter of conjecture, probably Constantine, because it had the name of *Flavia*, and because his three successors had very little to do in Britain. In the year 369 Theodosius added a fifth province, and called it *Valentia*, from the emperor's name. Sextus Rufus's Breviarium was written before this time, because he takes no notice of this *Valentia*; and as *Valentia* was so called from an emperor's name, it is probable that *Flavia* was so too.

"Now the business is to find authorities for the intermediate divisions into three and four provinces.

1. A Ms. of Sextus Rufus (I am afraid) would be of no use, for unless there were four provinces in Britain, there could not be eighteen in all, as he reckons them.

* This is Leunclavius' reading. Fabricius proposed ἀλλ' ἄλλοις. EDIT.

† This passage is in Zosimus, B. vi. p. 376. Ed. Ox. EDIT.

"2. If there be any thing in *Panvinus's* Commentary, we may safely reckon that some of the after-writers (especially Cellarius) have taken notice of it. Cellarius's note upon *Maxima Cæsariensis* is this. 'Vide hanc divisionem &c. explicat. in lib. provinc. Schenhovii, et in *Geographia nostra medii ævi*.' Now this *Geographia medii ævi* is what I never heard of before. I have his *Geographia Antiqua*, that does not go so low; and I find in Prevoux's Catalogue, *Geographia antiqua et nova*, per Cellarium, 2 vol. 8vo. Jenæ, 1716.—Perhaps the *Geographia media* may be a part of this book. If it be, I should be glad you would send it me.

"If this does not give some light, I can guess only at two places more where it is to be expected: either in *Histoire Romaine*, &c. par les Peres Catrou & Rouille, avec les notes historiques, geographiques, &c. 12 vol. 4°. Paris. 1727; or in *Banduri Numism.* Perhaps among the medals of *Dio-clesian*, *Constantine*, &c. there may be some footsteps of this affair. As to your objection from the Council of Rimini 359; the number of bishops at a council is an argument that there were so many provinces in their country at that time, not that there was no more. And perhaps *Maxima Cæsariensis* after the division lying always subject to the inroads of the Picts, no bishop was fixed in it.—*Sed de his satis.*"

Sept. 28.

"I AM glad you are in peace and safety, and delivered at your Museum in White-Fryars free from all disputes, either about horses or dunghills. I was in hopes of having your thoughts about the amusements at Tunbridge—how you liked the place, and spent the evening. I fancied you had a mind to see it once, and I suppose are satisfied. But you are so divided between Law and Learning, that you don't say one word either of the ladies or the waters.—Sir, my wife insists upon it that you should not be silent upon such important articles.—As to leases (the only query you have now remaining), there are no rules to be given about them, but what arise from the farms themselves. The lawyers are most of them acquainted with the forms; the conditions you must fix yourself, or some friend who has seen the farm. Persons who have not seen it are capable of giving no directions. As, for instance, you must determine how many acres of meadow shall *never be plowed*—how many of the arable acres shall be
plowed

plowed at one time.—As to the wood, the reservations must be such as you think proper; the less there is upon the farm, the less liberty you should allow, &c.

“I am much obliged for the favour you did me, and desire you would remember, that you have taken a lease of your room at the parsonage for a certain time in September annually; which if you don't perform, remember, *Bowyer versus Boreham* *—I shall have a writ against you, and damages.

“I shall be glad of seeing any attempts of yours as an Antiquary, let the example be from what original you please in the venerable Society; for I think you may, without vanity, boast of many originals. I don't understand all your learning in this paper no more than I do Mr. Folkes, whose example you quote. You would know a *Noble* from a *Rial*, but by the weight. I answer who would [not] indeed; for there was no other difference; the *Noble*, when increased to such a proportion in weight, was called a *Rial* ever afterwards.—Mr. Folkes supposes that King Henry's *Angels* might be known by their near resemblance to King Edward.—But why might they not be known by the legend *Hen. re* if Henry VII. (as is supposed) added the number to his name?”

Octob. 15, 1732.

“IN your present situation I know you must have so little time to yourself, that I scruple to rob you of any part of it: but if I should, out of regard to your leisure hours, intirely excuse you from this sort of trouble, I am afraid that I should not spend my own so agreeably as I could wish; the consequence would be, that I should hear from you much seldomer than I do.

“I am glad that little Tom is a part of your weekly amusement. I much approve the constancy of his temper, that won't be inveigled from his nurse. Nor do I condemn his choice; he must, at present, have as much taste for conversing with his nurse as his father. Our little ones are very well; but I begin to think that boys are not so governable as girls, nor so quick in their mother-tongue. My wife is very angry with Mr.

* His tenant at Navestock.

Bulkeley * for laying you under such strict obligations, and thinks her boy as well worth seeing as any sheet in Thuanus.

“ I have not read much in Masvicius; but have met with many shameful errata, and doubt it is very incorrectly printed for so fine a book. I knew that I must expect the same in Kuster; the author of the *Prolegomena* (if he says true) had laid this to his charge. *Omnia Milli errata—et complura alia, eaque sœdiora accedere passus est.* But, for all that, it is certainly the most useful Greek Testament that we have, or, I believe, are like to have, after all this new editor can do for us.

“ I have not read Rapin Thoyras over, and but few places with so much care as to examine what he has said, and by what authority. Nor have I, indeed, the proper materials for such a work. I have scarce any of the old English historians, and without them there is not much to be done. In looking back some time ago upon our Saxon antiquities, I had marked some places with my pencil, and writ little memorandums in others; but I doubt they are scarce worth communicating: if they are, I'm sure you have a right to expect any thing of that sort that is in my power. I have sent you a parcel of them, as far as the end of his two first books. The second book is so much mixed with the fables of the Welsh historian, that it is as good as nothing—half romance; but what was capable of being well told, and might amuse the reader. I wish the gentlemen who give us this second edition would throw all their improvements at last into one 8° volume, to oblige us who were their friends and humble servants in buying the first. I would really send them a sheet or two of thanks, if not of notes, upon that account.

“ Perhaps you'll smile at my offering any thing by way of Welsh etymology. Sure I have reason enough to make free with that language, since I can make no money of it; nor, what is still worse, I'm afraid you can squeeze nothing out of it, but e-t-y-m-o-l-o-g-y.”

Nov. 25, 1732.

“ YOU had not waited for a thing of so little consequence as my opinion about church authority, if I had not been in hopes of meeting with some of the cases you referred to. But books are no more to be met with here than pheasants in Fleet street. What made me more desirous to see

* The famous bookseller.

some of the Reports mentioned in *Wood*, p. 500, was because I imagine that you took all there mentioned to be on the same side the question, *against the authority of the church over the laity*. But sure the case is far otherwise. *Coke's 12th Report*, and *Rolle's Abridgment*, seem to be produced on that side; but perhaps these two are only one evidence, the case in *Rolle's* being very probably copied from that in *Coke*, and from a volume of Reports that does not seem to be of equal authority with the first *eleven*: but if it were against this single authority, you have *Vaughan*, *Moor*, *Ventris*, very considerable lawyers. So it is that Mr. Wood states his query, and so I find these authorities alledged in other books, to shew that canons legally made and confirmed shall bind as much in matters ecclesiastical as any statute — But, having none of these Reports, this is at best only a second-hand opinion, which you may examine at leisure.

“ I think it is universally agreed, that before Henry VIII. the clergy in convocation had an authoritative jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical, and might put in use any canons that were not contrary to the *prerogative, laws, or customs* of the realm. And to be sure this was generally the case: the number of provincial constitutions preserved are demonstration enough in this point. And it is most likely that the clergy in those days did not always keep within due limits, but broke in often upon some of the triple inclosures that were a check upon their authority. The preamble to the 25th of Henry VIII. proves this, that the prerogative ecclesiastical had in divers cases borne hard upon the prerogative royal and the subject's liberty. But be that as it will, Henry VIII. intended by that statute to vest himself with a part of the ecclesiastical authority, to guard against any dangers from the clergy; and this act being declarative of what was law before, can never make the ecclesiastical authority less by adding it to the royal prerogative. To deny that canons legally established bind the laity, is denying the royal prerogative in one of the most considerable branches of it. And we have no other foundation for the greatest part of our ecclesiastical laws, which do in fact bind the laity, where they are not otherwise relieved by statute. It is possible that the 16th of Charles I. which took away the authority of the High Commission Court, might in some measure be designed to affect church authority in general; but as that statute was repealed by the 13 Charles II. (except what concerns the High Commission Court),

Court), it is manifest that ecclesiastical jurisdiction must be as it was by law before the year 1639.

"This seems to be as clear as possible, and the 26 of Henry VIII. sets forth the royal prerogative in this respect in terms ample enough.

"As to my notes on Rapin, it is not possible I should go on with them; to be for ever groping my way in the dark, would make the task so unpleasant that I could never bear it. There is no doing at all without the *Scriptores post Bedam, Decem Scriptores, Florent. Vigorn. &c.* which I cannot now here, and am not inclined to buy upon any motive, especially to pay so dear for revenge.

"I am mightily pleased to think what little heroes you single out to engage in sharp encounter, Mr. Pope, Mr. Bowman *, &c. and then tell us, to set forth your own achievements, that one of them is one of the greatest men in the three kingdoms."

Buxted, Dec. 21.

"Imagining that the few short Queries in your last had some relation to the worshipful performance that is now in the press, I have sent you all that I know of them with as much expedition as I could. Bishop Nicolson supposes the author of the Gothic Gospels to have lived much later than Ulphila, because in that version there are several words that have a feudal aspect, and may probably have some relation to those customs. As in Mark x. 22, (not Matt. as Dr. Wilkins prints it, p. v. Præfat. Ep. Deſ) Luke xviii. 24. *Faihu* is used for goods, possessions, which is the same with the Saxon *Feo*, or *Feoh*, whence the Latin *Feodum* and *Feudum* came. The observation is Junius's; but the Bishop makes use of it as an argument for bringing down this version to the viiith or ixth century; for that must, at least, be the import of *proprius multo ad Willeram Abbatis sæculum accessisse dixerim*. How far this conjecture will bear I cannot say. The former argument from Schottelius I don't understand. Hickes and Nicolson seem to agree that this version is properly *Teutonic*, and not *Gothic*: but, with submission to these great masters of the Northern languages, I do not know what they mean by the opinion they are so perfectly clear in; *Teutonem aliquem argentei codicis auctorem extitisse nullus dubito*, says the Bishop. Do they really mean that the *Runic*, strictly speaking, is the true *Gothic*, and

* See the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 69.

that

that the Goths came originally from Scandinavia * ? If they do, it is a point in geography that deserves a further inquiry.—Surely the *Goths* and *Teutones* were originally the same people: the former, who lived more eastward, and of course nearer to the seats of infant science, had their *letters* from the *Greek alphabet*, and their tongue probably from a common mother, the *old Scythian*. The latter, as perhaps the greater part of the Germans, learnt the use of letters from the Romans: this surely may be true, though both these northern languages have many things in common, many words of the same original. But since your question relates to the antiquity of the *Codex Argenteus*, I cannot forbear transcribing two opinions about that point, which, when placed together, must make one of them appear very extraordinary. Dr Mill, in his Prolegomena to the N. T. §. 1399, says, *Versio Gothica perantiqua:—Codex ante mille plus minus annos in pergamento aureis et argenteis literis exaratus.* And, §. 1400, adds, *in hac versione secutus est interpres exemplar Græcum PRÆSTANTISSIMUM, et quidem exacte admodum, ac KATA ΠΟΔΑΣ: Et licet in plurimis consentiat cum Codice Cant. unde suspicio erat ex interpolatis iis fuisse quæ in occidente descripta fuerunt; expenitiori tamen inspectione patebat diversi omnino generis fuisse hoc exemplar, & quidem notæ optimæ.* Thus Mill.—While the gentleman † who wrote the late Prolegomena to an edition of the N. T. that we were to expect in Holland, Amst. 1730, 4to, says, p. 85, *Ex Latino conversum esse [Codicem] prodit, 1°. Titulus, incipit Evangelium SECUNDUM Marcum, vel SECUNDUM Lucam; quæ formula Latinorum est, non Græcorum. 2°. Vertit porro ut Latini, &c. 3°. Habet dein voces et terminationes Latinas, ut Fasciis, Carcer, Lucerna, &c. 4°. Habet denique emendationes, quæ in nullis Græcis reperiuntur, ut Marc. iii. 21. 5°. Editio ipsa multis scatet mendis, quarum plurimæ ex literarum similitudine, et obsoleta scriptura videntur abortæ. Ex quibus omnibus conficitur, istam conversionem neque ejus ætatis, neque auctoritatis esse, quæ vulgo eidem tribuitur.*—Would not one expect now that a writer, who

* *Runicam* dixi linguam veterem quam alii *Danicam*, alii *Cimbricam*, alii vero *Scandicam*; nuncupant, *Runica* nomen esse sortitum a *RVNIS*, hoc est, ab antiquissimis literis quas faxeis suis monumentis incidere & quibuscum codices suos veteres Scandiæ populi & ab iis oriundæ gentes, potissimum *Islandi*, scribere solebant.—*Islandi* eodem fere vetere & genuino fermone jamdudum uterentur quo ante annos fere 800 coacti sunt cum patria sua *Norvegia* ob *Haraldi Pulchricomi* tyrannidem relicta in *Islandiam* navigare cæperint." Hickes' Præf. ad Sheldon, p. 1.

Odin brought a new language from the North of Asia Minor into Germany, Jutland, Iceland, Scandinavia. W. B.

† Wetstein. See the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 71.

sets up for the greatest exactness, and a corrector of Dr. Mill's work, should have given us some very just and weighty observations in favour of an opinion that so directly contradicts the Doctor's? But as to the titles, his argument from the *forma Latinorum* has no sort of foundation; the fact is absolutely false: the Gothic inscriptions are *Aiwangelio thaikk Marku*, or, *thaikk Lukan**.

"This accurate critic did not observe the difference between the Gothic and Saxon titles: the latter are in Latin, *secundum Marcum, Lucam*; but the Gothic, *thaikk Lukan*, not in the Latin termination. His third reason is, that this version has Latin words and Latin terminations. It has several Latin words, and probably some Latin terminations (for you will imagine that I have but just looked into it, not enough to be positive in such questions). But that the terminations are generally in the Greek form, might be evident from comparing any one verse.

Luke II. 2. Συρίας Κυρήνης.—Surias Kureinaiou.—Syræ Cyriuo.

III. 1. } Ποντίς Πιλάτης. Γαλιλαίας. Ιτουραίας. Τραχωνίτιδος, &c.
 } Puntiau Peilatau. Galelalias. Ituralias. Trakauneitidaus. *Goth.*
 } Pontio Pilato. Galilææ. Iturææ. Trachonitidis.—

Sure these have a greater resemblance of the Greek forms. And as to the words, *fasciis, carcer, lucerna*, &c. the Gothic terminations of them are not Latin, *faskiam, karkar, lukarn*. And perhaps the words themselves were originally as much Greek as Latin. *φασκία, παρὰ τοῖς πωλαιαῖς ταινίαι.* Glossæ Cyrilli. *λύκη, lux, lukarn*. And Junius observes *karkar, carcer*. Hesychio *κάρκαροι sunt δεσμοί, Vincula*.

Now, is not this a special fellow to be trusted with adjusting the authority of Mss. and settling the Greek text? The two other reasons are what Mill allows, and yet concludes, that the Codex Argenteus was *κατὰ τὸν ἑλληνικόν* after the Greek. It agrees with our Beza's MS. in some things; but why might not both of them be from Greek originals? But too much of this.—As to the question about the Collectors of the Feudal Law, see *Duck de Orig. Jur. Civil. cap. vi*. The Feudal Law is divided into Lib. I. II. . . . IV. V. The two first, which are (strictly speaking) the ancient Feudal Law, were collected and put into that form by *Obertus Ortensius* and *Gerardus Niger*, circa A. D. 1150. The third book never appeared. The fourth was col-

* But the force of Wettstein's argument lies in *Arstodeith, Incipit*. W. B.

lected by *Hottoman*, I think; and the fifth by *Cujacius*, as it now stands in the edition of the Civil Law. What Duck means, § 12. cap. vii. by *tres alios*, I do not know: unless they are, *Constitutiones Frederici II. Imp. & Extravagantes*, which are annexed to the Feudal Laws. All these last, being collections from others, are not of so great authority as the two first books.

"I am obliged to you for mentioning the Preface to the Welsh Laws with any circumstances of advantage: you need not have transcribed the notes, I could have trusted you intirely. The less you say the better; for I have no ambition either to be, or to be thought, an author. As to the editions of Cowel, if the point turns upon Cowel's authority, his own edition is the best; but in other cases, in settling the true extent and meaning of old law-terms, the edition of 1727 must be the best. Our Antiquaries have made great discoveries since Cowel's time, which are most of them taken into the new editions. Mine is not the best."

"YOUR friend Mr. Mitchel is now tutor to Sir Edward Ward, near Norwich, with a salary of fifty guineas *per annum*, &c. and has now given up all pretensions to St. Bride's; and when he thinks of *Brides*, it must be as incumbent, not a lecturer, unless he finds occasion for both."

"MR. MITCHEL was under some concern to think that he had so little of your company in town, and was almost afraid that you and your copyhold were seized by the Lord of the Manor. If you are quite at liberty, why should you not come and see, what this city has never seen since the Reformation, a Bishop installed in person. Our new Bishop and his brother Bangor set out for this place on Thursday: his Lordship will be installed on Saturday, and return the very beginning of the week. This is an excursion so like one of yours, that I cannot but think you would be pleased with it, and strike in with them, as it were by accident, on the road.—I have taken care again of a horse for you, at the White Hart in the Borough. Mr. Stuart, a young gentleman of this town, who is going to St. John's, leaves it there, to be returned by the carrier. If you send there on Thursday you may have it—time enough to be here on Friday-night. This account of the Bishop's intention is but just come to hand, that I could not

give you more notice : but your resolutions and motions are generally so sudden, that you can have no objection to the proposal upon that account, and must be pleased to think that it was an expedition not thought of till a few minutes before it was executed."

April 1, 1736.

" I HAVE heard the history of St. John's election, but so imperfectly that it only raises my curiosity. I want to know who the six Fellows* were that did Dr. Newcome so remarkable a piece of service. I wrote to Mr. Taylor about the election; but whether the Letter miscarried, or he disliked the freedom of it, I cannot say. I have had no answer. There is no talking freely of it to Dr. W. How many people make themselves ridiculous for want of steadiness! They have made the best choice they could, whoever were the authors of it."

July 22, 1736.

" WE are now sunning ourselves upon the beach at Brighthelmston, and observing what a tempting figure this island must have made formerly in the eyes of those gentlemen who were pleased to civilize and subdue us. The place is really pleasant; I have seen nothing in its way that outdoes it: such a tract of sea, such regions of corn, and such an extent of fine carpet, that gives your eye the command of it all. But then the mischief is, that we have little conversation besides the *clamor nauticus*, which is here a sort of treble to the plashing of the waves against the cliffs. My morning business is, bathing in the sea, and then buying fish; the evening is, riding out for air, viewing the remains of old Saxon camps, and counting the ships in the road—and the boats that are trawling. Sometimes we give the imagination leave to expatiate a little—fancy that you are coming down, and that we intend next week to dine one day at Dieppe in Normandy; the price is already fixed, and the wine and lodging there tolerably good. But, though we build these castles in the air, I assure you we live here almost under ground. I fancy the architects here usually take the altitude of the inhabitants, and lose not an inch between the head and the ceiling, and then dropping a step or two below the surface, the second story

* At the back of this Letter Mr. Bowyer has written seven names, viz. Bp. Barnard, Lowe, Heberden, Green, Fogg, Salisbury, Wiggans.

is finished—something under twelve feet. I suppose this was a necessary precaution against storms, that a man should not be blown out of his bed into New England, Barbary, or God knows where. But as the lodgings are low, they are cheap: we have two parlours, two bed chambers, pantry, &c. for five shillings *per* week; and if you really will come down, you need not fear a bed of proper dimensions. And then the coast is safe, the cannons all covered with rust and grafs, the ships moored—no enemy apprehended. Come and see,

————— *Nec tela times*

Gallica, nec Pictum tremes, nec littore toto

Prospiceres dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.—————

My wife does not forget her good wishes and compliments upon this occasion. How would you surprize all your friends in Fleet-street, to tell them that you were just come from France, with a vivacity that every body would believe to be just imported from thence!"

"WE are now about taking our leave of that very variable element the sea. After it has smiled upon us for a month, it is at present so black and angry, that there is no seeing or approaching it. It is all either fog or foam, and I truly pity every body who cannot fly from it. We had this morning some hopes of entertaining your Society with our discoveries upon the beach. The sea had thrown up a piece of an old coin, grown green with salt water; but, instead of an Otho's head, it proved only a fragment of Charles I. and I humbly nodded over it, as one of the friends of the mitre. Pray let me know which way your researches run at present in that Society. We have here a very curious old font *, covered over with hieroglyphicks, representing the two Sacraments, which rise in very bold but very bad relieve's on each side of it."

* This font has been engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, N^o XXVII. XXXIV. EDIT.

Feb. 25, 1737.

"YOU find I came up to town not to visit you, and went home again to make excuses about it. What a sudden alteration the very air of the Court makes in us Country Divines! We soon learn to have as short memories as our patrons. I forgot the entire article of altar-pieces, spoon, &c. as if I had no concern in them. But if you consider how many weightier articles, how many points in politicks, preferment, learning, grocery, fashions, and kitchen-furniture, we come up to town charged with, you will, I hope, look upon a few omissions as very pardonable things. I behaved very well, as far as I had taken any minutes in writing; and find it is impossible to preserve any other memorandums, when our heads are so very wisely employed as they are in town."

Feb. 7, 1737.

"I WAS for a few days in great fear of an Archdeaconry; but was very happily delivered from that dignity. Next to the hazards of the press, the most terrible thing is a small dignity in the church. But if you can dispose of the Welsh Laws, I hope I shall then be clear from the apprehensions of either of them. I don't love to have my name tacked to titles, or title-pages; though I am much obliged to our Bishop upon that account, who, I believe, thought to do me a real service in it. Mr. Gale must excuse me a little longer, and I suppose there is no haste."

Sept. 17, 1737.

"I WAS much obliged to you for your Letter, though it was not so expeditious in its motions as the writer, being almost a week in its passage. Mr. Mitchell really frightened me, when he told me that you were resolved to stick yourself upon the outside of a coach. I imagined that the dust you would raise there could not be so great as the danger. Was there no way of having a softer and a safer situation in one of the Ladies laps? For I find by your account that all was safe there; no danger within the coach, none of Miss Woodyer's charms, not so much as the tip of her finger.

*Vixi pervertere amore**Jam prid. m. refides animos, desuetaque corda.*

"The country in general is very much obliged to you, since you have so agreeable thoughts of it from seeing only this wild part, which, without vanity, is as good a place to be buried in as any. But strangers usually observe the beauties of a situation much sooner than the inhabitants, and always set them off to a greater advantage. Whatever you may think of the country, I am afraid what you say of it has too much the air of the town; it is almost so civil as to be suspected.—For my part, I cannot say that I like either town or country. Your life in town is too interested; ours too indolent: you are never easy but in action, and we are disturbed at the very apprehension of it. I think an agreeable life should neither be all business nor mere amusement, but something betwixt both: I would not live, like Metabus, *in dumis, interque horrentia lustra*;—nor should I chuse to be carried, *per cuneos—plebisque patrumque*.

Where with like haste through different ways, &c.

But we are in danger of the former extreme. For we country parsons have some resemblance with the parish bells—never speak, unless three or four country fellows tug hard at us, and then it is only to give notice that somebody is married, or dead; has either finished, or is just entering upon his state of probation; and in trade, you are like the bells in a tavern, always in motion, and calling *what's to pay?*

"I have here a thousand compliments to send, if I had room for them. Ted is nobody at speeches; but is by your bounty overcome with riches, impatient to dispose of them, and may very likely have a fit of the gripes out of mere gratitude. My wife is much freer of speech, and so much obliged to you for Mr. Pope's Letters, that she is never like to be silent upon that head. As for myself, I am ready to take part of the obligation, and to thank you very much for them, though not so much as for your own; not that you are a better writer than Mr. Pope, but that I love your Letters better, because I look upon them as my property, the other as Mr. Pope's."

1738.

"I WISH I could move with as much ease as you do; I would now and then give myself the pleasure of seeing you in that whirl of thought and business which I should find you in at this season; to see projects, proofs, persons, rise, vanish, and perpetually succeed others, far beyond any *Camera obscura* that I ever saw. But, alas! I set up for still-life, and should succeed tolerably well, if it was not for a set of country squires, who are as troublesome here as authors are in town, and not quite so profitable. I had just drawn my elbow-chair, with great composure, to address myself to you; and that very moment a message from Mr. Eyles, about some store fish, has raised some apprehensions that I must deal in strong beer and tobacco all the afternoon. I thank you for Warburton's Defence of Pope. I find him an excellent commentator: he proves, that self-love and social are the same; for he could not vindicate Mr. Pope without having many glances at his own adversaries."

Dec. 9, 1739.

"I HAVE been this week at one of the most melancholy funerals that ever I attended; Mr. Pelham's two sons, that you have seen an account of in the papers.—Such a stroke, from a complaint in all appearance seldom dangerous, must affect the parents inexpressibly. I hope they will make a good use of it, and be sensible,

That, when obedient Nature knows his will,
A fly, a grapestone, or a hair can kill."

Feb.

Feb. 17, 1740.

"AFTER much inquiry here, I have got a sight of your *Physico-astronomico-mathematico-calendarico-tydical* Lucubration; and can assure you, that none of your brethren began the new year with greater applause. Your table of Lunations obliges all the customhouse officers, travellers, traders, smugglers, upon our coast; and even I, who am too indolent or too much a friend to the fair trader for these occupations, am glad to know by book when I can ride over Shoreham Ferry, in case I should be obliged to it.—But as to your Mathematicks and Riddles, how they came to get possession of Almanacks is marvellous, unless as a sort of hieroglyphicks, the one to represent clear weather, the other clouded. This gives a sort of Egyptian air to the performance, and makes it perfectly profound. But, for my part, I wish you would give us chronology instead of mystery; and I fancy you would find many of your middling sort of readers, who are the lowest class of any, of my opinion."

Nov. 22, 1740.

"I AM obliged to you for the Inscription, though I can as yet hear nothing of the original; nor don't think I shall, unless I have the honour of seeing his Grace of Richmond, who does not think it worth his while to entertain his good borough with such fragments as are not for their taste."

1740.

"I HAVE scarce had time enough to thank you for your last Letter since my return from Tunbridge Wells. My wife has been taken-up with the ceremony of being welcomed home; and I, of course, have had my share of it. You are wiser in the city, and can let the women receive company without being under any necessity of attending it.—I was glad to hear the Ladies commend your country-look; I am sure they would like you the better for it: the colouring is good, natural, and inimitable; the country complexion is the *rubeus*, which one almost wants a word for in English; it is a sort of blooming brown, like the face of one of Vandyck's pictures.

"The

"The inclosed paper is an exercise that I gave Mr. Hopkins upon Pope's Pastorals, which is well enough; but, not having the Pastorals by me, I could not compare them. The only thing that I think wants altering is, that there are two or three references where there ought to be sometimes but one, because the places follow each other immediately. I only omitted two or three, that I thought less pertinent."

1740.

"HOW powerful are your example and persuasion! I had given myself over, as a person very little conversant either in the ancient or modern Classics: the little I once knew in prose and business lies extinct and lost. But your sheet shamed me so much, that I immediately set myself to work as well as I could. I have so very few Classics that have tolerable indexes to help out a bad memory, that my searches are slow, and, what is worse, often unsuccessful.—But I hope this sheet, added to yours, will supply you with notes enough for the Windsor Forest. You may pick what you think pertinent; but I hope you don't suppose that Mr. Pope had half those passages in his thoughts that bear a resemblance with them. Poets, like painters, in this respect, are furnished with a collection of figures, images, drawings, descriptions, &c. which are always ready in their heads, without thinking of the original: though I don't say but, in some passages, he must be supposed copying or improving an author before him. I will make what little progress my health and business will allow. I often laugh at the poetical descriptions of the country: retirement was always, I believe, a mere imaginary thing.—I cannot think that any body ever was alone a week together. But I can't tempt you into the country, I am afraid, by such an account of it. However, if you will come and see, you will have the best chance that can be; it will be in the middle of hop-picking, when almost every body has the goodness to keep at home. I shall always be glad to see you, and thought to have invited you down upon a piece of your own paper; but that was not so proper for the inside of a Letter."

1741.

April 1741.

" I WAS yesterday surprized to hear that my packet, which I sent you about a month ago, had miscarried. It contained the Imitations of Virgil in Mr. Pope's Pastorals: I delivered it to the carrier myself, and desired he would put it in the penny-post. My great reason for writing this post is, to know whether that packet ever came to you or not. And I desire you would send me two lines, the day you receive this, to satisfy me in that particular.—For, if you did not receive it, I shall have time enough to write the allusions in the Pastorals over again, to go up with Mrs. Browne on Thursday, and send my gleanings on the Essay on Criticism along with them.—Mrs. Browne will be in town on Friday-night.

" If you think of printing some of these poetical allusions, I should not chuse to insert any thing in prose, even from the best modern authors, how just soever. I would allow no room either for Temple or Tillotson, but suppose Mr. Pope's acquaintance to be only with the Ancients, or Gentlemen of the same profession. I think it will make your Collection look much heavier, and less inviting, and more like loading than illustrating your author. But, if I was Mr. Faulkner, I would note all the variations which Mr. Pope has made in the Dunciad *, and print all the different prolegomena which have appeared before it at different times.—And since the first edition of Mr. Pope's works, I believe he has retouched, improved, and corrected every part of them; and if he should print all the improvements, the reader would think it not disagreeable. I have by me a poem of Prior's, as printed in folio by J. Tonson in the first edition, where, I believe, we have no-where four lines together the same reading with the last edition.

" As to your query what Mr. Pope means by Menander's *Fire*, it will turn only upon the propriety of the word *Fire*. There was something very sprightly in Menander's way of writing, which perhaps a poet may be allowed to raise into a flame.—Mr. Monnoye, in the *Menagiana*, vol. III. p. 49, quotes a passage from Plutarch's Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander, which seems to justify Mr. Pope. Αἱ Μενάνδρου κωμωδίαὶ ἀρθρόνων αἰλῶν καὶ ἱερῶν μέλινον, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάττης ἐξ ὧν Ἀφροδίτη

* This was done for the first time in Dr. Johnson's edition of the "English Poets."
EDIT.

γέγονεν.—I wonder that Basil Kennet should take no notice of this passage in his character of Menander."

"I AM glad the papers came to hand, and find that want of accuracy in expressions creates you perpetual trouble, and that you are always in danger upon the arrival of the Suffolk or Suffex mails.—I have sent nothing but the Essay on Criticism, and have quoted some passages of Boileau from Soames' Version of his Art of Poetry, which seems to be very loosely done: perhaps the original would supply you with more allusions, and even these few would undoubtedly be more elegant, as they came from the author himself. If you think of printing these references, you must endeavour to make your collection as complete as you can; and I should think that the *Lutrin*, and perhaps all Boileau's works, should be looked over. Boileau's turn was, like Mr. Pope's, to satyr; and they would probably, from arguments of the same kind, fall into the same sentiments. I find you are very tender in doing any thing that should displease this same satyrist, fearing, no doubt, that he should wedge you in a marrow-bone, or press you into the service of his hero in the *Dunciad*.—But my advice about collecting his various readings was to Mr. Faulkner, and not to you: I thought book-sellers were above the fear of every thing but bad copies.—I believe it would please the generality of readers; but I would not have them collected with so much exactness as if they were the remains of an old Classic, and not as blemishes, but beauties in the author; except perhaps in the *Dunciad*, which is not so much the common place as the common-shore of his resentments, where they run off, and are like to do so, for life. I have sent you two motto's for your collection of notes, which I think cannot offend his nicer ear:

Ἐστὶ δ' ἐκλοπὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀλλ' ὥς ἀπὸ καλῶν ἡθῶν, ἢ πλοισμάτων, ἢ δημιουργημάτων ἀπολύπῃσις.

Long. Sect. 13.

Nec mea tam sapiens per sese prodita quisquam
Furta redarguerit, quæ mox manifesta probabunt
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.

Vid. Poet. III. v. 257.

"I am

"I am of your opinion as to the passage in Sir W. Temple; Mr. Pope's looks like declaring against the other systems, and, in a question of that nature, it is proper to call in authorities. I was too hasty in saying that Basil Kennet had omitted the place in Plutarch about Menander; he refers to it."

"I HAVE scarce time to say a syllable to you, either about Mr. Pope or myself; only that I much doubt I shall not be expeditious enough for your purpose. If you could prevail upon two or three of your friends besides to take single parts, and collect what passages occurred to them, it might be ready soon enough for your Irish friend. I have, in this paper, in imitation of yourself, introduced some quotations, with short observations, which are designed as mere chat. If you intend to print them as the Remarks upon Spenser, it will be necessary to enlarge and add much of that sort, which you can easily do. I doubt I shall not do any great matter in the Rape of the Lock, nor in Abelard and Eloisa, unless I read over many of Ovid's Epistles—or had a good index to them. Mr. Margerison is come to town for priest's orders. I wish you all the good wishes of the approaching season."

"YOU surprized me very much with Mr. Pope's skill in chronology (a talent that poets are allowed to disregard), when you declare so freely that he has set us right in it. In his first note upon the *Windsor Forest*, in the new edition, he says it was not published before 1710. Now I cannot say when the *Letter from Italy* was first published; but I knew it was published in the fifth volume of *Tonson's* alias Dryden's *Miscellany*, before any thing of Mr. Pope's had appeared in it; and I have an edition of Mr. Addison's Letter pirated by Hills before the year 1710. I much suspect there is some poetical Anachronism in this affair, and therefore desire to know how you were so easily convinced. Mr. Sherwin, of merry and great memory, I knew very well; but his authority for anecdotes is but modern, and not extraordinary, though I don't think he made the history you mention: he was very intimate with Lord Burlington."

“SOMEBODY has observed of *Wit*, that if it does but touch an Irish pen it dies; I am of opinion, that the observation had been much truer of *secrets*, the only things (whatever their qualities are, poisonous or not) that cannot live in that island. I don't question but Mr. Pope has had some intimation of your and Mr. Faulkner's design, and is resolved to be beforehand with you. That you may seize upon his hints with as much justice as he does upon yours, seems to be a clear point; but whether it will be prudent or no, is another question. If you print the allusions you have, you may depend upon't that he will seize upon all he likes; and, if your impression is not sold before his new edition appears, the revenge may be entirely innocent, and affect nobody but yourself. Whether you print or not, therefore, is a question that I do not presume to determine; but, if you do, I have a great deal of advice to offer.

“1. That you print *no further at present* than those poems where the allusions have been pretty carefully collected, not farther than the *Rape of the Lock*; which you might finish time enough. The *Lutrin*, the *Dispensary*, &c. should be read.

“2. That the title be in this manner: *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Poems, containing his Imitations, Parodies, &c. of Ancient and Modern Poets. Part I.* (not forgetting the motto's I mentioned.)

“3. That you have some such grave *Advertisement* as this before the *Remarks*.

“ADVERTISEMENT.

“Mr. Pope, in some of his later Poems, particularly in the *Dunciad*,
 “has obliged the Public by adding the Imitations of the ancient Poets, and
 “even the more distant allusions to them. I cannot easily say whether I
 “was more pleased with his taste or his condescension. It is certainly the
 “best method of shewing how the Ancients may be read to advantage; of
 “more use than a thousand dry rules upon that subject. I wish he had
 “pursued the same method, through all his Poems, in the late new edition
 “of them. Nobody is so capable of performing it as himself; his acquaintance with the best writers of all ages is as indisputable as his resentment against the dunces of the present. And what hints he has taken,
 “or improvements he has made, from the ancient Poets, would easily be
 “determined

“determined by his own authority. Whatever comes from another hand
 “can be little more than conjecture; but as I have indulged myself in
 “some amusements this way, I here give them to the reader, in hopes that
 “this imperfect attempt will prevail upon the Author to do justice to him-
 “self in another edition. If these Remarks have so much success, the
 “Public will have no reason to complain of the performance.”

“4. That you introduce and enlarge the Remarks with proper observations in the *Jortinian* manner.

“I think here is advice enough, and desire that you take only Q. S. as the Doctors direct, and do what you please with the rest. I fancy it would put your spirits into a sort of gaiety, to think you were entering the lists with Mr. Pope, and did not know what might be the consequences of such engagement.”

“I AM glad to hear that you are beginning a new treaty with Mr. Pope: you must chuse some proper person to negotiate it; much depends upon the skill of adjusting balances, when such nice points as honour, interest, resentment, &c. are to be settled. Dr. Mangey loves business, if not the appearance of it: it is a great chance but he will find some way of making your overtures to Mr. Pope, and be pleased with it. Your writing to Mr. P. will, in my opinion, be of no use till you can get access to him by your minister. Mr. Pope is like a sovereign prince, not to be seen at home without the necessary forms, nor to be treated with without first settling the preliminaries. I have no notion of engaging with him, without the greatest necessity; and think that you buy his friendship cheap with a whole hecatomb of notes, essays, illustrations, and the mob of commentators. I much doubt your success with this Dutch overture: but success in the cabinet is more reputable than in the field; it is a conquest of the politer sort, and conquest is the only end of controversy. The motto's you send for, to hang out in your colours, are these;

Ἐστὶ δ' ἡ κλοπή, &c. (see p. 562.)

“If you have not transcribed your Collections, you may add this—
 Essay on Criticism, ed. 8°. p. 75. l. 16.

So pleas'd, at first, the Alpine hills we try.

Quoque magis subiere jugo, atque evadere nisi

Erexere gradum, crescit labor, ardua supra

Sese aperit fessis, et nascitur altera moles. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. 528.

The

The glory—and the shame.—I don't know where that turn is to be met with; but I warrant in a hundred places in the Ancients. If you look into the indexes of Ovid or Claudian, you cannot well miss it.—I have no index to either of them."

August 11, 1742.

"PUBLISHING Bishop Barlow's pieces was, at this time of day, doing them full as much honour as they deserved, especially the last; for the first really shews his great skill in polite learning. I doubt the medals he has given us are not all authentic, though mine are mere suspicions arising from the legends themselves. Who can think that the *Nicomeditans* should distinguish Albinus in such a manner as δις Νεωκόρων? * And, in explaining these numerals, I think Dr. Taylor seems to espouse the more improbable opinion of the two. The other seems well supported. This is introducing a new language, or applying it in a very unusual manner; supposing ever so many of these divinities celebrated and adored upon these occasions, one exhibition of these games was only one Νεωκορέα (if I may use the word). Βίς, τρίς, &c. † Νεωκόροι can never signify *Neocori* of two or three Gods. The Inscription quoted by Harduin from Gruter, p. 179, seems to confirm this:—ἀγωνοθεήσασαι δις τῷ τε κοινῷ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων τῶν μεγάλων, Ἀσκληπιείων, Ἰσθμίων, Πυθικῶν, &c. This gentleman, whoever he was, was *bis* ἀγωνοθέτης, though many deities were honoured in that solemnity. And cities, upon several medals, distinguish themselves as the *first* who were δις, or τρίς νεωκόροι, which could not possibly be in the *other sense*; for the Messenians were δις νεωκόροι as early as Augustus. But I have not, since I read the Doctor's preface, had time to examine this matter as far as the few books I have would carry it. I don't know very well what you mean, by observing that they *appear upon no coins older than the Roman empire*. The question is, when the word νεωκόροι was first applied to communities

* Some Antiquaries refer these dates to the reign of different Emperors; and where the dates appear more than once in the same reign, to the Deity of the place; or where they have been omitted, after appearing once, suppose it to mean that the temple of the deified Emperor was not finished in his life-time. Vaillant, *Sen. Dissertat.* in the *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.* III. 12mo. 204—227. EDIT.

† Vaillant shews that Hadrian, Commodus, and Valerian, successively conferred this honour on Nicomedia, *Numism. Græca*, p. 219; but gives no instance of it under Albinus. *Ib.* 78, 79. EDIT.

in that sense?—perhaps not long before the Roman times. These new divinities began in Egypt and Asia, and came thence into Europe, where, to the disgrace of arts and learning, Athens was the first place that adopted them. Vid. Chishull, p. 56.—Alexander was ambitious of this honour, and his successors enjoyed it *. You have the *Σωτήρων Θεῶν* upon the coins of the Ptolemys. The Psephisma Sigæorum appoints the same honour to Antiochus Soter: he had his *Ἰσχυς*. Some time between this period and the Roman times *Νεωκόροι* came to be applied to *Communities*; but when, seems uncertain, and perhaps late, and then it is no great wonder that the use of it appears on no medals before the Roman. The case is, I believe, the same as to the inscriptions; they are all Roman. And it cannot well be thought that in the inscriptions, where they were not confined for room, they would have said *δὲς νεωκόροι γειτονάμεν*, if they really meant that they were then made *νεωκόροι δυοῖν Θεῶν*.—Besides, all the marbles that mention the *Nuntia Augustalia* speak of them in the plural number, as the *Σωτήρες Θεοὶ* in Egypt; and one would think that the numerals α, β, γ, δ,—could, in this case, have no great significance;—but of great force in expressing that these public shews had been so often repeated there in the reign of such an Emperor.

“ Dr. Byrom’s solution is the same, in effect, as Chrysostom’s and his followers, Theophylact, &c. though they look upon it to have a reference to the Creed, which there is no reason to suppose; but all that is wanted is only some similar passage: *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὑπὲρ προσδοκίας τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*, or *ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*. This is the sense which St. Paul’s argument manifestly requires, and what in some form or other is almost generally admitted by our commentators. I can do nothing worth notice; but, if I meet with any thing that I think wrong, or that I can set right, I would willingly give you notice of it, without desiring any mark of distinction but that of being, dear Sir, &c.”

* Vaillant shews that the coins of Alexander the Great, with *ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ* on them, were struck in the reign of Caracalla. Ephesus was the first city that took this title, and that not before the time of Nero. Vaillant, ubi sup. EDIT.

"WE thank you very much for the favour you have done us, and took care of getting a deputy for you, which was no great difficulty, though almost six foot high. Since we could not have you in person, we resolved to have you sufficiently represented. It is much easier, upon such occasions, to find proxies than principals; but I would have you more cautious for the future. This was your own doing; a generous offer that you made some years ago. We have taxed you at a guinea; for bad customs spread even in the country, and make such offices more expensive than they should be. Your little namesake is gone out to nurse upon a common, where we are in hopes he may some time hence be able to run after the geese.

"I was for a few days so sick of the ceremonial of the christening, that I had not spirits enough to write sooner, though it was to inform you that the godmother was your old acquaintance, formerly Miss Browne, now Mrs. Lee, sister to my Lord Chief Justice, &c.

"As to schemes, I am glad to find that you grow sick of them. They are all alike, from St. James's to Paternoster-Row; artful (not to say indirect) methods of making the most of the Public.—Is there no setting out upon different principles? I am not for enlarging the public stock of revenues, or learning, so much as reforming it. We have enough, if we could but use it with more advantage. But your schemists are men of genius: I must leave them, and study the œconomists, if there are any such in the country.

"I find this comment upon the Bible, about once a year, gets the ascendant. What would you have? You run over Patrick, Lowth, Le Clerc, Critici Sacri, Pool's Synopsis, and then cry you want commentators. The Critici Sacri is a mere lumber-house, Pool nothing but patch-work, Patrick dull, Clerc often in his reveries, Calmet I never saw. But I should really think that a person of tolerable judgement might, from these various commentators, make up a Dutch Variorum that would be better than any of them, and fit it to a quarter of an inch of the very size you want it."

Dec. 4, 1742.

"I HAVE kept silence so long, purely to keep my temper; but it is to no purpose; for I still find myself very much divided between anger and gratitude, and don't know whether I should thank you or blame you most. How could you think of endeavouring to make all our good yeomanly neighbours laugh at me and your poor godson for so much finery? Wearing silver cloaths in the country would put all the squires against us: here it would be looked upon as invading one of their privileges, breaking through all badges of distinction, and having all the pride that too many of us are already accused of. I wish you were to see poor Will's nursery, and think what great apprehensions the very thoughts of sleeping with so much silver in the house would give the whole family. The whole habitable part of the fabrick is about as big as half your parlour, with an old rotten door on each side, to let the rain in on one side, the snow on the other, and the wind on both; and the poor little fellow has a piece of an old blanket tacked up in the corner, to keep him from being blown away in such a day as this. Yet, I thank God, he is pure hearty, with hands blue as a razor, and almost as hard, with a parcel of little Myrmidons round him of the same firmness and complection, who, if they were to see his cloak (which I intend they never shall), might be tempted to lay hands upon him, and take his spoils.—But, to be serious, I am really much obliged to you for your great generosity, though I must desire to make a secret of it to every body but you.

"The weather is really so cold, that I am not able, now I have vented my passion, to keep myself warm:—or perhaps (the more's the pity) gratitude is naturally much cooler than resentment. While I was pettish, I did not find the air so piercing; but now I would be grateful, I feel myself very cold."

"Mr. Gyles's proposals are quite above my size and taste, who am, at most, but an humble politician. But I have some few papers at his service, which fall in with the design of his Collection.

"1. A Letter from the City of Bremen to Oliver Cromwell, drawn up by Mr. Oldenburgh, who was employed by that city.

"2. Queries to O. Cromwell, in behalf of the Anabaptists.

"3. A warning for all the counties of England.

4 D

"These

"These are in Mr. Oldenburgh's hand, and, if not printed (as I fancy they are not), shew a good deal of the spirit and oppression of those times. Mr. Oldenburgh was (you know) many years secretary to the Royal Society, had been tutor for some time to Mr. Boyle, and was originally of Bremen, where his grandfather Oldenburgh was dean of St. Stephen's *."

"IT is so long since you were in Suffex, that you seem intirely to have forgot where we live, or what sort of folks we are. We are as distant almost from the mechanical as the liberal arts, and it is as easy to find an orator as a bookbinder among us. In such a situation, you may be sure, the appearance of Lyfias in sheets gave us some disorder:—a country taylor could never have taken measure of him, who are commonly our ablest artists. In short, there was nothing to be done, without returning him back again to London, and desiring that he may make his next visit in a more elegant and ceremonious manner, *bound and lettered*; and then, if you would let me know his *price*, which among orators is seldom a secret, you shall intirely have done with him. I did not, indeed, to my great present mortification, say a word to you about binding, &c. but imagine you will hereafter remember us upon that article without saying a word of it.

"I am pleased to see you have all the anxiety of an editor, by putting your epitaph in a sort of inquisition. Correcting marbles, indeed, requires more exactness than any other writings; and it is some amusement to sit after dinner with your legs across, and your eye upon the cieling†, *critico trutinantem verba labello*; and sometimes with an air of mere indifference, like Patience on a monument—smiling on those below you. I think Mr. Maittaire's edition‡ is very well—like simples drawn from a cold-still, clear, but tasteless."

Sept. 20, 1744.

"YOUR Letter has given me a good deal of pleasure, and I would have you do by the press as Shakspeare did by the stage, support it yourself. Mr. Tunstall might take in these Remarks at the end of his new work ||. It is the best thing he can do. If an author would with a good

* See more of Mr. Oldenburgh in Wood's Ath. Ox. II. Fasti 144. and Gent. Mag. LI. 629. EDIT.

† A posture very usual with Mr. Bowyer. EDIT.

‡ Of the Arundelian Marbles. EDIT.

|| His Observations, &c. 1744.

grace

grace give up some of his own sentiments and mistakes, it would do him more honour than correcting a thousand in his adversary. I am not able to judge of all these Remarks, for want of the Epistles themselves. But to follow your order—P. 89 and 109, are certainly right. P. 37, I doubt about. The reason which Tully gives Atticus for not sending the Oration, I should think, with Mr. Tunstall, is because he *never writ it*; and what follows, *quia absiram*, is the reason of his *not writing it*, not of his *not sending it*: but I should think that wants a correction; it is a very harsh expression any way. As to tearing it, what was it written upon, that he should chuse to *tear it*, as the easiest way of destroying it? P. 130, Mr. Tunstall is surely much mistaken, and in a point of some importance. It is not sense to say, *Tum ii dare solebant* 1111, *si sibi S. C. caveretur*. Was it so common to pass an act of indemnity for almost 50 l. per cent.? Or, if it was, had these very gentlemen had many opportunities of disposing of their money with so much advantage and security? Without supposing this, *dare solebant* is not sense, and therefore has greater difficulties to get over than either Manutius or Grævius's authority. It may be true, in general, that when money was *lent* expressly against the *Gabinian law*, without any act of indemnity, it was *lent* 1111 *centesimis*; but the *solebant* can never do, *si tibi S. C. caveretur*. *Syngrapha, quæ esset jure, ut ceteræ, & in qua, nihil juris præcipui*, is plainly putting it upon the same foot with other bonds; but I don't understand his explication. P. 146, seems, as you say, a dubious passage, and of no great moment. Both of you understand Pompey alike; the reflection he makes is the same, whatever was the occasion of it. The turn of Antony's speech, if it could be known, would most likely settle this difference, *i. e.* whether he intended to *terrify* or *amuse the Senate*: if the first, Mr. Tunstall is right; if the last, Dr. Middleton."

"I HAD the pleasure of a fine journey home, and diverted myself on the road with your *Charlatanerieia* *, till I grew quite tired of it. It is a book entirely in the German taste, written without any true humour, and crowded with little facts of no moment. It would be difficult to translate †;

* *Joan. Burch. Menckenii* "De Charlatanerieia eruditorum declamationes duæ, cum notis variorum: accedit Seb. Stadelii Epistola de circumforanea literatorum vanitate. Amstelod. 1716." 12mo. The author was professor of History at Leipzig, and historiographer to the King of Poland, and died in 1732. EDIT.

† It was however translated very well into French in 1721, with critical Remarks. EDIT.

and, when translated, nobody would mind it but a few persons, who could read it as well in Latin. Harry Mitchel would be the properest person to write notes upon it, who was brought up with a master of that turn, who made every thing important. If a boy asked leave to go out, he would answer in King Cambyfes' vein,

You may go out; but then remember, Sir,
That you come in again.

"It however put me in mind of another project, which, I am sure, if you would undertake it, would answer; and that is, a pamphlet upon the *Quackery of Patriots*. If one could, from the top-pamphlets which have been written these last thirty years, furnish out a view of the different schemes of ministers, anti-ministers, patriots, politicians, craftsmen, and pretenders of all sorts, we should have such a jumble of Swift, Steele, Hare, Hoadly, &c. as would very much divert an honest Englishman, and might perhaps ease us a little of that itch of politicks which we are so much inclined to."

January 22.

"I AM obliged to you for your last favour, which both puzzled and pleased me very much. I could not guess by the direction whence it came, and as the contents opened they looked so emblematical, I could not tell what to think of them. A collar of brawn, with a white vestment over it, seemed as if you intended it for an hieroglyphic of a country parson, and several of us were literally, symbolically, and agreeably entertained with it. The brawn has already done the business you designed it, graced the table, and pleased the company; and I hope the little alb will do the same very soon, shew away to all our satisfaction. I had no thoughts of altering either my style or expression, when I addressed myself to you last: if I did, it was by mere accident. My wife, whose secretary I then was, desired to dispose of her cock and hen-turkey to the widower and widow: the allotments were of course suitable to their different sexes; and if I misplaced a letter in the direction, as perhaps I did, it was by writing your name so soon after Mrs. Browne's. You criticks will easily excuse and correct such mistakes. It was night, *dormitante librario*; and you may say, *dele meo periculo (repugnantibus licet clericis, criticis, mss. & mulieribus) literam sibilantem*.

"I have

"I have enquired in the country for Le Clerc's Hammond to no purpose. You may almost as soon get a living in the country as borrow any book one wants from one of the incumbents. I have often had thoughts of buying it; and must beg of you to give Mr. Whiston, or whom you please, orders to send it me. What you say of Wolfius is surprizing: it grieves me when I hear of men of so much learning, and so little sense. It is well he believes the Bible, otherwise he would believe every thing else.

"The Rector of Maresfield desires to have the pleasure of delivering this in person, who is much delighted with your design upon the Greek Testament. He is a man of taste, though he reads Greek in the country, and in town keeps up a very odd sort of acquaintance with courtiers and stall-men. What will be the issue of this strange medley, I cannot guess: I wish he is not in danger of mis-spending both his time and his money; though perhaps it is downright management, and what he lays out in visiting his new friends he saves again in purchasing his old ones. I hope he will profit equally by both, and then he will go to town to some purpose."

August 15.

"OUR gentlemen are now reconnoitering the county against the next election; each party is as busy as if the parliament was rising. Our friend the dean of Battle headed a considerable number of gentlemen at Lewes horse-races: he represented the abbot of Battle, and as such was allowed the ancient privilege and precedence of the mitre. We toil much about trifles; puffing interests, as booksellers do authors, and perhaps to as little purpose. I hope you will stand fair with both sides, and have the Votes, whoever has the Speaker. We are violently attacked with excise and grenadiers; but I hope that you will give a new turn to our conversation very soon."

Feb. 25.

"WHY did you not keep Inett as long as you had any inclination to look into it? It is at your service whenever you please, and I believe will be a book to your taste, though there is a sort of caution and diffidence in his way of writing, that you may think a little below the dignity of a great author. But, in tracing matters of fact through such dark periods, it
is

is dangerous to be too positive; though I think he is got upon the right plan, and has a sufficient foundation for what he asserts in the Preface of his second Volume, § II.—Such questions cannot safely be decided by distant authorities; charters, letters, grants, &c. are often false or suspicious evidence. The safest way is to rely upon facts, which, in matters of authority and government, can seldom deceive us.—Dr. Inett was sensible that the Council of Cealchythe must give some countenance to the pretensions of the Bishops of Rome; but finds so many objections against the *present set of canons*, the *manner of subscribing them*, the *names of the subscribers*, &c. that he lays no great stress upon it. I think Mr. Johnson's account of it a little inconsistent: he supposes the ecclesiasticks had not the trouble of *debating any single point*, and yet admits the character the Saxon Chronicle gives of his Council, that it was *litigiosa Synodus*, which does not look like so blind a submission. It looks all like a fetch of Offa's, and will turn out rather in favour of the Regal than Papal Supremacy. I am afraid that your new Letter from the Cottonian Library, from Honorius to Honorius, does scarce deserve the place that is given it. How comes Bede to say nothing of it, who is very particular about the Letters of P. Honorius? And is not *Ecclesiarum Britannia* a very suspicious appellation? In Bede's time the *Brittones* were the old inhabitants, who had then shewn no submission to the Church of Rome in any particular. Our Councils don't want a compiler so much as a critic. The zeal of the Norman Church has thrown in such a variety of instruments and expressions in favour of the Papal Authority, that it is difficult to clear the ground, and Dr. Wilkins was not a hand proper for it.—But, as I have not seen this Letter, I can say very little to it.

“Mr. Warburton's book is but just arrived in this country; and, I believe, had scarce found its way so soon, if it had not been for the uncommon zeal of a young preacher at our Visitation: he took it into his head to censure the performance, and was much too angry—placing him with *Sextus Empiricus* and *Spinoza* among the Ancients. Who would have thought of such gentlemen meeting together, unless it was in the Mysteries?—We suffer equally by the extremes of too much or too little zeal; having so many nice criticks to observe the conduct of clergy-writers, that are equally offended with a Dutch phlegm or a Spanish fire. For my part, I wonder what has given so much offence in this book; or why it is they are so
angry

angry with a writer who, in all appearance, means no harm. It is true, he is fond of new tracks, and, like a brisk adventurer, strikes out for fresh discoveries. Where is the hurt of this? Some things may succeed well; and if he fails, the loss is his own venture. Though I do not approve of many passages, as to his arguments, conclusions, critique, expression, references, &c. yet I see nothing worth being angry or alarmed at; and am often pleased with things new to me, and arguments well managed. I do not understand what they mean by a *moral sense*; but, as others do, it may be of use. And, surely, the first book may pass without censure; and I agree with you, that there are many things well done in it. The next book is a little more enterprising, which I have not yet gone through.— But here I find myself often obliged to him. Why we had that long story of the Mysteries I know not; but the Puppet-show in Virgil is very pretty, and he has made the whole allusion very consistent: though by the same rule that Virgil's sixth book is a representation of the *Mysteries*, Homer's eleventh *Odyssey* should be so likewise, and then you would have *ancient* and *modern Mysteries*, and between both might discover many great improvements in *ancient Legislation*. He is, indeed, too much inclined to favour the wisdom of the ancient Legislators: with him the magistrates were all sages, and the people dupes.

“As to critique, it generally gives way to hypothesis: his scheme is the point in view, not the correctness of his authorities; otherwise his *Principes*, his *Hierophanta*, &c. the Preface to *Zaleucus' Laws*, the *ἐγκράτεια* in his Sermon, had never passed off so readily. Whoever can suppose that preface *Zaleucus's*, may suppose Mr. Pope's preface to Homer Caxton's. And his quoting Jerom for a she-mystagogue, when the passage says *atēnā debilitate castus*, is as surprising, p. 193, k. This was well corrected in the Grub-street. And where does *ἐγκράτεια* signify keeping a due temper in disputes, or searching after knowledge?

“The little prejudice of raising the Egyptian Antiquities above the Jewish has been the foible of several great men; nor is that any excuse for idle prepossession: Moses stands upon a level, at least, with any ancient writer; is as good an authority for ancient customs, and may justly claim a precedence, when the dispute lies between him and authors many centuries after him; which makes it something mysterious why the writing upon

two tables of stone might not pass for an original, without supposing it an Egyptian custom, as he does p. 196. And, to make his mysteries agree with the order observed by Virgil, he is a little inclined to new-model his morality; making suicides, and those who give a loose to exorbitant passions, rather *miserable than wicked*, p. 205: and yet making the Fathers guilty of *depraving* and *vitiating* the Christian Religion, for adopting the *terms and phrases* (for I think he has carried his proofs no further) of the Mysteries. These terms were in use, were in themselves innocent, and would perhaps more naturally affect the superstitious Heathens. But is there any great hurt in this? Might he not as well charge our Liturgy, as borrowing from Baal, "O Baal, hear us," *mutatis mutandis*? I will allow that there was too much indulgence among the ancient Christians in this particular; but as many of the Fathers had been formerly friends to the Mysteries, I cannot wonder at some indulgence, much less think it so extremely criminal. But, after all, I have as much inclination to indulge Mr. W. as they had the old phraseology, and can imagine the design of both to be very excusable. It is plain Mr. W. is no enemy to paradoxes: his very scheme is a proof of it; a medium to prove the Divine Legation of Moses never thought of before. I take the plain case to be this:—the legislation of Moses all along supposes a *future state*; it is taken for granted. There was, perhaps, in his opinion, no occasion to insist on it particularly. The very burying of Joseph would, among Heathens, have been thought proof enough of it; but our Saviour's answer to the Sadducees puts it past doubt. Upon this supposition, therefore, the proof of a Divine Legation is brought to a nearer issue, by his miracles, by his promises of temporal rewards and punishments; which no legislator but a person sent by divine authority would have ventured to have promised in the manner he has done.

"The Ms. sermon you enquire after I never heard of till now: Bp. Bull has a sermon upon that subject; but, being designed probably for a popular auditory, his proofs are not ranged in such method as the argument seems to require.

"You talk of re-printing the History of England in Question and Answer.—There are some sad blunders in it; but I had lent out mine, and could not recover it till lately. If the book is not too far advanced, I could send you some of the mistakes. I have sent all the books I have of

yours which I remember at present, and with them Mr. Hotchkis' scheme for putting the Greek verbs on a sheet; which perhaps would now take, since you are reducing grammatical science to short systems."

Feb. 4, 1742.

"I AM afraid that I may be under some suspicion of not behaving with either decency or gratitude, which, as bad as the world is, would be making a worse figure than ordinary. I own my case has but an ill appearance; but you, who see further than appearances, will consider how difficult it is to practise a whole system of virtues at once. I have been exercising those that are not so agreeable, patience, self-denial, &c. For I think this is the first day (except the Sundays and the Fasts) that I have been without some neighbourly visitors, several of whom I have had the pleasure of entertaining at your expence, which I am much obliged to you for. This flow of company has been owing to the fineness of the season; for the Wild never was so pleasant in winter since I knew it. We have a brown carpet flourished every where with shrubs and forest-trees, and almost without either dust or dirt upon it: our woods, waters, puddles, are all passable: we are sporting upon the ice after all sorts of game; and, in short, if you were to see us, you would take us to be almost perfect Russians. And I would not have you think the resemblance so despicable; for I hope the poor, like the people of Moscow, have not felt much greater inconvenience than usual from the severity of the season. But if there comes a snow, or the frost should be of a long continuance, it would, for want of employment, affect them very much; which, I am sorry to hear, has made the circumstances of the poor in London so very melancholy.—How easy is it for Providence to make the most natural causes become real calamities! We are not without our apprehensions, if the price of corn should by this means be raised excessively. I doubt our poor families would not find such generous contributors to support them. Pray let me know how far the sad accounts we have from town are true, which I hope are a good deal magnified. But I shall tire you with talking about the weather; for every body talks here of nothing else."

Cbichester.

“YOU will be surpris’d when I tell you, that in this venerable Episcopal See I am altogether as much at a loss for books as at Buxted, especially in the Belles Lettres. But you have lately been diverting yourself with the Roman Legions, reviewing, quartering, &c. and can tell me what the *σπάρη Ἰταλική* was, and when it was first stationed in Palestine. I should be obliged to you for an answer as soon as you can, to save me the trouble of fruitless searches here.”

“THE account of your adventures is always very agreeable to me, and serves, as the present turn is, either for moralizing or amusement. I was pleas’d to find you the same in all elements—in the saddle, or on the quarter-deck; and that you lose a bonnet, or strain a thumb, with equal serenity. Perhaps Pennoyre * will tell you, that the horse was no more to blame than the vessel; and that if you had kept your hand tight, and your head steady, all had been safe: but, for my part, I should have thought this the harder composition; to keep the body always in the same balance, is a thing I have no notion of: but you have shewn, on this occasion, what a Welshman has most reason to admire, that you can keep your mind so, and are the same man, whether the horse or hat falls.”

“AS to Mr. Whiston’s request, I cannot come into it at present. Dr. Wotton was under engagements to his booksellers about Mr. Boyle’s Life, and I think myself not at liberty to part with these papers without their consent. For my part, I have no ambition to become an author, and especially upon these subjects: the examining *cosmical qualities*, and weighing of *igneous corpuscles*, are things I have no great taste for; though I have a great value for Mr. Boyle’s memory, as a true Philosopher and Christian. I have never looked over these papers, and so cannot say what they are; but that is what I determine to do, before I could come to any resolution whether I would part with them or no. Several of them are lost, as I find by

* Thomas Pennoyre, Esq; of the Hyde, Herefordshire; an old fellow-collegian of Mr. Bowyer’s at St. John’s, and an intimate acquaintance through life. He possessed a plentiful fortune, was a great lover of field-sports, and, after having served high sheriff of his county, died at an advanced age in 1783. EDIT.

missing

missing two numbers in different bundles, and especially the Memoirs of the Family, which I have heard Dr. Wotton often lament *."

"A MAN that lives under too severe rules is a slave, and he that lives by none is a savage. My humble service to honest Vere †, to whom I appeal for the truth of this doctrine: he has seen very different revolutions in his rules of life, and is the better able to judge of them. I am glad to hear that his Lenten penance is over, and hope the Doctor will give him a plenary absolution. It is half a cure to be content with some share of infirmities. For my part, I am scarce ever well; but let me sit still, and I am pretty well satisfied."

"I CAN only send you all the best wishes of the season, and my most sincere thanks for the favours you have done me, with all the indulgence, not to say partiality, of a friend. But still I differ with you in some things, am diffident in others, and as to the press am a mere infidel. *Quis leget hæc?* was said by the old satyrist, and may be said in this case without any satire at all. Not your own Antiquarian Society, not even the learned Philip Carteret Webb himself, will give themselves the trouble of such a scrutiny. Writing for your own amusement is only losing your time, and at the worst but trifling; but printing for a few other people's amusement is losing your money, a ridiculous if not a dangerous thing. For my part, I am not unwilling that any body should see that I have not a hundred pounds to hazard upon such experiments. And then, as to translating the passages you speak of, had I not better leave a good many of them out, and make them only mere references? Is there not too much parade in so many quotations? For I am not vain enough to desire to be thought a scholar; my busy and laborious life, in a very different track, did not leave me leisure for such pursuits. It is enough for me to say, what Bp. Atterbury said with more humility, I sometimes know where Learning is, and how to make use of it when I want it."

* See the "Anecdotes," p. 510. Dr. Birch published a Life of Mr. Boyle in 1744, 8vo. EDIT.

† Mr. Vere Foster; another old acquaintance at St. John's; of whom see the "Anecdotes," pp. 29, 512.

Feb. 21.

“YOUR queries, by mere accident, filled my head with a strong inclination to review the Saxon coins, or rather the accounts we have of them. I thought I saw some openings, and at present I must follow them; though perhaps, when I am a little more tired, I may give over the pursuit, and let all my discoveries go out at those openings where the works of many a wise man make their exit. In the mean time, if I should give you more trouble than either you expect or desire, you must thank yourself for it. For you seem to be (in the present fashionable way of talking among the Philosophers) an Electric *per se*, and have a strange power of raising flames, or attracting trifles, just as different objects approach you; and whether you are exciting flames in the present case, or drawing straws, is to me perfectly indifferent; it serves to amuse, and I am so much a philosopher as to expect no more.

“But my scheme is this: I make the Saxon penny to be the *quinarius* of the Lower Empire; their *halfpenny* of course the *sestertius*; their *feortþling* two *asses*—and *styca*, one *as*. The weight of the Saxon penny and *quinarius* is only about three grains difference: a less difference than there was between the *denarius* and *drachma*, which went currently for each other; and the Saxon money having much less alloy than the Roman, brings their value still nearer.—The Saxon *þilling* was the Roman *miliarensis*; the Norman *þilling* the *tremissis* of the Romans, and exactly the same weight as their gold *tremissis*:—and thence came the way of reckoning twenty shillings to the pound, the proportion between gold and silver being then as 12 to 1; and consequently 20 of these *solidi*, or *tremisses*, were equal to a pound of silver, *i. e.* 20 of them were an ounce of gold, and so equal to 12 ounces of silver. The Saxon *scillinga* and Norman *solidus* very different things. The Saxons, as appears by the pennies yet remaining, coined at first 220 out of their pound then *fifty shillings*; made the pound, and five pence the shillings. Afterwards, as money grew scarcer, they coined 60 shillings out of the pound, and 240 pence, and then four pence made the shilling. This was after the depredations of the Danes, towards the conclusion of their government, the penny weighing $22\frac{1}{4}$ Troy grains, and exactly as the Norman penny did. *Thrymsa* is plainly three pence.—*Scotta* has an uncertain

uncertain signification, and appears to me to signify the quarter of any coin, as different persons made use of it. Among the Kentish Saxons $\frac{1}{4}$ of a penny;—afterwards, among the West Saxons, a quarter of a shilling, or a penny, which it signified among the Goths. The Saxon pound was equal to the Athenian pound, their way of reckoning the same by *pounds* and *talents*, &c. Mr. Folkes has given us the weight in the second page of his table. It differs so little from the Athenian pound as given by Dr. Arbuthnot, that it must be originally the same.

“Here you have my scheme, and you see that Dr. Hickes and I take very different ways. To explain the Northern Antiquities, he always went further North: that may serve to illustrate, but never can explain; it is like going down the stream to seek the fountain-head, and in tracing the progress of learning to begin with the Goths, &c.

“But you must expect that I have some difficulties in this affair. All is not so clear as I would have it, though it is so clear as to make me believe it. I want books, and wish to have the queries answered that they occasion; for multiplying books is certainly multiplying difficulties. But at present, my little Oracle, resolve me only three or four.

“Mr. Camden, in his Remains, p. 200, says, the word *scilling* comes from the Latin *scillingas*, and quotes L. 21, § *Filius*. Nothing plagues one more than the different ways of quoting the Civil Law. I can find no such place, and know no such word. Qu. Is not that a mistake of the press for *scilicet*, from whence shilling most probably comes?

“Gothofred, in his notes ad Cod. lib. xii. f. 49, says, that Valentinian lessened the weight of the Roman libra, and that this lesser pound was called *libra occidua*. I beg you would find me that place, and tell me what he says. This explains *pound sterling*; i. e. there was in use a lesser pound, called the *pound westerling*, and therefore they called their larger pound the *pound esterling*. This explains the two *ora's*, that puzzle Spelman, Somner, Hickes, and all of them, so effectually. I doubt Sirmondus and Gothofred have not passed the Wild; at least, I do not know where to find them.”

March 6, 1743.

"IF you ever see Mr. Tanner, or correspond with him, I should be glad to know a little more of the Order of Tiron, mentioned p. 718, and Preface, p. xvi. Because in an Indenture, dated 1372, between Edward III. and John of Gaunt, about the exchange of lands in Suffex, &c. mention is made of Withyham Priory, which seems to have been of this order. The words are, *Prioratus de Witbyham, qui est Cella Abbatia Sancti Martini de Meremeft* (or *Meremoft*) *Turonen.* *Turonen.* seems here to specify the order this cell was of, and is not *Turonen.* of *Tours.* And should not this Reform be called the Order of Tours rather than Tiron, unless they are both the same? And, in short, is not this story of *Martin of Tours* conquering the Hundred of Kemaes merely a Welsh legend? The Welsh history mentions no settlements in Wales before *Robert Fitzbaimon* and his knights. But their heads were usually full of heroes; and from a saint, or reformer of an order, they have raised a conqueror of a country. I know Camden tells this story; but he tells it from Welsh Antiquaries, and they have no great weight with me. I do not deny but that, among the Flemings who settled in Pembrokehire in Will. Rufus and Henry I.'s time, there was one Martin, or Fitz-Martin, who might make St. Dogmael's a cell to the abbey of St. Martin of Tours, and this might occasion this error about Martin of Tours: but we must learn from the French Antiquaries of what Order the Abbey of St. Martin's at Tours was, and this would clear up the difficulty about the *Order of Tiron* *.—The true St. Martin †, from a soldier became a saint; a proper person for such votaries as built St. Dogmael's to apply to."

May 7, 1743.

"I LITTLE thought of making you the first visit; but so it is: if the mountain won't come to Mahomet, Mahomet may go, &c. My business is as extraordinary as my visit will be unexpected; nothing less than being a pluralist, and such a pluralist as I believe you approve of: I have been drawn in by many persuasions, without a single motive that looked like interest. But explaining before-hand looks as if the thing wanted an

* The most considerable of the three monasteries founded by St. Martin was that called *Majus Monasterium*, corruptly *Marmontier*, in the suburbs of Tours, of the Benedictine order. See *Alien Priores*, II. 131. 140.

† Whose legend may be seen in *Gent. Mag.* vol. LIII. p. 460.

apology.

pology. You shall know the rest at leisure. My present request is, that, if you can take me lodgings near you, that I might not have far to go in the evenings, you would be so good as to do it for me. You may perhaps think of taking them at Knightsbridge; but I assure you that I make no such fallies; but am a meek quiet thing, that can sleep any where, say little, and care to move less."

March 28, 1747.

"I THANK you for the demonstration you sent me; for I think we may very justly call it demonstration. I should have wandered about in the region of probability, and been content with it. I believe fractions are not regarded in such computations; I have found it so in some of them. The passage from Gothofred seems to be as much as I want: I have nothing to do with his opinion, or Gronovius's. Is it not a fair proof that the Roman pound is there called *libra occidua*? It is a sort of joke upon Marcellinus, a fallen pope, a *libra occidua*, a kind of pun; but such allusions are usually made in expressions that are familiar, and to things that are well known. Besides, this passage has a further use: Greaves says, that no author mentions how much the weight of any coin should be till Valentinian's time, Cod. L. x. f. 70, where 72 *solidi* are ordered to be struck out of the pound of gold. This implies that the same proportion was observed in Constantine's time, and confirms the conjecture of Pancirolus mentioned by Greaves, p. 107; and agrees very well with the weight of the *aurei* from Constantine downwards, as long as the Western Empire lasted; the *tremissis* of which would weigh $24\frac{1}{2}$ Troy grains; which agrees again with Greaves's account."

Nov. 1749.

"I WAS extremely sorry to hear of poor Dr. Cartwright's * death; he was one of my oldest acquaintance: I have known him above forty years, and did not expect that he would have gone off so suddenly, because I had a very chearful Letter from him about a fortnight ago. He told me, that he was very busy in fitting up his house and gardens at Hornsey, because the town did not agree with him. He was a very worthy man. He had, out of pure gratitude, attended upon the Bp. of London till he was quite tired, and almost as soon as he had got his liberty lost his life.

* Dean of Colchester; prebendary of St. Paul's; rector of St. Christopher's, London, and of Hornsey, Middlesex. He died Nov. 8, 1749.

"I am

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

"I am glad your Greek Testament is not given up. I should look upon you as a traditor—especially as Markland says he will very readily correct the whole; which I think is a great matter, to read it after you!

"Our Bishop is a better sort of man than most of the mitred order. He is indeed awkward, absent, &c. but then he has no ambition, no desire to please, and is privately munificent, when the world thinks him parsimonious. He has given more to this church than all the Bishops put together for almost a century; and we are going to have our old ruinous chapel turned into a library, by his benefaction in a great measure."

FROM MR. E. CLARKE.

Bury, Dec. 5, 1753.

"YOU see, Sir, that no change of climate makes me ever forget my friends and benefactors: *ceu Roma, ceu fors ita jussere exul*, I have still White-Friars in view. I still do not forget to thank you for your bill of exchange upon Thurlbourn, who very graciously admitted it; and also the Bishop's pamphlet. I have enquired, as you desired me, about Mr. Baker's Will; but find it a long one, and fear you would not be at the expence of having a copy taken of it. Would you have me send you Warren's Hierocles? How does our Heylin go on? Do you think of touching up Faber? I want to know your conjectures about that venerable relick of old lead, which I put into your hands as we came from Hamlet. I believe I forgot to tell you, that my father had a very fair Denarius sent him this summer by the Bishop, who had it from Mr. Fuller, who had it from my Lord Northampton, whose workmen found it in the walls of Pevensey-castle. This account resembles the traducee of Agamemnon's sceptre; but however it confirms the antiquity of that castle, and of Roman invasions of this island. Dr. Ashton left his Mss. to Mr. Keller of Jesus: the Bishop of Ely has advised him to ask leave of the Bishop of London to inscribe Tertullian's Apology, which the Doctor left, to his Lordship. It will make about a four or five shilling book. Ashton destroyed all his sermons; for the Bishop of London enquired after some he had heard preached, which were not found. Our Fellows have made importations of books from Italy and Hamburgh; such as the Musæum Florentinum, Scipio Maffei's works, Corfini's pieces, Reimer's Dion Cassius, &c. &c. The chief of Corfini's are *Fasti Attici*, *Index Notar. Græc.* in Sertorius's

EXTRACTS FROM MR. CLARKE'S LETTERS.

585

rius's manner, in which there is a fine comment on the Sandwich marble. Mr. Symonds*, whose Dialogue you read, is desirous of your acquaintance; which I hope you will not disappoint him in. He will certainly print: you can have no objection to an author. He will be in town this month, and I have desired him to call upon you; and you'll oblige me in listing *tui gregis hunc, et sortem crede, bonumque.*"

Aug. 15, 1754.

"I AM extremely glad Mr. **** is at length settled in a way of life to his satisfaction. It may probably do very well; but I don't know enough of him to judge either of his inclinations or behaviour. It requires (as the world goes) no great talents; and is commonly safe and innocent, though not advantageous. *A la Haye* has been thought a good way to form politicians. I don't know how it may succeed with divines; but they have something to learn every where: and a part of learning, which is often too much neglected, and never taught in the universities, might be picked up there; I mean, a familiar acquaintance with the things of common life. Every clergyman should have a little of this sort of knowledge, and be able to talk occasionally with the squire upon field-sports, the farmer on his seasons, and the citizens on trade. There is no doing well without it."

"I HAVE scarce been at liberty to think of my own affairs, since I had the pleasure of your Letter. Trifles, that are not my own, take up much of my time. I am now to look over all our old Registers to search for the Endowments of Vicarages. Dr. Ducarel, the Archbishop's Librarian, is going to print a Repertory, or Direction to Incumbents, where to find these endowments, if they are disposed to have recourse to them, and to prevent any fruitless searches after such as cannot, most probably, be discovered. The Archbishop has, very politely, sent me the *Articles of Enquiry* for the parochial Visitations, printed at his expence, and carriage paid. From what hand they come, I know not. Who is his printer, or bookseller? Perhaps you can inform me, who seem to know every thing."

* John Symonds, Esq. now LL.D. and professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.

March 15, 1757.

"I WAS glad to see a Letter from you, though it was a little like the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, covered with a cloud. I am sorry that you meet with any ill-treatment from such persons as have been so much obliged to you. But these are but the common allotments, and you must expect your share of them. As to evil tongues, mind them not: they are no enchantments. Tell them, as Banquo did the witches, "I neither court nor fear your favour or your hate." Or come down to us, and talk off some of this gloom. We live in a freer air, and in much tranquillity. A ride or two on the side of our hills are better than five pages in Seneca and Sir Roger L'Estrange. I mind books just as you do news-papers in town: they are part of the amusement for the day, when I have nothing else to do, and don't care a straw what becomes of them to-morrow, or how soon they are forgotten. But I am sorry this is the case with Mr. Markland: he has not so many ways of trifling as I have, nor so many of being teased as you. Either of these will prevent an utter stagnation of spirits; and I want no more than just to brush the duck-weed off the lake, which I doubt will grow upon him in that entire unactive solitude. Mr. Byng was executed yesterday, about twelve o'clock, on board the Monarch in the Harbour. The ship was extremely crowded with spectators, and all the rest that were near."

Nov. 21, 1758.

"I WAS much obliged to you for your Letter, and am a little ashamed that I have not thanked you for it before. I see your attention is turned at present to a more entertaining controversy, though perhaps as difficult to settle as a text in St. Paul. I have but just seen Mr. Hooke's Observations. Sure, in such a long dissertation, he has made every thing as plain as possible. What is it that creates all these difficulties? The ways of filling up the vacancies in the Roman senate were different, by the honour of an elective magistracy, by being placed on the consul's or censor's roll, and by the vote of the senate itself. But did it require the whole extent of 250 large quarto pages to shew this? As to the question you ask, "How did the Romans preserve the distinction of Patrician and Plebeian families,"

"lies," I cannot conceive that it could be done any other way than by a sort of traditionary prescription. Who were the sons of the first senators, was, at the time of their birth, very evident; and so on, in a continual succession, *i. e.* these were the descendants of persons, who, in the age before us, were allowed to be Patricians. I have an instance at present just before me. Our Bishop's family is said to be a younger branch of Lord Ashburnham's; but a branch that was shot off from it 300 years ago. I don't suppose that this point is at present capable of being directly proved by any evidence: but every age has admitted this a real fact, which I think is proof enough here, and might have been stronger at Rome, where perhaps these pretensions in the course of 300 years had been called to a popular scrutiny. Is this your point? and would not such a traditionary evidence be sufficient to prove it?"

Oct. 23, 1764.

"AS I had no great expectations from the Dean of Exeter's papers, I fate down to them with more indifference than they deserved: for he has read much upon the subject, and with a particular attention to the Saxon nummulary estimates. I found nothing in his observations upon the third chapter (*i. e.* the shilling) that gave me any trouble; though he could not be persuaded that there ever was such a coin; or that it was reduced from five to four pence, and yet he admitted the very premisses that made this reduction very evident; viz. that the Saxon pound consisted of two hundred and forty pence; and that there were sixty shillings in the pound. However, I think myself much obliged to him for going over even the references in this chapter so minutely, and giving his sentiments so freely. It is the only way to clear up such obscure questions.

"But in the next chapter (the Mark) I found myself much more obliged to him. I had fallen in with the common opinion, that the *mark* and *mancus* were synonymous terms, and used for the same coin; and thought that the eight half marks in Alfred's laws and four mancuses immediately following were the same estimates. But I am inclined to think, as the Dean of Exeter does, that the *mark* was never used among the Saxons, but for a nummulary weight, or a terminus: that applying it to their

coins was an error *. The only scruple that remains with me, is the frequent mention of marks in Alfred's will: the version is very ancient, and he allows, that *marcas* there must mean coins, and not weights. But, however, as the other opinion is in all appearance right, *dedo manus*—I come in to it, and thank him for it. This makes no alteration in the value of the *mancus*, nor is the least objection against the utterance of those coins. But if the *mark* is only a nummular weight, the consequence is, that the *oras* connected with it are only the lesser divisions of the same weight, and must be considered (whatever was the origin of the same) in that light only. This will of necessity occasion the whole fourth chapter to be cast into a new form. What air and exercise may bring me to is uncertain. But it will certainly be much against the grain *antiquo me includere ludo. Non eadem est mens, non atas. Trebati, quid faciam præscribere.*"

Feb. 16, 1765.

"THE papers, I have now sent to you, will shew you, that the Dean of Exeter has favoured me with a great many remarks upon these Saxon matters, more than I think it necessary to trouble you with. This letter is intended as a reply to what I am chiefly concerned in, and I beg you would read it over. It is submitted to your decision, like a bill in chancery, which you may dismiss, or determine upon the points in question at your leisure. I hope you will be able to read it, though it is copied by my daughter; for writing is not so agreeable to me as it used to be; my hand tires, and especially when I am tired of the subject. The Dean has read a great deal of this middle-age learning, weighed almost all the coins in England, sent to Paris for the weight of those in the French King's library, and dealt much in Danish antiquaries, &c. but his sentiments don't seem to be so clearly digested as might be expected. His reading seems rather to puzzle, than explain a question. But you'll see what I have offered in answer to his objections, and will let me know what you think of

* "Carried away by the current of these great authorities, I had followed implicitly, and continued in the same mistake, if it had not been for the friendly admonition of the very worthy Dean of Exeter. He convinced me that it was an error, and will, I hope, excuse the liberty I take in making this public acknowledgment. All that can be said in favour of that universally prevailing opinion is, that it was of long standing, and by this prescription had acquired an undisputed possession, which by Dr. Milles's more acute and decisive examination must be given up at last." CLARKE, on Coins, p. 307.

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it, whether it is satisfactory or not. The thoughts of new modeling the whole fourth chapter distresses me much.

"I find that you are the only person at last disposed to assist poor Mr. Wright: he seems to be almost tired out; I could not have thought that a scarf had been such a difficulty. Mr. Gerison seems to be, what he says you are, all spirits."

March 19, 1765.

"SINCE you assume some of the privileges of the peerage, and can confer scarfs upon your friends, you must expect that numbers of the clergy both young and old will make their court to you. I am sure I think myself obliged to thank you for the favour you have done poor Mr. Wright, for I do not know that he could have been accommodated any other way: all his other friends wanted either interest or inclination; and it is really hard, that the incumbents of livings under value must be obliged to dispense. The law says, that livings must be eight pounds or upwards in the *king's books*. These are no longer in the king's books; they are discharged, they pay no first fruits; and in point of equity, as they are no longer in the king's books, one would think they should be discharged from this *onus*, as well as the other. But the observation in old Dean Colet's *Clerum* will be always true—*Superstitiosa est observatio legum istarum quæ LUCROSÆ sunt, posthabitis iis quæ ad emendationem morum spectant*.

"I hope you received the copy of the letter to the Dean of Exeter which I sent by the coach, and that you will at leisure give me *your opinion* how far my answer is satisfactory or not; and then you may do what you please with it. The chief points in dispute are, the *incrementum*, the *solidus* of four pence, the *thrymsa*, and the *reduction of the mancus*. The mark I give up—but think it a horrid thing to have a whole chapter to new model, and write all over again:—though I am much obliged to the Dean of Exeter; for to prevent you from running into any mistakes is being very much your friend."

July 3, 1765.

"I AM much obliged to you for giving me leave to employ so much of your time, and exercise your patience so often upon these trifling amusements. But, if I am incorrigible, you must excuse me: I do not know how

to part with a liberty, that makes me such advantageous returns. I assure you that I profit much by your sentiments, as they teach me how to correct or explain my own. But, though I trespass so much upon your time and patience, I cannot forbear telling you, that you sometimes, though undesignedly, pay me in kind. Your conversation with the Dean of Exeter, though I was much pleased with what you said, has produced terrible effects. I have just now received a letter of sixty pages, which was very kindly intended to save me the trouble of any further researches upon this dark subject. You had pleased him much in saying, that he *knockt my project at head*, and this I dare say encouraged him to give it the *coup de grace*. You shall judge by the beginning of his letter. He says, "The business of Profelytism is of a bewitching nature; there is a sort of compliment paid to our reason in every conquest of this kind: you are not to wonder, therefore, if I endeavour to work further conversions," &c. But to be obliged to be armed upon all occasions, and take the field, whenever these conquerors take a pleasure in attacking you, is just like living in the neighbourhood of old Rome, and be forced either to submit, fight, or fly. These are a sort of slavish conditions, and I wish I could get quit of them; but that is at present not in my power: I must bear with them, *Hoc mihi exedendum est*. All the lamentations in the world won't make it less. He has got some strange fancies in his head, about Danish weights, Danish pennies, &c. He has read much upon the subject, and some of his observations are not without their use.

"But the chief business of this letter was to tell you, that I have just got my liberty; and, if you have a mind to make a visit at Dorking, and my company is not disagreeable to Mr. Markland, I would meet you there for two nights and a day. What disgust Mr. Markland has taken I know not, and it puzzles me a little to think that there should be so much candour with so much credulity. For I can truly say, though saying it generally signifies very little, that I have done nothing that ought to offend him or any body: but there is some pleasure in saying it, because it is true, if there be any such thing as truth—

*Si qua est quæ restet adhuc mortalibus usquam
Intemerata fides.*

Under this seal, you will give me leave to assure you that I am, dear Sir, your most obliged and obedient,

W. CLARKE."

Jan.

Jan. 31, 1726-7 *.

“WHEN I wrote to you last †, I was full of suspicions about Mr. Richardson's argument from Antoninus's pillar.—I am now inclined to believe, that neither the pillar nor the medals of Antoninus can decide that question; for, as to the crosses, the more I think of them, the less I like them, and am surprised that Mr. Richardson should make use of such an evidence. It is my opinion, that there are either no crosses upon the pillar itself, or, if there are, that they are the work of later ages: it is certain that there are none upon the famous arch of Constantine; and what place could have been properer, where could we more reasonably expect to meet with them, than upon that arch, if they had been used at that time? And though we meet with crosses upon the medals of that Emperor, they might have been struck at the latter end of his reign. It is therefore most probable that the cross was never used upon any part of the Roman arms, till the fourth century, after Constantine had placed it in the Labarum. Till his time it was continued as the severest method of execution, such as was practised towards slaves or traitors. Severus put the heads of Niger and Albinus upon crosses; and can we therefore suppose that a pillar erected by the Roman senate in a former reign should have such marks of ignominy upon it, or that they should be allowed a place upon the Roman shields? Lipsius (de Cruce) observes that Constantine, near the end of his reign, commanded the punishment of the cross to be laid aside;—and at the same period, I should think, the use of it as a mark of honour or distinction was first introduced among the Romans. He ordered it to be engraved upon the soldiers' arms, stamped upon his medals, fixed upon the Labarum, &c. And to this was the great veneration that it has met with in succeeding ages chiefly owing.

“As to the reign of Marcus (the period we are speaking of), I question very much whether the Christians themselves ever made use of any crosses at that time which were either engraved or painted. Tertullian, though he speaks often of the sign of the cross, says nothing of material crosses, *i. e.* such as were either carved, engraved, or painted, &c. to wear about

* This and the few following extracts from Mr. Clarke's Letters should have been placed earlier in order of time: but, very few of the letters having any date of the year to them, it was not easy to arrange the series. The present letter in particular and that which follows it were discovered too late to be printed in their proper places.

† See above, p. 544.

them:

them: the *votive cruces*, which the proconsul of Africa made, were for the old Roman use. I do not well understand the passage in the 16th chapter of his Apology; but he seems to mention it there rather as a scandal thrown upon them than a thing actually made use of in that age. But I have no books for such enquiries, and therefore leave it to you. Our speculations in this country turn upon very different points. We might perhaps be able to settle the antiquity of hops, and we are assured that the last year's duty upon them came to above 100,000 *l.* sterling. Dr. Wotton is still very ill: his physician gives him hopes yet; but, I am afraid, without reason. His dropsy (of the *anasarca* kind) continues as violent as ever; I wish he may be able to live this spring. He talks of sending you a commission to buy some books; but I hope he is not in earnest. My humble service to Mr. Williams, and I am glad to see the third book * so near a conclusion.—It rejoices the Doctor very much, though he now is under some apprehensions that he shall not see it published. I thought to tell you what medals I could furnish you with, and what I want: I have duplicates of *Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Faustina, Commodus, Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Alexander Posthumus*.—I want *Julius, Otbo*, or to change any of the first six for fairer; *Pertinax, Did. Julianus, Pescennius, Albinus, Diadumenianus, Maximus, Balbinus, Pupienus, Herennius Etruscus, Hostilianus, Trebonianus Gallus, Æmilianus, Gallienus*, one of the *Gordians*, and from *Posthumus* to *Constantine*."

Feb. 19, 1736-7.

"BETWIXT business and disorder, my concern for others, and my own complaints, I have not had so much leisure as to enter upon the Roman Art of War; or to tell you, what requires no art, that I am very much obliged to you for your last presents, your new book, and your deceased brother. We have had a very unkindly sort of small-pox break out in the parish, which has all the terrors here of a fire in London. My neighbours look upon it almost as a pastoral duty to nurse them upon such occasions; and by visiting, and changing my cloaths often, I fell into one of my little feverish disorders, which often attend me.

* Of the Laws of Howel Dha.

"I find

"I find you are still pursuing your researches for another lecture to the Society *; but I can say very little upon the subject: it is of great compass, and the several changes and improvements must be deduced historically, or it will never turn out to your satisfaction.

"Reinesius' two observations, ad Cl. vi. 123, and Cl. viii. 58, are a little (or, as you might have said, not a little) inconsistent. He supposes in *one* that the *alæ* took their numbers from the legions they belonged to, and yet will not admit of *alæ* xxii; though it is certain that there were often so many, often more, legions than that number. The two armies of Pompey and Cæsar (as you mention) had nineteen legions; and we cannot suppose that all the troops in the Roman empire were drawn together in these two bodies. Tacitus † mentions xxii legions. The Notitia, which one would imagine should give the most perfect account of the Roman armies, mentions, I believe, almost 150 legions; for I have not had patience to count them up all; as they were in the Notitia stationed at different places, they must of necessity be different legions ‡.

2. As to *ala legionis*: the place which Pitiscus refers to in the *Itinerary* cannot well be read any other way. It is, page 56 (of Schottus's edition, with Surita's notes) *Durnomagus* LEG. VII. ALA. *Buruncum* LEG. V. ALA. *Novesium* LEG. V. ALA. *Geldubam* LEG. IX. ALA. *Calonem* LEG. IX. ALA. Now we cannot well read *Legio* VII. and *ala*, because, in the four last places, the *ala legionis* was divided into two parts, and quartered part at one and part at the other place §. I am therefore inclined to believe (as I did at first) that, the Roman legions being quartered upon the different limits of the Roman empire, near or with each legion or legions was a body of horse, by way of *ala* to them. They had *solita sibi biberna*, as Tacitus calls them, and, being quartered usually together, were called promiscuously, either *alæ legionis* of such a legion, or from the place they were quartered in, as *ala Pannonica*, &c. or from the people they were composed of, as *ala Gallorum veterana*, &c. or from the chief reviser of the *ala*, as *ala Theodosiana*, &c. The Notitia mentions about 80 or 100 different *alæ*.

* See above, p. 133. & seq.

† Hist. I. 18. 55. II. 100. III. 22. IV. 24.—In denariis ap. Fulv. Urf. ad xxv continuato usque numero assurgunt, eodemque interrupto ad xxxiii.

‡ Plures legiones; plures I. plures II. III. IV. VII. XX. quod a viris aliquibus doctis & eruditione claris ἱστορίαις, gravissima illis errandi causa & πρῶτος ψῆδος extitisse visum est.

§ See Wesseling's edition of the *Itinerary*, p. 255. EDIT.

How many are in the Itinerary I cannot say, because there wants a military index, and indeed better indexes in general, which perhaps the new Dutch edition is supplied with. I think it is Schelius's opinion, that *ala* comprehends both the auxiliary *horse and foot* in the writers of the old republic. That in the time of the Cæsars *ala κατ' ἐξοχήν* means the horse. See the notes ad Suet. Tib. c. 31. Cæsar himself (as you observe) keeps this latter distinction: *ala κατ' ἐξοχήν* with him is the horse; the *ala* horse and foot is *cornu*. Now should not Livy, who is a later writer, observe the same way of speaking? You say, that what the Greeks call *κέρας*, he [Livy] calls sometimes *ala*, sometimes *cornu*. That must be wrong, and not soldier-like. The instance you give is lib. xxvii. c. 19. It is not clear enough for me to determine by. In other places he seems to observe Cæsar's distinction, as lib. x. 29. "Fabius in dextro *cornu*,—cunctando extracterat diem; deinde ——— præfectis equitum jussis ad latus Samnitium circumducere *alas*." Here is plain difference between *ala* and *cornu*. Speaking of both again a little lower, the same general of the right wing commands *Campanorum alam, quingentos fere equites, excedere acie*—Again, the *ala* is part of the *cornu*; when you mean the foot of the *cornu*, it may be necessary to say, *alarum pedites*. So Tacitus, in the place we were about, *Pannonica & Mesica alæ perrupere hostem*. Hist. III. c. 2. That could be only horse—So Surita in his Com. p. 422. *Alaribus legionum equitatum designari certum est*.

"I still say, that it does not appear to me that *Pannonica legiones* were *ex civibus conscriptæ*, much less the *ala Pannonica*. The emperors sure were not so scrupulous as to admit only citizens in their legions. Indeed the liberties of the Roman city were then much enlarged when Tacitus mentions these legions. It is in a speech of Antonius's to carry off the German forces in favour of Vespasian. He observes what advantages Vitellius would have by their delays. Among the rest, "*juxta Gallias Hispaniasque, utrimque viros, equos, tributa*." Now *viri* in that light would make one believe that they were to be used in the legions. And Spain had not the *jus Latii* till Vespasian's time. Upon the whole, I cannot come into your opinion of an *ala* of *focii, cives*. The few inscriptions that mention *Eques Legionis* can perhaps be reduced to no certain period. Why therefore should we not think that *eques legionis* is only *eques alæ legionis* and *eques Romanus in leg.* i. e. *eques alæ legionis, qui civis Romanus*, by way of

of honour? The Lapidaries were not the most correct writers. This answers the whole with the least difficulty, in my judgement. If I supposed the *legiones Pannonicae* raised in Pannonia, it was an idle supposition; their name was from their service and station.

"Robertellus's observation is not worth mentioning.

"I thank you for the catalogues. If I thought that Calmet's Antiquities, &c. was a translation of *all* Calmet's Dissertations on the Bible, which are in number about 110, I should be glad of it. If it be only a part of them, I have nothing to say.

"I am surprized that Dr. Mangey should reject the former emendation. But it convinces you, how fond people are of their own productions: he could not think of destroying his *ὀρθον* note. Philo is to me a sort of Monkish performance, which I should never have thought of publishing. Whether *domo* anagyratium is or is not Latin, is more than I can say; one would think he should not stand by it unless he knew how to defend it.

"From your enquiries into these military matters, I have picked out a peaceable etymology, to add to Skinner — *Isles*, those parts of a church which stand of each side the middle space, as the *cross-isles*, the *side-isles*. a Græco *ἰλῆ*, Lat. *ala*, Fr. Gall. *aile*, Nostrum, *isle*, the wing of a building, though now used only of churches. As to Capellus, I take his *Commentarii* and *Critica Sacra* to be the same book; but I had rather stay for better information, and will not resolve till I know more."

Mr. PENOYRE * to Mr. BOWYER.

DEAR BOWYER,

Moor, October 9, 1767.

" I AM really thankful for your letter, and joyful at an hue and cry after any Laws that may help to confodder an old friendship, I know not how or why interrupted. But to the Welsh Laws †: I dare say I have four or five books of Welsh Laws, but I know not where to find them directly: but they shall be sent, and I wish I could frank them, as I fear they will not pay carriage this century. There is one **** has a bound book, purloined from the Register of St. David's, who promised to dispose of some to the subscribers. I remember I paid you for as many as were delivered. So much for the Welsh Laws. I much like Mr. Clarke's labour and learning, if he or you like it; but it is all lumber, and a load too heavy for my head and shoulders.

I am sorry for your memento: we are all a-going; but I know not how to advise you. If I could be of any service, you may command my assistance. I really pity your situation. Clarke and Markland are at too great a distance for the purposes of friendship, and they are almost helpless.

You envy my strength and powers: I praise, and am thankful; and when I tell you the sport of this day, you will say I ought; for, be it known to you, that I this day went a-hunting after breakfast, started my hare, and killed her by dinner. I went home, and ordered the hounds to try for a fresh hare: they soon started; I rejoined them, killed that also; so home I came, to pay this acknowledgement, and to let you know that nothing but exercise will procure health.

Pray send for your son. You may command all that is in the power of a friend, that loves you and him, as he is your son, and the darling of the woman that doated on you in the opinion of your friend and real servant,

THO. PENOYRE.

P. S. Take my advice, or leave it: I know you hold it cheap, but it may not be the worse for use. Adieu; I adjourn to my solo pipe, and *made-bere-a* wine.

* See above, p. 578; where, for *The Hyde*, read *The Moor*. This single letter is inserted as characteristic of the pleasantry and philanthropy of the worthy writer.

† By printing which, Mr. Bowyer had lost money.

LETTERS from Mr. AMBROSE BONWICKE * to his Father;
transcribed by his grateful Scholar W. BOWYER.

E Museo meo Joannensi, Oct. 9, 1669.

"IMPROBUS merito et perfrictæ frontis tibi videri possim (vir Reverendissime) quod usque adeo negligentem me prestiti, ut de venia pene sit desperandum: quippe qui contra jussum tuum perinde ac meum promissum hanc epistolam huc usque distinui. Cum tamen bonitatem tuam et miram in tuos clementiam mente pertracto, rursus scintilla quædam spei affulget, te etiam hoc mihi condonaturum. Expectavi equidem ut de Curione tuo non nihil rescriberem, ne literis usquequaque importunis aures tuas interpellarem. At cum per hoc temporis intervallum nullum potuerim invenire, non ausus sum diutius differre, ne, dum molestiæ crimen effugero, contumax prorsus audirem. Mire nobis arridet Oxonium, nec quidem est quod displiceat præterquam tui præsentia monitisque tuis auro contra pretiosissimis carendum quod est; quæ nunc demum maximè suspicio et exosculor, cum amplius uti non liceat; atque spero etiam nunc monita tua per literas carissimas ut solitus es imperties, et sic quæ negat mihi locorum intercapedo, indulgeat tabellarius. Expectes forsitan, nec injuria, memet ipsum mire eruditum atque oratorem tanta Academia dignum in hac Epistola exhiberem; at cum tecum serio cogitaveris, expectabis potius stylum nostrum non tam doctum quam barbarum, nec tam Ciceronem sapere quam Dialecticos et Sophistas. Vix possum non effusare quidditates, entitates, formalitates, et id genus barbariem. Parcas igitur siquid invenustum occurrat, ac etiam si non ausim adhuc tibi promittere in me plus eruditionis quam dudum: vereor ne tantundem in his literis deprehendas. Attamen firmissime asseverabo, nullibi majorem invenies observantiam, imo ne tantam. Atque hoc unum præstitit Oxonium, nempe reddidit me (si fieri possit) tuæ reverentiæ semper amantissimum, nunc amantiorem. Tutor noster præclarissimus deque Philosophia optime meritis magister Dickenson † tuis verbis per me salutatus te vicissim meis refalutat, cujus auspiciis nullus dubito quin ambages logicas et Aristotelis labyrinthos tandem veluti filo ductus penitus exquiram. Precor denique ut amicis meis omnibus plurimam salutem annunciâris, præsertim

* See the "Anecdotes," pp. 12. 506.

† Q. Edmund Dickenson of Merton, physician and chymist, who resided at Oxford till 1684, when he removed to London to succeed Dr. Willis. He wrote his "Delphi Phœnicizantes, Ox. 1655," 12°; and died 1707.

D. D. Georgio Freeman et Ambr. Brown susceptoribus meis longè colendissimis; ut et toti tuæ Familiæ, non exceptâ matre meâ charissimâ, cui verum (Pater Reverendissime) per omnia tempora locosque diligenter me prostabo,

Filium et Famulum observantissimum,

AMB. BONWICK.

E Coll. Joan. pridie Circumcisionis, 1669.

“ EGO, Reverende Domine, post diuturnum plus fatis silentium, cum nil possim majus et nil equidem minus, hanc Epistolam strenulæ vices ad te mitto; gratulaturam (ut spero) cum annum tibi faustè inchoatum, tum valetudinem recuperatam, quam ex literis Matris accepi non esse prorsus adamantinam. Nec, opinor, recusares hoc chartaceum xeniolum si votorum fuorum esset compos. Quamvis enim munera nulla polliceatur, nec aurea, nec argentea, vovet tamen longe meliora, nempe pancreaticam valetudinem, omnemque simul felicitatem. Certe probare nunquam potui illorum industriam, vel avaritiam potius, qui passim amicis strenas mittunt ut apophoræta recipiant; veruntamen ego (ut faciliè suspiceris) eorum more aliquid remittendum expecto. Non ignoro quam improbum sit tot et tanta ab eo expectare, de quo nihil unquam sum promeritus: sed quo non adigit mortales verè durissimum telum necessitas? Eo in loco sunt res meæ, ut nî protinus ad manum sit pensio trimestris possim coram latrone cantare. Scio non exiguum esse quod peto, neque me fugit quam nulla sint mea in te officia, quorum fiducia rem tantam ausim abs te petere, præsertim cùm tot tantisque nominibus jam pridem obstrictus tibi nondum ullâ ex parte retulerim gratiam. At si dignaberis beneficiorum cumulo hoc etiam superaddere, conabor omnibus nervis vel plusquam omnibus ne te unquam hujus capitis educati pœniteat. Quàm officiose meo nomine salutabis familiam illam semper colendissimam, cui quondam heu! præfuit vir amplissimus D. Edvardus Nicholas; cujus etsi mortui apud me nunquam intermoritura est memoria. Vota supersunt (vir Reverendissime) quibus dixi confertam esse hanc strenulam, ut optatissimâ valetudine, longissimis annis, et omnibus felicitatibus perpetuo beare dignetur Deus Opt. Max. Quod ut fiat animitus supplicat,

Tuæ prosperitatis studiosissimus,

AMB. BONWICK.

D. Brasier B. D. e nostro Coll. te plurimum salvere jussit, ut et contubernales mei.

Oxon.

Patri suo charissimo et unice colendo AMB. BONWICKE S. P. D.

Oxon. Feb. 3, 1669-70.

"GRATÆ profecto (Reverende Domine) fuerunt Literæ tuæ, gratissimi vero nummi, quos nudiustertius abs tabellario accepi. Inter illos autem præcipuè gratulor xenioli nostri præmio (vix equidem spectatu digni, nedum muneratu) utpote quod testatur videri tibi nonnihil tibi meruisse nostras lineolas. Mirum quiddam narras de nostro quondam amico Griffith, nec credibile nisi vestra testante Reverentia. Frustratus est sane expectationes nostras, uti et vestras qui putasti alium deperisse puellam: at forsan tantas desperans nuptias, has viles ambit, ne prorsus omni fraudaretur uxore. Vestes nostræ undique fatentur vetustatem, et subter togam gestiunt latere, lucem averfantes ne suam indicarent raritatem, nec diutius multo dominum tegent cum ipsæ dudum nudæ fuerunt. Facile locum cedent successoribus, si modo mittas quæ succedant, veruntamen eatenus evigilabunt. Tutor noster una cum D. Maryfield jun. tibi salutem plurimam, ego autem matri charissimæ, fratribus, sororibus, &c. Vale.

Si habeas Aristophanem, rogo vehementer ut mittas.

Patri suo æternum colendo AMB. BONWICKE S. P. D.

Ex Ædibus Joan. Aug. 18, 1670.

"PERLEGI oppidò quam libens Literas, quas ad me nuperrimè dedisti, et quia tuæ sunt et quia literatæ. Gaudeo etiam me nactum esse non modo Patrem sed etiam Monitorem amantissimum. Nescio quomodo innovissimis illis omni verbum *mittere*, quod interferas post benedictiones, aut si mavis ad finem periodi. Quem majorem esse judicas, ego certe nulum credidi hiatus; sic enim si nondum sit interpunctari vellem istam sententiam, *Crudelis ille Puer abiitne?* meo respondit abiit &c. scil. interrogationi meæ *abiitne?* subaudito *Pater*. Ne autem obscura sint nimis aliis legentibus, addantur (si placeat) *mibi interroganti*, et illud meo . . . quam possit curiosè convertatur. Bibliothecâ Joannensi donatus sum, ideoque M. Strerii datur copia; sin ingenti huic cumulo plura adhuc beneficia tibi visum sit addere, rogo ut mittas Famiani Stradæ Prolusiones Academicas, et Tacitum cum observationibus Boxhorni, Amstelodami impressum

sum 1661. Fratri Henrico jamdudum scripsi, et tua priusquam nota præstiti mandata, etiamque præstabo. D. D. Smitheus et Rhodes tuam salutem iterum remunerantur. Si quæ in posteris fuerint errata (summam tamen ne fierent adhibebo curam) ardentem cupio quod (ut fecisti) corrigere dignaberis: tanto majorem tibi habiturus quotidie gratiam, quanto ab erroribus me, vel sæpius, vel liberius, vel postremò etiam severius vindicaveris. Non est quod timeat elegantia tua omnium politissima indignissimam nostram limam: Heu frustra expectamus ullo modo posse ἀντιπελαργῶν. Vale.

Cuicunque debitam meo nomine reddes salutem. Credunt D. D. Meryfield sen. et jun. cum D. Rhodes juramentum quod oblitus es hoc esse, viz. "Non promovere indignos, aut retardare dignos."

AMBROSIUS BONWICUS Patri suo Reverendissimo S. P. D.

Sept. 1, 1670.

"SOLEBAT Epistola tua semper suo nomine redire tam grata, ut receptâ satis superque contentus chartulâ nihil ultra desiderarem. Nunc autem vestrorum nomine xeniorum, quæ omnia fideliter reddidit, tam mihi jucunda rediit ut ejus pæne præsentiam non requirerem, nisi quod verba tua auro contra pretiosissima semper æstimavero. Dedi ad te Literas (ni fallor) Aug. 18, quas miror nondum ad Mychelham appulisse; quod tamen tardæ adeo adveniant foli tabellario imputandum est. Ad beneficium quod attinet sacerdotale D. Smitheo tuis verbis totum enarravi, qui tibi quàm plurimas jussit impertiri gratias, plures quoque propediem suis verbis redditurus est, et non dignum putet quod ambiret. Domino Baylie etiam communicassem, nisi procul a Collegio abfuisset. Pridem est cum ad charissimum Præceptorem D. D. Goad literas vel importunas dedisse constitui, etsi illis quia importunis sæpius malis avibus inceptis superfedendum censui; nunc verò cum de fraterculis habeo quod scribam, epistolium huc usque libenter detentum, libentiùs brevi demittam, ut de eadem fideiâ duos parietes (quod aiunt) possim dealbare. Rogo ut apud omnes illos novissimos benefactores mihi sis epistolæ vice. Vale. Pergratissimum equidem facies si cum libris quos modo petii Apuleium miseris. Iterum vale.

AMBROSIUS

AMBROSIUS BONWICKE Patri suo S. D.

In Museo nostro, vigiliis D. Thomæ, vigilans scripsi, 1670.

“ NEQUE defidiæ meæ, neque occupationum culpa omnino est, licet harum quoque nonnulla sit, quod ad Epistolam superiorem non rescripsi hætenus; sed tuæ potius facilitatis jam usque adeo natæ, ut ob eam protinus ego licere in te mihi omnia existimaverim. Qui si nomen indulgentis retinere studes, quod uti jamdudum fecisti tuum, nec irasci silentio nostro potes ullo modo, nec debes. Quicquid enim habui novi scripsi totum; sed vero totum nihil erat. At tandem aliquando habeo quod scriberem, nimirum de comitiis in honorem celsissimi Principis Auriaci; nisi quod dominus Warren narrationis vicem apud vos optime suppleverit. Breviter tamen dicam, nihil in istis absolutissimis defuit, præterquam præfentiâ tuâ, regali istâ (absit verbo invidiâ) mihi longe optatior. Heu! quam vellem (Pater merito suspiciende) te inter cæteros istos nobiles, togâ ostro perfusâ vestitum sedisse, et S. S. T. Doctorem evasisse. Quantâ injuriâ non datur esse.

Nullibi dole (Deo favente) nec caput ne calcem, nisi togam dolere possim, siquidem mea infirmissima est. Matri charissimæ, aviæ, &c. multam ex me salutem dicito. Dominus Rhodeus quam illi tuis verbis dixi salutem, libenter accepit, teque vicissim per meas literas salvere jussit. Vale.

AMB. BONWICKE Patri suo S. D.

Ex Ædib. Joan. x cal. Junii, 1671.

“ TANDEM aliquando (Reverendissime) silentium plus satis induratum vici, quod si non aliis certe importunis literis interpellavi. Adeo nihil novum habeo quod scribam, ut nisi de veteri nostrâ ac usitatissimâ indigentia benignitatem tuam certiorum facerem, hic expliceret epistola. Tametsi ad matrem potius dirigenda est petitio: cum non tam librorum inopia laboro, quam indusiorum et id genus vestium effæminatarum. At malo brevem mittere epistolam, quàm hujusmodi tui indigenis refertam. Circa electionis tempus si non antea videbis fortean Præsidentem nostrum dignissimum, forsan etiam quod spero impetrabis, singulis Ambros.

... commenda, et brevitati nostræ per insultatam tamen molestæ nimis ac prolixæ fac precor ignoscas. Vale.

AMB. BONWICKE Patri suo S. D.

Oxon. xvi cal. Nov. 1671.

" OCTAVO idus mensis hujusce literas ad te dedi cum libro characterato ad ñnum Gueſt *: nondum autem vel tantillum de alterutris accepi. In istis ad te (quod plerumque fit) nummulos aliquos petii quibus admodum opus est in auditorio hoc nostro. Rogo igitur iterum iterumque munificentia tua nonnullos saltem ad paupertatem meam mittendos curar. Neque tu absurdum ineptumve putes; si quo magis debeo, magis etiam debere me postulo. Mos hic videlicet debitoribus; cum sint maxime obruti ære alieno, tum pecunias maxime mutantur. Vale.

A. B. Patri suo S. D. Michaelham.

Oxon. iplis cal. Febr. 1671-2.

" NONDUM vel per transennam aspexi nummos quos in novissimis illis te missurum pollicitus es; quamvis summam adhibuerim diligentiam in tabellionibus utrisque perquirendis. Dies complusculos etiam de industria expectavi; et nihil omnino, ne lineolam quidem accepi. Mittas (obsecro) quam citissime aliquid saltem vel argenteum vel papyraceum, etsi prius malim; tibi que tuum Ambrosium longè omnium devinctissimum devincire pergas. Literas (credo) meas de causa. Gueſto nostro ac tuo accepisti. Argentes digiti plura nolunt. Vale.

A. B. Patri suo S. D.

Ex. Adib. Joann. 19 cal. Febr. 1671-2.

" HESTERNA nocte ostendebat mihi literas tuas ñnus Richardus de Warrenâ †, quibus causam ulterius apud ecclesiam Nudigatensem demorandi domini Gueſti nomine petis. Rogavit etiam ut quam primum scriberem, quò te certioram facerem dominum Præsidentem cum reliquis suis sociis Decemviris, quicquid petisti Curioni tuo lubentes permisisse: se vero Reverentiæ famulum esse omnium deditissimum. Hæc una cum salute, à me quàm plurimâ domino Gueſto imperties. Quod amplius seri-

* John Gueſt, M. A.

† Richard Warren, afterwards LL. D.

bam nihil novum occurrit (omnia enim novissimis ad te absolvi) præterquam quod dominus Vicecancellarius mandata sua de Batellis (ut cum nostratibus barbarè loquar) hac ipsa anni tempestate solvendis heri iterabat. Vale.

A. B. Patri suo S. D.

Oxon. 7 idus Martias, 1671-2.

" LITERÆ tuæ mihi semper gratissimæ videntur; forsan etiam meæ tibi grata viderentur, nisi quod semper importunæ aliquid petant, eo vero nomine quidni placeant, cum inde præcipue liquat quam nullus sim, absque tua benevolentia, de quâ totus pendeo. His igitur (ut mos obtinuit) pecuniolam aliquam emendico; tenemur enim omnes Scholares sub Baccalaureo aliquo in hac Quadragesima determinante, bis pro formâ respondere; hoc autem fieri nequit absque triginta solidis vel minimum viginti. Semel jam respondi, quapropter decem solidos ab amico mutuo accepi, eâ lege ut quam citissimè solverem. Mittas igitur (obsecro) viginti saltem, utinam triginta, ne diutius sim in ullo ære præterquam tuo. Tutor meus non optima usus est valetudine hos dies; cujus nomine salutem tibi ascribo. Vale.

A. B. Patri suo S. D.

Oxon. 6 cal. Apr. 1672.

" CITIUS scripserim (mi pater) si conveniendi domini Præsidentis copia mihi citius data fuisset, a Londino enim non ante diem hesternum reversus est. Cum primum se in Collegium nostrum recepit, presto fuimus, literasque tuas communicavimus. Ad dominum Guestium quod attinet, jubet ut nihil curet, ipse Vicecancellarius curabit. De domino Drouno quod scribis hominem Curione tuo magis elegantem magisque generosum (ut ait) in Tutorem filiorum ejus destinaturus est. Nummos novissimos die Lunæ tabellarius reddidit. Amoris tui indicia quàm certissima, cujus nomine non minus quam suo a nobis æstimantur. Dominus Levinz * Medicinæ Doctor noster Vicepræsides colendissimus, quem absente Præsidente domini Guesti gratiâ adii, tibi salutem animitus exoptet. Dominus Rhodes †, cui salutem impertiris, apud Roffam cancellarii (opinor) vicem

* Richard Levinz, M. D. afterwards president. See p. 607.

† John Rhodes, B.L.L.

supplens, ab ædibus suis procul abest, adeo ut salutem illi precari possim, referre non possim. Matrem, avam, sorores, cum fraterculo, meis verbis salvere jubebis. Vale, et me ut facis ama.

AMB. BONVICUS Patri suo S. D.

Oxon. 4 cal. Maias, 1672.

“ MISI ad te literas circa quartum idus Aprilis, quibus pecuniam aliquam pro exercitiis præstandis maximopere petii; a te vero ne literulam accepi. Rogavi etiam fratrem Johannem ut mihi alterius vice epistolæ foret, nec illud impetravi. Examen magistrorum jam subii pecuniâ mutuo acceptâ. Aliud exercitium die crastino præstaturus sum, responsurus scil. pro forma in Parvifo (ut loquuntur) adhuc nescio quid faciam. Spero tamen ut aliquis ex amicis pecuniam accommodavit, quod certe non alio pacto faciat, nisi ut quam citissime solvam. Postremis etiam Tutoris Minervæ cum anicularum stipendiis petii, et nummos pro batellis solvendis, pro exercitiis præstitis et præstandis, et nomine ubique liberando, tribus ad minimum minis mihi usus est. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS GRIFFITHO suo S. D. Londinum.

Oxonii, 4 calend. Novembris, 1672.

“ ITANE fidem liberas, mi Griffithe? Num necesse est, ut ipse prior te provocem in arenam hanc epistolarem? Expectabam diutius quam par erat, ut telo lacefferer, retorquendo paratus: at at nullus appares, negotio aliquo lusui huic longè antefereundo impeditus. Quin accingeris, non enim patiar ut ulla quam libet importuna negotia te ab amplexibus meis detineant. Amplectar autem, si nos iterum visas curru isto chartaceo, quò facilè potes, advectus: at qui semel tam malo hospitio acceptus est, non temerè iteratò adveniet. Num igitur hospitium terreat? literas tuas intimo sinu reponam, cubiculo tibi proprio: quod quàm indignum sit, etsi minimè ignorem; suo tamen olim non despectus habitum esse, cum ego tibi tuque mihi invicem a secretioribus fuimus. Literæ tuæ tandem saltem aliquando in sinum hunc apertum tanquam nidum suum advolent, et in domini usum oecupent: fovendo ac exosculando faciam ut adventus illas non pœniteat. Livius ille tuus etiam nobis in manibus est, nondum autem vel duos libros totos perlegi: te tamen præeuntem sequar quamvis

non passibus æquis. Patri ac lectissimæ sorori salutem à me (si ita visum fuerit) quàm humillimè imperties; nec non D. Olivero nostro Herringo. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS JOANNI BONVICO Patri, S. P. D.

* Oxonii, 4 nonas Novembris, 1672.

“ LITERAS heri, nummos hodie accepi, utraque pergratissima; quòd te valere, ac Ambrosium tuum amare, certior me fecerunt: quorum nescieram utrum majori gaudio affecerunt, nisi te valere omnium intersuisset pœnè, Ambrosium autem istum amare meà tantum. Quæstioni tuæ de computo nihil ferè habeo quod respondeam, præterquam quòd libenter crediderim te voluisse subsidium illud trimestre primum futurum ad festum D. Michaelis, cùm nisi triginta solidos in discessu dedisti, qui dimidio absumpti fuerunt ante adventum nostrum ad Oxonium. Legibus autem tuis posthac iis Arithmetices magis subserviam: quamvis exlex illa necessitas nullas omnino agnoscat. In Pindaricis meis (nec mirum) errorem invenis, at error iste perquam exiguus est; nolo ad licentiam illam poeticam *Θὸν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς* recurrere, quamvis non necesse sit versus scribenti perplexà adeo curâ verba investigare, æquè ac ei qui prosam scribat: dico me vocabulum illud *slain* eodem sensu accepisse, quo accipi solet *caesus* apud Latinos, ac etiam *occisus* apud Terentium, nam occidere aliquem pugnis nihil aliud significat quam durius verberare. Non igitur intellexi Satanam necatum esse, sed graviter vulneratum, et hunc esse sensum illius versus proximus ostendit; prævidi enim quid posset objici. D. Harvæus noster tibi salutem precatur. Charissimæ matri plurimam a me salutem. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS JOANNI GRIFFITHO meo, S. D. Londinum.

Oxonii, ædib. Joannensib. Nonis Novembris, propter conjugationem illam sulphuream dudum famosis, 1672.

“ MANUM paululùm cohibeas, telis jam penè obruis; quomodo duò hæc, eaque acutissima suslineam, qui vel simplici impar sim? At vulnerare pergas; tela ista nescio quâ dulcedine delinita, vel pungendo placent. Dicis in prioribus, Distichon quoddam tibi nuper legenti occurrissè; volo ut proximis authorem illum indigites, ac ubi gentium occurrit; patria nempe

nempe ejus nos adhuc latet; nec mirum est si obscurum videatur, cum ipsum tenebrarum dominum præ se ferat authorem: nolo autem te ad illum ipsum rejicere, quod amico cuidam nostro sensum versuum roganti fecit sacerdos nescio quis; cum diu est quòd siluerunt ejus oracula: at, dicam ipse quod sentio. Solet catus ille (ut in plerisque Pythonum responsis videre est) suam de futuris ignorantiam, aut verborum ambagibus, aut sensu aliquo bifronti (ut ita loquar) aut etiam inexplicabili, obtegere: quidni hic idem faciat? Dicit Balæus scriptor quidam gentilis in principio centuriarum suarum Scriptorum Anglicanorum, hoc responsum esse mali Genii ad exorcistam quendam Romanum, cujus quæstionem non ponit: mihi autem videtur, si quis versûs istius posterioris sensus sit, hunc esse, nimis Romam subitò motibus inversum iri ac confusum; Amor etenim est Roma inversa. Verisimilius autem est authorem non omnino ad sensum respexisse, sed ad fabricam solam, quæ equidem mira est; sit nempe recursus per eadem elementa, quod retrò legens invenies. Istiusmodi etiam sunt versus isti,

Si bene te tua laus taxat sua laute tenebis:

O ut ares animo nomina fera tuo.

In quibus quàm perplexus sit sensus vides. Livium patrem illum historiæ (ut jure vocatur) paululum de manibus posui, donec ordo et methodus, quàm secundùm Alstedium institui, reposeat. Incepturus scilicet à scriptoribus universalis historiæ, quales sunt Raulæus noster, qui primas, nec injuriâ, teneret, nisi linguâ vernaculâ scripssisset. Cluverus deinde, Petavius, Boxhornius, à Christo nato, et ejusmodi: postea deveniam ad particulares historias, ac imprimis, sacram; dein politicam, naturalem, &c. Tu verò quod libitum fuerit facias, modò ames. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS Patri suo, S. P. D. Michelhamium.

Ex Ædibus Johannis, nonis Januarii, 1672-3.

“ PIACULUM esset, si annum hunc juvenem adlescere paterer te in salutato: a cujus salute, matris charissimæ, fratrum ac sororum, mei denique ipsius salus pendeat. Cum igitur à festo infantuli Jesu incipiat, faxit Deus ut ejus suavitatis et serenitatis quodammodo totus participet, sit pacificus, innocens et subridens; pueri adinstar, pueri Jesu. Faxit etiam ut quo propiores sepulchro, eo cælo propiores accedamus. Audivisti (opinor).

nor) jampridem Præsidentem nostrum dignissimum ad Episcopatum Bathoniensem Wellensemque electum esse : proximo mense Lambethæ consecrabitur ; ubi (si placuerit) eum visas, et Dominum Bernardum nostrum concionantem audias, qui (ut fertur) beneficio donatus est in agro vestro Suthriensi, haud ita procul à Croyden. Ds. Dr. Levinz, omnium pene nostrum suffragiis, Præsidenti substituetur : quapropter si fert occasio, eum tibi mihiq[ue] modo aliquo devincias : etsi nullus dubito, quin et tibi et mihi jamdudum sit devinctissimus. Tempus imminet quo Baccalaureatus Artium mihi suscipiendus est, qui tantis impensis (ut ita dicam) emendus est, ut nescio an plus gaudii an doloris et tædii secum attulerit. Quis nempe gradum istum lætè ascenderet, cui via munienda est parentum quadam depreffione ? Quisquis autem pauperes facit, deprimit ; illud verò necesse est faciam, cum e cumulo admodum modico decem libras (quibus opus fuerit) detrahā. Togæ autem et pileo emendis, aliisque sumptibus majoribus, decem libræ (quod Dominus Gibbonius* noster expertus affirmat) vix ac ne vix quidem sufficiant. Ad Quadragesimam instantem, aut citius si fieri potuerit, nummos paratos esse vellem, modo nemini vestratum (quod vix sperare possim) tanta summa invisa foret : mallet enim humi semper jacere, quàm assurgere ut melius livore petar. Cures (obsecro) ut hæc summa sit ultima à vobis petenda, quod facies, si locum aliquem investigas, ubi peregriner, donec ad Magistratum Artium †, ac ideo ad statum meliorem in Collegio revertar. D. Dickenson ‡ salutem tibi precatur. Vale.

Ornatissimo, Doctissimo, Sanctissimoque viro D. PETRO MEWS, LL. Doctori,
Bathoniensi Wellensique Episcopo, &c.

“ UT solent plerique, qui astra et cœlestia contemplantur, editiora quærere loca, unde in cursus et influxus eorum propius introspiciant : sic ego (vir Reverendissime) velim ut gradu isto me subleves, quo melius virtutes tuas cœlestes prorsus ac divinas suspiciam et adorem. Qui humi jacet terrena sola cogitat, sordida ac vilia rerum genera ; ad cœlum ægrè respicit, et quæcunque sublimiori loco collocantur : fac igitur assurgam, quò dignior sim qui te suspiciam, ac in quem tu invicem respicias. Ego

* William Gibbons, afterwards M. D.

† Mr. Bonwicke succeeded M. A. March 18, 1675 ; B. D. June 17, 1708.

‡ Brian Dickenson, M. A.

vel iniunctum gradum absque ope tuâ difficillime scandam, tu jam totam scalam quam citissime emensus es, summo illo fastigio potitus, non ut a terris quibus faves remotior, sed ut regi et cœlo quibus inservis propior habites. Utinam cō altitudinis tandem aliquando ipse progrediar unde pedes tuo humiliter exosculer; paternitati enim tuæ obsequium illud, (præfiscinè autem loquor) et D. Petri cathedra majori jure debentur, quàm senecioni illi, cujus alter saltem pes jam pridem à Charontis peculio fuerit: nisi pedes illius eo nomine exosculandi sunt quo cineres et reliquiae defunctorum. Collegium heu nostrum jam jam relicturus es, et præfecturâ istâ discessurus, ut cum Carolo tuo regni primoribus in supremo illo senatu majori populo jura des: ante discessum autem obsecro, famulum tuum fidelissimum emancipes, et pileo (quod solent) dones: sic libertate mancipiam fiam, et adamantinis istis beneficiorum vinculis, plus tibi devinciar,

Paternitatis tuæ longe obsequentissimus,

Sic subscr.

AMB. BONWICKE.

AMBROSIIUS BONVICUS JOHANNI GOADO Præceptori colendissimo, S. P. D.

E Coll. D. Joan. Oxon. 4 idus Februarii, 1673-4.

“ QUOD in literis ad te scribendis tam parcus sim et infrequens; id imprimis causæ est, quod nec quæ scribam habeam, nec das quibus respondeam: malim autem negligens videri quam revera molestus esse. Non nempe sum ignarus, quam usque ad nauseam, hujusmodi nugis quotidie oneraris; cum scilicet proxime distent literæ pleræque nostræ, ab exercitationibus puerilibus. Et tibi foret prorsus desperandum, si eadem patereris a nobis post adventum nostrum ad academiam, quæ toties a pueris passus fueris. Quæ cum ita sint videar forsan commodo tuo, pariter ac nostro consuluisse, si a te impetravero, ut a Beniamine fratre et nugis ejus quotidianis te ipsum liberares; id è re tuâ fuerit: utque ad Collegium nostrum eum mittendum curares; hoc è meâ fratrisque nostri, patris autem præsertim, qui liberos suos ægrè alit, adeoque academiam filiis suis toto animo exoptat. Tantus est illius in te amor, quantus fratrum solt esse, aut si quis major uspiam sit, aut vehementior: nec dubito quin amore amoris respondeas, ea est tua humanitas omnibus perspecta, mihi autem imprimis, qui meam humanitatem (meâ autem culpâ per exiguam

cam

eam esse agnosco, quamvis aliqua sit, id agnoscere) tibi soli totam debeo. Te id quod exoptamus posse crederem: quippe qui fratrem ad studia excitare, ac iusta meritum, vel (si id pueri indigentia et tua erga eum benevolentia postulet) supra meritum gradum ei assignare possis: nisi probe scirem, te id quod possis in re nostrâ velle. Sunt forsan aliqui è discipulis tuis qui collegio huic adscisci merito suo plus quàm frater debeant; exoptent autem minùs, ac minùs indigeant. Tu, quod visum fuerit, facias; non potes nobis non gratum facere: cùm aut ad collegium Benjaminem mittas necesse est, aut tutelæ tuæ academiâ contra optatissimæ reserves. Vale.

AMBROSIVS BONVICUS D. JOHANNI GOAD, Præceptori etiam nunc suo, salutem et fausta omnia supra id quod dici possit, ex animo vovet. Londinum.

Oxonii, pridie Idus Martii, anno 1673-4.

“ LITERIS tuis plane mellitissimis, nec tamen acumine suo destitutis, torporem et timorem omnem mihi excussisti: ita ut non temperem mihi: met ipsi, quin statim aliquid regeram. En vero quid tibi comitas tua peperit, molestum scilicet otii tui interpellatorem, cui nunquam os obstruas, nisi cùm proprium aperias. Nolo nempe tepesceret unquam amor iste quo in memet ac meos omnes flagrare videris; cujus item testes locupletes literas tuas asservaturus sum: ei potius frigidam suffundam, et chartis importunis extinguam propemodum, quò vehementius ardeat. Non expecto ut singulis responderes, novi non quantillum otii tibi ludus ille literarius relinquat, in quanta autem studia id, quantulumcunque sit, infumas, scio. Quàm te cœlis tuis et astronomicis recreare, ac animum scholasticis defatigatum, studiis severioribus reficere soleas, haud sumus ignari. Si bis vel ter provocatus tandem responderis, voti compos ero: nec tibi temporis fiet magna jactura, quippe qui lineolâ aliquâ extemporaneâ salutis tuæ ac amoris erga me indicio mihimet abunde satisfacias. De Beniamine nostro (nolo nempe meum esse, nisi tuus pariter sit) quicquid fiet, aliquo nomine nobis id gratum fore dixi; cùm vero scholares tuos scite admodum alitibus assimiles, feliciores esse videntur, si felicitatem norint suam, qui caveâ inclusi cibis præparatis vescuntur, quàm qui libertatem nescio quam sibi fingentes, perrupto ostiolo avolant, et multo cum labore et periculo per sylvas et avia vagabundi tenuem sibi victum conquirunt. Vale, ac Ambrosium tuum amare persevera.

Ornatissimo viro D. RUDSTAT &c.

“ LÆTA, rogamus, fronte excipias, vir clarissime, nœnias istas quas ad Caroli funus Martyris perinde ac Regis nomine illustris, liberalitate tuâ conducti, præficarum more, unâ cum lachrymis effudimus. Quàm minimè verò fictus erat dolor ex ipso orationis habitu ineleganti ac incomposito colligere potes: ornatum omnem respuit, ac calamistris abjectis, lugentium ritu, effusâ comâ incedit. Sempiternam hanc calamitatem, heu nimium vel injussi deploraremus: cùm verò id tu pariter ac pietas jubes, quis dolendi finis erit, quis modus, nisi cum probe noverimus luctum hunc nostrum solennem tibi haud omnino displicuisse. Excipias igitur tum lachrymas, tum nœnias quas per os atque oculos nostros Carolo tuo largitus es: si quomodo peccent alterutræ, id canalium fit culpâ, per quos transfundo aliquid saltem vel legitimæ mensuræ vel decoris amiserunt. Tantæ nempe provinciæ, quanta est Carolum justè et ex præceptis tuis lugere, omnino impar erat famulus tuus humillimus,

AMB. BONWICKE.

A. B. Patri suo S. P. D. Michelhamium.

Pridie calendas Octobris, 1672.

“ LITERIS meis novissimis ad decimum calendas Octobris datis veniam a te obnixè rogavi, his autem ob veniam impetratam gratias agere velim, indulgentiâ enim fretus vestrâ nihil non ausim sperare. Quo magis autem gratabundi animi specimen dem, en tibi versiculos aliquos, Anglicanos istos ac inelegantes, quamvis utrumque hoc sua causa flagitet; Michelhamium enim vestrum (cui sanctum Michaellem tutelarem præposuimus) linguam vult vernaculam, inusitatum autem carminum genus inelegantiam. Quales quales autem sint, hos versus benigno (precor) accipias animo; et Tutelatori isti tu invicem tutelam præbeas. Quod de Angelis tanquam de corporeis quibusdam substantiis locutus sim, licentiæ poeticæ tribuas: etsi nec valeat quisquam vel prosâ oratione spirituum operationes et modos operationum rectè describere. Habes (ni fallor) in isto carmine, plus satis furoris illius poetici quam Pindarici requirunt. Erroribus omnibus cujuscunque generis ignoscere, tuum erit, et indulgentiæ etiam tuæ Ambrosium jam tandem tuissimum amore (quod soles) prosequi. Institutum meum secutus jam Prudentii Cathemerinon singulis pœne diebus volvo. Vale.

Tri-

Postridie Sancti Michaelis 1672.

Trimestris illius subsidii quod liberalius promissisti, spero ut memineris; ad festum hoc sancti Michaelis pergratum venerit. Vestratibus omnibus me commendatum habeas, matri præcipuè cum dignissimo Domino Vallo.

JOHANNI BONVICO Patri meo salutem dico Micelhamium.

Ex Ædib. Joan. Octob. 26, 1672.

“QUANQUAM ad binas meas jam filuisti, tertiis tamen etiam lacessam; non enim est cur in silentio isto tuo perstares, nisi (quod Deus Opt. avertat) ipse penetraveris ad loca silentii: si enim nummos argenteos nolis mittere, at saltem aurea tua verba ne mihi invidias. Durius victitârim his destitutus quàm illis. Forsan autem nondum alterutræ ad Michelhamium vestrum pervenere, his igitur ultimis cunctantes illas propellam ac proritabo; sic tandem ad te justo agmine venient, ac silentium tuum oppugnabunt, eoque expugnato, manubias aliquot (spero) domum referent: aut, si malis, eas obsidum loco teneas, ac e tuâ gente ad me aliquas invicem cures mittendas, at pecuniâ oneratas, quinquaginta circiter solidis, stipendio illo, quod convenit. Ob quam pecuniam non ad diem missam, en quæ bella facta sint, quæ acies instructæ, tantæ scilicet, quantæ vel cælum facile expugnare queant, precum nimirum et petitionum validæ cohortes. Norunt benè quoties vicerint, quoties te captivum duxerint; jam quoque eandem sibi victoriam sponponderunt, eundem triumphum, nempe de hoste toties debellato, ut mirum tandem videatur, illum ulterius posse resistere. Nondum (opinor) ad Triarios res venit, nec opus est ut lacrymis salis illis extremis utar: satis me egenum loquitur stylus iste pauper et jejunos. Vale.

AMBROSIUS BONVICUS Patri suo salutem.

“PERGRATÆ mihi fuerunt literæ tuæ, idque multiplici nomine; quâ nunciæ pecuniæ adventuræ, et patruelis recens nati; quâ monitricæ; quâ denique cristâ gentili obsignatæ fuerint. Nihil in iis insipidum, nihil amarum gustavi, præter maternas lachrymulas. Hæ gaudia nostra temperaverunt, ne supra modum fierent: quis enim (precor) posset non affigi, non dejici, cùm dignosceret se matri indulgentissimæ causam extitisse non unici doloris, nec semel tantum lachrymandi? quasi indies cum ætate filiorum curæ succrescerent, nec jam viri victum absque ope parentum queritarem: in hoc unico mandatis tuis pænè non obtemperarem. Dii boni

avertant ut in ære etiam fratrum sim, qui vel tantillo parentum nunquam ero solvendo. Adultus ego potius abjiciendus sum quàm teneriores illi: obnixè igitur rogo ut nihil posthac è fratrum aut sororum peculio mihi prodigo infumas; satius enim est carere quàm lacrymis affluere: frustra autem exceptas ut Oxonii sim Cantabrigiensis, aut hodie vivam ut olim vixerunt: jubeas igitur ut aliò transeam, et victum (quod frater Johannes facit) per me quæritem; nolim nempe doctus fieri fratrum Benjaminis et Jacobi dispendio. Quinquaginta solidos a fratre accepi 5^{to} nonas hujusce mensis, quorum quadraginta et quod excurrit expendi; nondum tamen integrum nomen liberavi.

Ornatissimo, Doctissimo, Spectantissimoque viro D. PETRO MEWS * LL. Doctori, hujusce Collegii Præsidenti, nec non Academiæ Oxon. Vice-Cancellario Reverendissimo.

BRUMA ferox nostris properat succedere terris:

Et jam deciduis imbris omne madet.

En nobis cælum largitur idonea somnis

Tempora, dum sopit flebile murmur aquæ.

Sol procul aufugiens concedit regna forori:

Et procul exiguum nox fugat atra diem.

Cynthia condonat gratam sine fine quietem:

Et non vult refugo reddere sceptrum fratri.

Tempore brumali indulget sibi turba sororum:

Indulget pariter vatibus illa suis.

Quod visum est superis, hoc te donare rogamus:

Subscribas igitur, nunc precor (Alme,) Deis.

Sic subs.

AMB. BONWICKE.

* Peter Mews, born at Purfe Candle in the county of Dorset, educated at Merchant Taylors school in London, admitted of St. John's college Oxford 1637, B. A. 1641, M. A. 1645, afterwards fellow, from which and the university he was ejected by the parliament visitors 1648, for having taken up arms for the king. At the Restoration he was appointed archdeacon of Huntingdon, LL. D. king's chaplain, and vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, 1662 canon of Windsor and of St. David's, and 1665 archdeacon of Berks. In 1667 he was elected president of St. John's college, and in 1669, 1670, and 1672 vicechancellor of the university, 1670 he was appointed dean of Rochester, 1672 bishop of Bath and Wells, and 1684 bishop of Winchester. In 1685 he appeared in actual service against the duke of Monmouth, for which James II. rewarded him with a rich medal. When that king withdrew into France, he took the oaths to king William; and dying 1706, Nov. 6, in his 89th year, was buried in his cathedral. See more of him in Atterbury's "Epistolary Correspondence," vol. III. p. 210.

In obitum Ornatissimi, Doctissimi Spectatissimique viri, Dñi JOHANNIS
ASGILL, Artium Magistri, nec non hujusce Collegii dignissimi Socii,

PAUPER ego tumulo vellem superaddere florem,

Sancte, tuo; at gemitu flos perit ille meo.

Dum tibi cum reliquis lugubria carmina fundo;

Discordat placido vox gembunda melo.

Dum tacite scribo quæ præ morore filebam;

En facta est lachrymis multa litura meis.

Sancte, precor, parcas, quod non bene condita fundo;

Nam quæ conveniunt luctibus, ista cano.

Triste tuam mortem plorat nunc undique cœlum,

Merisque demisso terra sub imbre natat.

Suppeditant nobis superi pia flumina aquarum;

Indutus pullam Sol latet ipse togam:

Et negat huic misero squalentia lumina mundos;

Cum Phaëthon perit, sic doluisse puto.

Ipsæ tuum nimium præbebas, Sirie, lumen:

Ah! frustra fontis jam tēgit ora rubor,

Novimus æstivæ lethalia lumina stellæ,

Novimus immerito te tenuisse polum.

En quid fecisti? Sanctus super æthera splendet,

Sub pedibusque tuam calcitrat ipse facem.

Vidimus excelsæ moderantem hunc amphitheatro

Qualem ipsum cœlo credimus esse Jovem.

Exiguum hoc nostrum est, nec te, sanctissime, dignum:

Te cupiunt summi magna theatra Poli.

Illinc aspicias vani spectacula mundi;

Quanto cœlesti est gloria nostra minor.

Ens, spes, et ratio studiorum in funere tantum:

Hæc summa, ut subitam detur habere necem.

Siccine Doctrinæ transibit gloria et artis?

Incautum literas me didicisse piget.

Ite, leves Musæ; valeatis Apollinis artes:

Vatibus ah! vestris quantula dona datis?

Fallor, magna putant Divæ; nam fratribus illis

Mortem pro summo munere Juno dedit.

Sic subf.

AMB. BONWICKE.

Ecloga

Ecloga congratulans D. D. LEVINZ, Præsidenti nuper electo.

TITYRE, quid tristis recubas sub tegmine taxi;

Nec ludos nostros, neque dulcia carmina curas?

Ti. Ingratos fregi calamos, et fecta, Menalca;

Delicias quondam Domini: trivisse labellum

Pœnitet, et pictis caput hoc cinxisse corollis.

Quid faciam infelix? Postquam Melibœus abire

Sustinuit, mihi nec placeant umbracula sole;

Ferventi, viridi molles nec gramine somni.

Ille levi docuit modulari carmen avenâ:

Albaque gramineis intexere lilia fertis.

Illum nostra juvet, quamvis sit rustica, Musâ;

Me. Ille pedo nostrum donavit cum grege Daphnin;

Daphnin rura canunt, nec Daphnide doctior ullus;

Aut calamos inflare leves, aut dicere versus.

Cernis ut in pratis saliant armenta gregesque,

Læta magis nec erant, dum se Melibœus agebat.

Ti. Ergo iterum dulci liceat cantare cicutâ?

Et capiti frondi mistos circumdare flores?

Me. Talia vult Daphnis: vidi hunc per prata jubentem;

Ludite ut antè levi calamo, circumdate fronti

Baccatas hederas: Pastoribus otia dantur.

Ti. Ergo simul Daphnin cantemus et ore et avenâ:

Daphnin ad astra feramus; amet sic nos quoque Daphnis.

Me. Quod quercus parvas inter procera myricas,

Lilia quod pressas sunt inter graminis herbas,

Quod Phillis reliquas inter formosa puellas:

Hoc juvenes inter pastores Daphnis habetur.

Ti. Sis bonus, o felixque tuis; en quatuor aras;

Ecce duas tibi, Daphni; duasque tibi, Melibœe:

Hic mihi Pan fuerit; sed tu diceris Apollo.

Me. Ipse dabo calathis plenis tibi Daphni quotannis

Pallentes violas et purpureos hyacinthos.

Ti. Ipse ego pruna, nuces, et suave rubentia poma

Dona feram, propriâ redimitaque singula fronde.

Me.

- Me.* Ipse agrum et sylvam Daphnim resonare docebo :
 Me cantu nimio donec vox rauca relinquet.
Ti. Ipse quidem tenui Daphnin modulabor avenâ :
 Stridenti miserè rimâ dum fracta dehiscet.

Τῷ Θεῷ μόνῳ δοξα.

Angelus GABRIEL annunciat nativitatem D. JOHANNIS.

DUM tu, sancte Senex, fumantis nubila thuris
 Exhalans, tenebras ad cœlum mittis odoras :
 Angelus ascitam dispellit lumine noctem
 Et circumfuso suffimen vincit odore.
 Palescunt flammæ, tremulique ascendere fumi
 Horrent, thuribulum retro volvuntur in ipsum.
 Talia mirantem sic Nuntius occupat ales :
 Quid timeas, quidque ossa senilia concutit horror ?
 Non ego lethiferi dicam contagia morbi ;
 Bellaque Idumæis plusquam civilia campis.
 Læta fero, Grandæve, novo jam vere viresces ;
 Atque tui cineres poterunt emittere prolem ;
 Tradet Eliza suam vitam moritura Johanni.
 Sic quæ funereis tumulantur tritica fulcis,
 Non nisi cùm periere solent producere fructum.
 Ille modò tremulus altari immotus adhæret,
 Suspiciens thuris scandantem nube ministrum :
 Sic stupet, ut potuit fieri sine crimine mutus.

Visitatio B. MARIE.

QUO fers, dura nimis, pedem tenellum ;
 Per sentes rigidos, adesa faxes,
 Et quantum est spatii molestioris ?
 Nescis basia rusticana montis
 Queris plantam niveam usque suaviatur :
 Nescis quid rigida audeant vepreta ;

Plantarum

Plantarum: quoties rubent: cruore;
 Ut quæque hastula purpurâ superbit.
 Gressu præpete tendit ad Johannem,
 Infantem, tenerum, levem, pusillum;
 Cujus dulciculus dies ocellus
 Nondum viderat, abditus tenebris:
 Dum claustris uteri latet parentis.
 Felix sancte puer, beate papæ!
 Quem Jesus placidè prius salutat,
 Dulces lumine quàm salutat auras.

In obitum Ducissæ EBORACENSIS.

VIDERAT ægrotum, ac idèò magis ægra, maritum;
 Et Parcam alterutri constituissè necem.
 Fit pia rixa, mori pro conjuge certat uterque:
 Illa suo morbo nititur, ille suo.
 Illa, nova Alceste, subito se devovet umbris;
 Et redimit magnum, magna Ducissa, Ducem.
 Vidimus infestam crebro tibi vulnere mortem,
 Dum petiit matrem per puerile latus.
 Tu tamen ignavæ ridens ludibria Parca,
 Suppeditas natos, pignora chara, novos.
 Invida Mors, limis quæ jecit tela, fuisse
 Irrita succensens, callidiora jacit.
 In tua corda viro latitantia dirigit ictus:
 Fœminaque ægroto conjuge cæsa perit.
 I pia ad Elyfios, umbrisque fruare tenellis
 Natorum, his campi vix sine matre placent.
 At pater hic maneat, sobolem foveasque relictam:
 Quæ nisi tu vivas, jam moritura jacet.
 Vive, Jacobe, diu, lytro tua vita redempta est:
 Conjugis ut vivas tempore, vive tuo.

Sic subs.

BONWICKE.

Malefecit

Malefecit L. ALBINUS, qui depositis uxore et liberis Virgines Vestales in
plaustrum recepit.

QUID fera religio misero genitore requiris?

Quidve patrem jubeas deposuisse prolem?

Religio hoc suadet, pietas prohibere videtur,

Illa suum calcar subdit, et illa suum.

Quem dederit vitam, vitam pater auferet illis?

Quam thalamo fovit, reddet et hanc tumulto?

Quid non religio poterit suadere malorum?

Sic cecidit sacris Iphigenia focis.

Quid dubitas? Albine, tuos miser accipe natos,

Sic sobolem credam his genuisse patrem.

Sic subsc.

WM. GIBBONS.

In Conjuratorem Sulphuream.

HUC, huc Erinys impiorum ultrix Dea;

Ac his flagellas impiis dignas para:

Frustra flagranti territas illos face;

Est ignis illis lusus et sulphur jocus;

Si poena nulla est major, emitte inferis:

Crudeliore inferos faciant sibi.

Poenam scelestus quisque patiatur suam;

Sit quisque Dæmon alteri, ut dignum luan-

Vidit nefandum Jupiter quondam scelus,

In se Gigantum bella metuebat nova.

Horrebat Ætnam, fortis Enceladi specus;

Ne captus illis occidat flammis polus,

Mittatque quo nunc premitur in superos onus.

Non fat, trifidum fulminis telum putat;

Ipsi Gigantes igne majori tonant,

Majora mittunt fulmina et magis horrida:

Quæ vel sacratæ Cynthio Daphne nocent,

Et cincta lauro tempora imprimis petunt.

Divi vafrosum proditis gaudent dolis.

Tellure natis rursus evictis ovant :
 Divi inferis, Diis inferi grates agunt.

Sic subsc.

AMB. BONWICKE.

In obitum Serenissimæ MARIÆ Reginae.

SANCTA Maria, valè ; hunc mœsti cantabimus omnes
 Pro cantu veteri, Sancta Maria, vale.
 Tu quoque nunc valeas, etenim pars nulla relicta est ;
 Conjuge defunctâ, Carole, totus obis.
 Sic quam non potuit mœror, non improbus hostis,
 Non tua mors potuit vincere ; vicit amor.
 Uxor amans sequitur te tandem morte maritum ;
 Pro thalamo, tumulo, te fruitura viro.
 Sic modò quæ fuerat lethali subdita busto
 Fiat in Elyfio tæda jugalis agro.
 Undique odoratos tumulo jam spargite flores :
 Spargite puniceis lilia mixta rosis.
 Hæc benè conveniunt, siquidem dum vixit uterque,
 Vidimus Angliacis Lilia juncta Rosis.

Sic subsc.

AMB. BONWICKE.

In obitum Serenissimæ Reginae.

QUIS novus hic rumor nostras allabitur oras ?
 Quid fert a Gallis nuncia fama mali ?
 Murmurat illa suæ, nostræ quoque fata Mariæ :
 Dum tacitè mœstis tarda vagatur agris.
 Heu ! tandem moritur, quæ post mala tanta superstes,
 Viderat à nato sceptrâ paterna regi.
 Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
 Tendit in Elyfium, Carole Dive, tuum.
 Gallia plus solito jactans sua sacra, superbit ;
 Quòd sit relliquiis aucta, Maria, tuis.
 Sic visum est superis, ut quæ te duxit in auras
 Hæc eadem tumulo terra benigna tegat.

Sic subsc.

AMB. BONWICKE.

In

In obitum Illustrissimi Ducis ALBEMARLE.

SIC tandem emeritus gratâ potiare quiete :

Otia vix fesso parca benigna facit.

Pax rediviva viget, Batavi cessere Britannis :

Cuncta rident, tua mors sola querenda manet.

Ædibus expulsi dudum rediére Britanni :

(Nam sua cum Carolo patria pulsa fuit.)

Post reditum Caroli lætis nil defuit Anglis ;

Nec tibi restabant munere digna tui.

Perfida magnanimum simul ac mors vidit inermem

Transfixit timidâ pectora nuda manu.

Sic qui contempsit ferrum, quem bella fovebant,

Hunc pax confestim defidiosa necat.

Si cupis, o miles, posthac evadere mortem ;

Ad quæ confugas, munera Martis habes.

Sic subsc.

AMB. BONWICKE.

CUM spirante tuos sculpfisset marmore vultus

Atque suo posuit sedula turba foro.

Haud fore defuncto mœstum regi monumentum

Credebam, aut animæ debita justa tuæ.

Vivaci optabam Carolum superare senectâ

Marmora, vel quæ sint marmore dura magis.

Heu lapis extincti est factus jam principis hæres :

Quem colet ut genium, barbarâ turba, loci.

JACOBUS FORTRISE Armiger, è Coll. Div. Jo. BAPT'.

LETTERS * between Mr. AMRROSE BONWICKE and RICHARD BLECHYNDEN †, B. D. of St. John's College, Oxford, concerning the Oaths.

" My dear Friend,

Aug. 8, 1691.

" I AM heartily sorry for the Merchant Taylors rigorous proceeding against you. The letter of the statute does not reach you, school-masters being not particularly mentioned; nor, as I conceive, are they included under officers civil, and the general *all that took the former oaths* is afterwards restrained.

" But it is unaccountable to me, that any honest man should refuse the oaths out of conscience: out of generosity and honour they might, struggling for their deposed prince, provided his restoration were for the public good. But I cannot see any conscience in the point. Let me entreat you to suppose yourself in any of the frontier towns on the continent that often change their prince, or in that of Catalonia that changed him last month: would you make any scruple, if you intended to continue there, to take together with your fellow-subjects a new oath to your new prince? I believe you would not. Parity of reason will lead you then to take our oaths to our new king; for you are under his power likewise, and under his government. As to the ways he came by them, it matters not. It is to the possessor of them that a man in prudence may, nay, for his own, his wife, and childrens sake, ought to pay subjection, and what a man may and ought to do, he may lawfully swear he will do. Whatever evasions and differences may be found to elude the force of this common argument, I know you can easily answer them if you please. For I dare say there is no force in them, as shall be made appear when you shall open your mind freely to me, and perhaps I may be able to give you more satisfaction in writing, than I can do by discourse.

" This you see is wrote carelessly, but my next shall be with more diligence, if by your scruples and difficulties you shall fix the subject.

* Referred to in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 14, note *.

† He preached a sermon, in Lambeth chapel, July 1685, on the consecration of Dr. Thomas White, bishop of Peterborough.

"It may seem a great folly to think to satisfy you after so many elaborate pieces wrote by great men to no purpose as to you; but *omnia vincit amor*, at least thinks she can pardon this freedom from your old friend, that cannot but be concerned for you, since he wishes your happiness and prosperity as entirely as his own. My service to your lady.

R. BLENCHYDEN.

Pray let your brother Henry know I have received my "Anglia Sacra."

The bishop elect of Bath and Wells has often declared to me a kindness for you, and perhaps can do you the greatest kindness amongst your adversaries.

Dr. Rudston * will be buried on Thursday next at St. Albans. He died of a fever here in the college on Wednesday last.

Mr. Tothill has desired a recommendation to succeed you.

* Q. John Rudston, of St. John's college Oxford, who in 1685 compounded for a doctor of laws degrees. Wood, Fast, Ox. II. 227.

On the wall of the south aisle of St. Peter's church at St. Albans is this epitaph to him:

"Hic inter patrios cineres requiescit
JOHANNES RUDSTON, LL. D.
Ex antiqua & honesta admodum familia
Hoc in oppido natus,
Studiis liberalioribus Oxoniæ innutritus,
In academici curia assessor,
Ad altiora in jure civili munera promovendus
Nisi amicorum votis obstisset invida mors
Aug. 5, 1691, ætatis suæ 35.
Vir egregiis animi dotibus præditus,
Ad maxima quæque capeßenda idoneus;
Leniores virtutes,
Quæ virum bonum prope attingunt,
Præcipue coluit; his ornatus,
Summorum familiaritate optatissime usus est,
Et æqualium suavissime.
In amicis juvandis,
Studio, concilio, opera, constans, sincerus, indefessus;
Ceteris satisfecit omnibus, sibi ipsi nunquam.
Quæ tam eximia merita
Ut aliis exemplo essent,
Monumentum hoc inscribi curavit
JOHANNES MICHEL armig.
Familiæ RUDSTONIANÆ
Ex utroque patente consanguineus."

"Dear

“ Dear Mr. B.

Aug. 11, 1691.

“ I thank you for your kind concern for me, and since you are pleased to take the trouble, we will fairly dispute the point. I suppose then first that king James had a right to my allegiance, and that secured by an oath; and unless he has given away this right or forfeited it, it is still in him. Now to me it does not appear that he has done either, therefore I dare not give it to another, which I suppose is the design of the new oaths. It must be remembered too that I have solemnly sworn to defend this right; and therefore the forfeiture (which I suppose is the thing you will stick to) ought to be plainly proved, or else my oath will make me timorous of adding perjury to the wrong. You see, therefore, how my conscience is concerned; and I think the obligation of an oath of allegiance so great, that if I were a subject of the king of Spain, in one of the frontier towns, and that town were taken by the French, I ought to quit all, and even life itself, rather than swear allegiance to the French king without the consent of the king of Spain my master. The condition indeed is hard, but I have no remedy for it: I ought not to have entered into the obligation, if I had not designed to have kept it. Suppose a company of reparees should meet you upon the road, and threaten you with immediate death unless you swear over again the old oath of allegiance to king James: I know you would not make so cheap of oaths as to take it, for then the Government might make you swear again, and the reparees again to the end of the chapter. Therefore you must die, and there the case would be full as hard as that of the frontier towns. That the practice is otherwise there, I readily believe, and therefore either the neighbouring kings have given consent, or the inhabitants have no great sense of an oath. For certainly there is such a thing as right, and after a town has been taken and retaken forty times, a considering man will say this town of right belongs to such a king, though it be in the possession of another, the inhabitants are his subjects and owe allegiance to none but him.

Dear Sir,

Aug. 15, 1691.

“ MY answer to yours shall be double. And first I will give you what prevailed with me.

1st, He that has no longer a right to the government has no longer a right to my allegiance. A right to the government in an hereditary monarchy

narchy is founded, besides the person's birth, in his qualifications for government (this is plain from fools and madmen being excluded, though next of kin); and a right to the English government, besides the person's birth is founded in his qualifications for the English government. For he that cannot discharge the duties of it can have no right to it, and he that has not the proper qualifications for it cannot discharge the duties of it. It is true there is no law that speaks of, or enumerates the qualifications: nor is there any particular law that excludes fools and madmen. Right reason must interpose, and with conditions she convincingly suggests must be regarded as much as if in plain words exprest. Means must be suited to their ends.

“ Now it seems to me plain that king James has shewn, that he neither has the qualifications for government, nor for this of the English. He that regards not his word, nor his oath passed in the most solemn manner, and that in relation to his government cannot be believed either by his subjects or others, and he that cannot be believed, cannot be trusted; and government is the greatest trust both from God and man. He promised often and swore too to observe our laws, and yet even the sword must be put into the Papists' (our most dangerous enemies) hands, and others of them into our courts of judicature and into our colleges against all law: and to what violence things were running is notorious. Let it not be said that his power of dispensing enabled him to do all this. For all men understand by a dispensing power such a power as is for the good of the community. And he that shall apply it to the 200th part of a nation, to the danger, prejudice, and great dissatisfaction of the rest, does not govern, but grows factious, and declares himself a professed enemy of all the rest. And this may be a second argument of his incapacity for government. For he that will not pursue the ends of government and the public good, according to the direction of the laws is likely to do much more hurt than fools or madmen that are ignorant of them. And I think those that are likely to do most hurt to the government are most unfit for the management of it, and consequently have no right to it. Observe that these breaches of his promises and his oath are not in *little matters, and such as relate to some few persons*, but the matters are of the *greatest consequence* to almost the whole body of his people. As for his right to the English government it is still more plain he has none to it. As he that cannot or will not pursue the ends
of

of government in general is unfit for government; so he that either cannot or will not pursue the ends of the English government is unfit to have the administration of it, and so can have no right to it. The ends of the English government are the preservation of the rights of the king and people as settled by custom or laws. Now I think it is plain to you and all the world that king James would not preserve the rights of the crown in opposition to the pope's pretensions, I might almost say he could not, considering how he was rid and managed by his priests. As for the rights of the people, his standing, and in a great measure Popish army, his Popish fellows, his popish judges, his extorting our charters out of our hands, his assuming a dispensing power whenever he pleased, his unfair method and violence, I speak it knowingly, in packing of a parliament, his *Jesuit* in the council (not to mention his obedience in all things without reserve in Scotland) do all loudly proclaim his intentions to preserve the rights and liberties of the subject, do they not? Do not say he saw his error. He would do better after: he would be bounded by the laws for the future. For what assurance could he give us he would do so? Could he promise, could he swear more solemnly than he had done? Would any prudent man trust five pounds in the hands of another that had lived thirty years all his manhood in a deep dissimulation, and in the breach of his promises and his oaths? And will any sober man say we may trust the lives, the estates, and the religion of millions in the hands of such an one? I, who esteem the love of my country the highest principle next to the love of God, cannot but abhor the thoughts of it. And I can call God to witness, that it was this, and no selfish principle (for life and all the things of it have been a burden to me for these many years), that made me so early espouse the Prince's cause.

“What I have said may prove a *forfeiture*, if you had rather I should call it by that name. And I think it plain that the kings of England may forfeit. There is nothing more certain than that ours is a limited monarchy; and it is impossible (considering the passions of human nature) that the limitations should be preserved, as they have been for this thousand years, if tyrannical princes may not be resisted and deposed. I value not the act of parliament as to this point in the 13 of Car. II. made out of excess of joy and court compliance upon the return of the king, and perhaps

perhaps pushed on by the Papists underhand, who it is known had a great influence then on our affairs: I value not, I say, their declaring the *unlawfulness for both houses*, &c. nor their declaring it *always unlawful* to &c.; since it is plain our monarchy is limited, and must be preserved; and since I know the English history, and particularly the charters of king John and Henry the First, that declared the contrary, the lawfulness of resisting, in case they did not observe the charters then ratified. There are abundance of passages of this nature *pro* and *con* to be met withall; and therefore the best direction to an honest mind in such high points is to fix one's eye on the nature of the monarchy, and the public welfare (which is the end of all limitations); and these, in difficult and controverted points, will best interpret to us the right of prince or people, and the oaths relating to either; and will teach us, whatsoever sense of the public oaths tends to the subversion of the government, or to the destruction of the community, is not their true meaning, and therefore they are erroneously applied to such emergencies. As for the sense that you and others have taken them in, 1st, It is an hard matter exactly to remember that: 2dly, Be that what it will, we ought to keep them in that sense which a rational man, from the consideration of the words and all circumstances, will conclude to have been the meaning of the imposer; otherwise, whilst we pretend the most scrupulously to observe them, we violate them.

" But there is a second answer which I shall give you, and I like it the better because I find it most generally received. It is this, that a full possession of the power; especially when recognized by the grandees, and main body of the people, gives him that has it a title to the obedience and fidelity, or, if you will, allegiance of all within his territories; at least that they are guilty of no sin that promise fidelity to him. For that which has been the practice of all sorts of people in all conquered towns and countries, and uncensured by moralists and divines, that have been the most uninterested in the cause, I dare not condemn as sinful: and I question whether you yourself, if one of the inhabitants of *Mons* were with you now dying and desirous to receive the sacrament, would dare to refuse it to him, if otherwise an upright man, till he had repented of his new oaths; so far is this matter from being manifest to you yourself. As for your opinion of conquered towns and countries, you have I dare say few companions, for you except not those conquests where the war was just, which is

allowed by all writers to give a good title to the conqueror; and if he has a just title to the towns and countries he possesses, he must have so to the obedience of the inhabitants that he governs and protects, and then the allegiance to the former prince must cease, and consequently the oath relating to it, which with you would be still binding in this case also. But to return.

“ That a full possession of the power gives a title to allegiance, is agreeable to scripture, and the practice of the Jews and primitive Christians too, there being no famous instance of either bishops or others that did not submit to princes regnant whatever was their title. On this principle all the empires of the world are founded. And if a submission on such account is sinful, it is strange that there should be nothing in scripture, nor in any considerable casuist, transmitted down to us, condemning such an universal sinful practice. And our laws do plainly prove what I contend for, that allegiance is due to the possessor, witness that of *Henry the Seventh*, and antecedent to that, the year books of *Edward the Fourth*, a *de jure* king, and the opinion of my lord *Coke* again and again, and judge *Hales* (both in times, when nothing of interest or *partium studium* could sway them) is to the same purpose. They say that there is no treason against a dispossessed king, and that treason is only against the king *de facto*. If so, I am sure allegiance must be due to the latter, and none to the former. For treason is a breach of one's due fidelity or allegiance, and indictments for treason run thus, for committing this crime *contra debitum fidei et ligeantiae suae, et contra naturalem ligeantiam domino regi debitam*. There is no breach of allegiance then, say *Coke* and *Hales*, to king *James*, but there may be if allegiance be due to him. There is a breach, say they, of allegiance against king *William*: but that cannot be unless allegiance be due to him. And so all obligations to king *James* must cease. The reason of the law and this their opinion must be this, that allegiance is always due to him that protects. And could we but imagine ourselves at the first forming a government, or a recomposing of a shattered one, we should always find men submitting and adhering to a person in a capacity of discharging the forementioned duties of protection and government. After an hundred predecessors, nothing less than the like capacity can give any man a just title to the subjection of their posterity. It was those great ends that first settled mens' allegiance in any family, and the want of these must dissolve it.

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It matters not that such conditions and limitations are not put in our oaths; if plainly reasonable, they must be allowed: no intelligent man, if left to his own choice, would promise his allegiance to a person unable to protect him. Let us then at least suppose our parliaments to be as wise as ourselves, and not to have involved us in such an absurdity. And if the imposers of the oath never intended it in this case, then are we free: all incapacity to govern, whether natural, moral, or political, dissolves our allegiance, which always presupposes an actual capacity. Besides, in case of a dispute relating either to the king or his people or both of them, there is no better way of determining it, than by an assembly of the great men of the nation; and if a man be an hearty lover of peace and quietness, nothing less than the clearest evidence can make him reject their determinations: and surely that cannot be pretended to, when so much may be said to justify their sentence.

“ But I see I am gone off from my second answer, which is founded, you see, upon a third principle distinct from either renunciation or forfeiture. . . I will add a word or two relating to some passages of yours, and so conclude.

“ Could the Reparees reduce *Ireland* to the obedience of king *James*, I should not doubt, would I stay there, to take an oath to him, and I would observe it inviolably, till a greater power of High Mal-administration had forced me from it.

“ Though a king may have a right to a lost country conquered and reconquered forty times, it is the conqueror that by an unjust law drove him out of it, that shall answer for the injustice, not the subjects that submitted to his force, and gave him their allegiance for their protection. The former king has a right to the country and government (i. e.) he may justly demand it, and the usurper ought to restore it to him; but he has none to the obedience of the people without an actual possession.

“ I have many years ago seen a book, intituled, *The Maxims and Interests of Princes*, which contained the various pretensions of princes and states upon one another's countries, which pretensions were infinite. Now should not subjects in these several countries pay their allegiance till they were satisfied with their Governours' title, beyond that of possession, there would be very little government in the world.

I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

R. BLECHYNDEN.

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“ My

" My dear Friend,

Aug. 20, —91.

" IN the first place I declare to you that I do not, nor will not, continue the dispute for the sake of victory, but purely for the discovery of truth; and when that appears, whatever shame a retraction may bring with it, I will cheerfully submit to it. For I should be glad to find my friends and relations (whom I have so great a concern for) are in the right, and that it is prejudice in me has blinded me so long. Though I suppose it would be perjury in me to quit that oath that I think still obligatory, yet I have a very charitable opinion of those that have taken the new one, and suppose that conscience has been as much their guide in taking it, as it has been mine in refusing it: yet, when either party perceive their error, they ought ingenuously to confess it. To your first answer then, I suppose a man may be dispossessed of a legal right no otherwise than by law, the want of any qualifications besides what the law requires signifies nothing. For so a man of two thousand pounds a year, that squanders his estate away or makes not the best use of it, seems to want the due qualifications for holding such an estate, yet however he has a legal right to it, though were it in our power we ought in equity (abstracted from law) to give it to another that would make better use of it. And a king, that has certainly as good a legal right to his kingdom as any subject to his estate, though he wants those equitable qualifications you require in him, yet if he have all that the law requires, he cannot by our constitution be dispossessed. Fools and madmen, if apparently such, are indeed excluded from both, and can have a right to nothing, and I think the custom of England, which is their law, allows very small acts of reason to deliver a man in that case; such an one cannot properly be the member of a body politic, nor under the directions of laws, much less can he be the head.

" That king *James* was neither a fool nor a madman, and that his birth only gave him a right to the hereditary crown of England, is plain from the parliament's so often endeavouring to exclude him. They knew very well that he was a Papist, and they had an idea of a Popish successor as terrible as any *Dutch* painter could draw it, and far worse than we found it; all those breaches of faith, favouring of Papists, putting the power in their hands, and besides massacres and fire and faggot were included in it; and for all that, they knew that he had a legal right to the crown of which

he could not be disseised but by law. They saw the defects of our constitution, and bewailed them as much as you or I can do; but yet there was no remedy for them, but by making new laws. If our constitution was such then, how came it to be altered since? I am sure there was no alteration made to his prejudice during king *James's* reign; and what has been done since, does not concern him. In my former I insisted that king *James* had a legal right to the crown, and your first answer only proves, that he ought to have none; I must still desire you to prove a legal forfeiture, for nothing else can destroy a legal right. Those laws that declare the king irresistible, and that the whole body of his subjects have no coercive power over him, you say were made out of court-compliance and by the influence of *Papists*. It would be easy for a *Papist* to reply, that those laws which lye heaviest upon them, were either brought or extorted from the king, or he was frightened to a consent: and a hundred years hence a man may say, such and such laws were parted with by a prince not well settled in his throne, to humour the people. Here you open a new scene of scruples, and I shall be as puzzled to know what law I must obey, as what prince. But certainly what law has been made by the whole legislative power (let the considerations be what they please) is of force till repealed by the same power.

“ In answer to the second part of your letter, I am to consider how I am to behave myself under a king that has possession and not right. The execution of those laws that protect me are in his hands; I will give him all that obedience that is necessary for that purpose; I will obey his orders, assist his officers, and do every thing that is required of me not prejudicial to the right of the dispossessed king. But to take an oath of allegiance to the king *de facto*, certainly cancels my oath of allegiance to the former. And if an usurper must answer for the wrong he does to the person dethroned, so must all those persons who by transferring their allegiance make it impossible for him to recover his right. If it were barely submitting to him in power, I suppose we should have no great dispute; but to swear that we will stand by him in opposition to our rightful prince (which I take to be the meaning of the oath) this I can never do; and I suppose the primitive Christians never did it. They thought it their duty to be peaceable, and so do I: but yet I question not but they were as tender of oaths too as I am. And indeed nothing can more promote the peace,

peace, not only of single countries, but of the whole world. An invader would have but small encouragement to disturb the peace of his neighbours, were he sure that all the subjects of the conquered kingdom would stick firm to their oaths and to their prince. He might thus (though with very great difficulty) enlarge his territories, but not his empire.

“ I do not pretend here to answer every particular of your letter, since our business at present is not to satisfy your scruples, but mine: which stick still here. King *James* had a right to my allegiance which he has not forfeited, and therefore I cannot give it to another. Usurpation and possession cannot give a right, for then that distinction would be superfluous of a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, for the former must of necessity be the latter. And methinks there ought to be some distinction of treasons, a treason *de facto* and a treason *de jure*; that is to say, to conspire against the king *de facto* in behalf of the king *de jure* is (according to your lawyers whom I have not by me) a treason *de facto*, and will incur the penalties of treason; but certainly it is not so *de jure*. A temporary king (for a king *de facto* is only so) shall if you please have a temporary allegiance. The love of my country must be governed by the laws of my country, as a zeal for God must be governed by his, or else they may both do more harm than good. For certainly it is no kindness to one's country for fear of tyranny to commence a rebellion: and we find already there has been more blood shed in Ireland, than I suppose any one could have imagined king *James* could have shed during his whole reign. Perhaps you'll say, our laws might have been altered by his continuance. 1st, His endeavour for the alteration of the laws argued he meant not to lay them aside: but 2dly, we found he made but very slow approaches that way, and after the restoring the charters, he was in a far worse condition to do it. And though you say a king that has once broke his word is not to be believed, yet I remember in the charter put out by Dr. *Burnet* (for you must know I read all the books I could on that side, with the same design I now dispute with you, and I think not one of the other, as you may perceive) there they have liberty to distress the king till he amends his faults, and then he is to be trusted again; and I believe there is not one syllable in the whole body of our laws to justify a deposition. I believe *Bradshaw* brought what he could at the tryal of king *Charles* the First, but not enough to draw one honest man to his side. And those laws, after the re-

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turn of king *Charles* the Second, were to prevent all such false arguings for the future. I am sure there are now very considerable alterations made in our laws and constitution, and an unruly people too much encouraged to rebell. Will it not be easy hereafter for a malevolent minister of state, such as *Shaftesbury*, that knows how to manage a rabble, to revenge himself upon a king that disoblige him, and dethrone him for mal-administration, or at least involve the nation in blood? If you look back into the history of this nation, I suppose you'll find much more shed by rebels, than by tyrants: and for that reason, that the greater evil might be avoided, our monarchs at last, whatever they might be at first, came to be irresistible.

" Dear Sir,

Aug. 25.

" THE agreement there has been all along between us for the good of our college made me hope that at last there might be the like agreement for the good of our country; and I doubt not but there might be, if you would but consider that municipal laws are not the sole measure of right and wrong. There is a superior law of right reason, which respects the common good of mankind, which gave beginning to civil societies, and does, as there is occasion, both form and disannul their laws, and supplies all their defects by dispensing powers, by courts of equity, and by directing us all to have a more special regard to the ends and designs of written laws, than to their letter. For otherwise the laws themselves would be the cause of the greatest injustice; *summum jus* being *summa injuria*. And I cannot but observe that you yourself, though you call so often for the laws of your country in this point, do several times appeal to the law written in our hearts, even against our municipal laws. So natural is it for all men to have recourse to this great fountain of law. You say treason against the king *de facto* is not treason *de jure*; hereby you must mean according to equity and right reason; for treason against a king *de facto* is the only treason by the law of the land, if *Coke* and *Hales* may be credited, and if the statute of *Henry VII.* be of any validity. Again: you say fools and madmen are excluded, because they cannot be heads of a body politic. But this is to appeal to reason, not to produce a municipal law; so then a man can be dispossessed of a legal right otherwise than by law, i. e. a municipal law, for such I suppose you mean. And
you

you yourself dispossess king *William* of his legal right to your allegiance (for the laws as you have heard are on his side) by pretending he has no right to it, *i. e.* it is not due to him according to equity and right reason. And were this evident to me, I would strip them also of my allegiance, in my heart and in deed too when safe even before the declaration of a parliament. Justice is not to be administered between man and man, nor any government to be preserved, by keeping up nicely to the letter of a written law. I cannot but observe the last Thursday's Gazette informed us of a great part of the *grandees* of the Turkish empire (which is also hereditary) declared against *Achmet's* succession to the crown, because unqualified for the government; and had his unqualifications in respect of that people been apparently half so many as king James's were, I am apt to think he would not have had one vote for him. So natural and reasonable it is for all men, whatever their written laws be, to be guided especially in difficult times by the qualifications of the person for government.

"Crowns and private mens estates, as they are gotten different ways, and are different in their ends, so their tenure is different ever after; but to bring the private man's case as near as we can: should a private man have a patent for an office during life, if he should be either grossly ignorant, or very negligent of his duty, his patent would be voided though no conditions were expressed in it; he would be told, his qualifications and his diligence are always supposed. So much for your parallel.

"But still you call for a legal forfeiture; nothing else, say you, will forfeit a legal right to a crown. But if you please to consult the gentlemen that write politics, who surely are the best guides in this affair, you will find them assign a great many others: such as a prince's professed enmity to his people, a destroying one people for the sake of another, an usurping a part of a power that does not belong to him, an attempt to alienate his kingdom, conquest in a just war, and the like; though there be not one word of all this in the municipal laws. And why do these cause a forfeiture? because reason tells us, without any written laws, that they ought: and I doubt not to say, that when a prince does apparently endeavour the subversion of his government, and pushes on illegal designs pernicious to the main body of his people, and which are very likely to end in the ruin of their posterity, here is as good reason of forfeiture (if it does not *coincidere*) as any assigned by Grotius in his (cap. iv. lib I. *de jure*

jure belli, or by any man else; I am sure a much juster than that of Rehoboam's forfeiture. And yet God has consecrated (I have considered the point) the revolt of the ten tribes with his approbation, 1 Kings xii. 24. And such a position as this, if believed both by king and people, will contribute more to the peace and happiness of a nation, than the doctrine of *unaccountable and irresistible*: for it will make the prince and his great ministers of state walk so warily as not to give the like advantages by trampling on his subjects and his laws. And as for male-administrations, a people must for their sins be strangely infatuated by God Almighty before they can be made appear in the forementioned terrible shape. The emperor, the king of Poland, and the king of Spain for his kingdom of Arragon, at the reception of their crowns, make declaration of the lawfulness of resisting them, in case they observe not the laws; and yet I do not hear oftener of rebellions in their countries than in other places.

“ If you would make a due estimate of the mischiefs accompanying king James's reign, you must put into the scale all our just fears and jealousies, the popery and slavery that would have been entailed on us and our posterity, besides the loss of the Reformed religion abroad, and the liberty of Europe. The preservation of these, and our deliverance from the other, will be a sufficient recompence for the blood spilt in the quarrel, and you will consecrate the memory of the bloody instrument to after-ages: as our English liberties do that of our ancestors, that had rather dye in the field than see the chains and fetters put upon their country.

“ You speak of one right with relation to the exclusion bill, and I of another. I meant, all things considered, that of equity and right reason. And where this (which is God's title) is evidently wanting, I would not fear, for the public good, to slight the other, if not easy to be regularly abolished. Had the parliament about twelve years ago and all the people of England been as certain of the mischiefs of king James's reign as they have been since, it is not to be doubted but the parliament would, and that at the petition of the people, have excluded him, and they would have thought they had done the greatest act of justice. For parliaments do not pretend to strip men of their legal rights, till the grand legislator Reason had declared that in equity and reason they have none, and therefore are to be declared to have none in law. So far is the parliament's

proceeding from shewing king James to have had what I meant by right. And you yourself sometimes use the word *right* as I do.

“ But you call a third time for a legal forfeiture. Should any of William’s successors be guilty of the like violation of their trust as king James, would it be reasonable to demand, before they should be legally allowed to be deposed, that it be made appear that from king William’s or any after instrument they were subject to such a penalty? No surely! It is plain from what was done to king James, and from king William’s receiving his crown from the concession of parliament. And yet how many such dethronings of kings and concessions of parliaments are still upon record, before king James’s reign? It is not reasonable to imagine we mean to be oppressed more by one prince than another. When princes are guilty of the like crimes, they are subject to the like penalties.

“ To speak now in relation to the non-coercive act: I doubt not, if an unconcerned honest and prudent man should be acquainted with the limitations of our government for this thousand years, and told that the assemblies of the grandees and parliaments have near forty times either deposed their prince, or waved the next of kin for the good of the community; and if he should be reminded that this government must necessarily and speedily end in an absolute monarchy by this law as now urged; he would say that this act must receive an equitable interpretation (and shall there be a court of chancery for single subjects, and none for the nation conjunctively; so as not to be applicable to the highest crimes, nor to give the king a power to become absolute?) or if the words of this act must necessarily be so understood, it being destructive of the antient limitations and antient claims of the grandees and people, and their antient (as they often averred) legal practices; he would say, these being no renunciation of our antient limitations and antient government, this so singular act was not to be regarded in this controversy; it being no new thing that there should be such defects in acts as did immediately nullify them, as the judges themselves upon some occasions have declared. Do not you yourself reject that of Henry VII. in your thoughts, though it has stood sacred these two hundred years, because you judge it against reason; but my lord Bacon has shewed it most reasonable. And then why may not I reject a late law against the highest reason, and good of the community; especially since inconsistent with our antient limitations, and with the customs of our ancestors, and of all

all sorts of men, Lutherans, Calvinists and Romanists in all countries, and indeed with the practice of all the world, the most public and noble spirited of them before and after our Saviour? For the sufferings of the principal Christians, whose religion was not established by law, do not reach the present case, as has been truly observed.

“ I proceed now to the second part of your last letter. If possession does not give a right, nor can procure to the possessor the obedience of the protected, I am sure that these have no right, no pretensions to be protected by him in their fortunes, their families, and their lives, unless a man can be obliged to protect those whom he knows to wait for an opportunity to destroy him: for I can by no means allow him to be peaceable that watches to subvert the government, nor do I regard a submission that means only the not conspiring and resisting, till both can be done effectually: for this would be my sense of peaceable and submitting, if I thought the former oaths obligatory.

“ There have been many unlawful princes. It lies upon you to give instance of the Christians refusing the military oaths, or those of allegiance, which have been constantly taken by Christian subjects both here and in other parts. This is worthy of your serious enquiry.

“ The adhering to one's prince in all cases whatever would contribute to peace, as you say; but it would be such a peace as is in a galley betwixt the master and his slaves.

“ Your rule for the zeal for God and the love of one's country is prudent. But let me add, that one must have a care that he does not too much dwell upon the letter of the law, without a regard to the main design and intent of the imposer, as did the Jews that forbade the defence of their country, or the administering physic on the sabbath, though the sabbath itself was instituted for the good of man. Note also that God's law about shew bread was dispensed with by David and his laymen, that did eat it out of necessity; that law being accounted of less moment than the life of man. And I, had I been in London in 1666 with sufficient power, and known the certain good effects of blowing up of houses, I should not have feared the doing it in all places where the fire came, though I had no law of my country to justify me. The law of common good, when evident, surpasses all the positive laws of all the countries in the world; for it is the fountain of them all, and of all morality too, and it is to this that we

owe both government and governours. I foresee you will reply, what I call equity and reason is an uncertain thing, and a deceitful guide, that which is such in one man's opinion being not so in another. I cannot help this. Prejudices stick close, especially about governments. However, it is the best guide that God has given us in the most weighty points: our religion and the belief of particular articles of it must at last be brought to this test, notwithstanding the decrees and establishments of councils and synods. And I know not why a sincere man may not depend upon his reason in points of state, especially when extraordinary, as well as in religious matters.

“ The preventing of Bradshaw's reasonings must not prevent all reasoning in the behalf of one's country when in danger. I, who can live upon as little as any man, and have experienced the goodness of God many times beyond my deserts, dare trust Providence as far as you, Sir, or any man; but I consider that Providence works by natural causes, and in the use of means. This to prevent an objection.

“ For law does many times adjudge an estate to one man, and equity gives it to another. But you will say the court of chancery is established by law, and so what is determined there is ultimately resolved into the law of the land. However, this shews the defects of positive laws between subject and subject, and it is not to be doubted but there is the like betwixt the king and the whole nation. You will ask then who can supply them in this case. I answer, common reason, the grand law. But what law is there to give her supplies an obliging force? Why the same that inform the master of politics that a prince may forfeit, though the municipal laws take no notice of forfeiture, judge, or executioner. They, poor men, would write to very good purpose, if their directions were either impossible or dishonest in the execution. In these matters, great respect is to be had to the opinions of the great, the wise and good men of a nation; but in very plain cases every man is in some measure a judge. *In re autem controversa* (says the judicious Grotius) *judicium sibi privatus sumere non debet, sed possessionem sequi. Sic tributum solvi Casari Christus jubebat, quia ejus imaginem nummus præferebat, i. e. in possessione erat imperii, l. i. c. 4. sect. 20.*

“ Since you can say there is nothing in all our laws concerning a deposing power, be pleased to read the 8th and 9th section of *Milton pro Pop. Angl.*
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the clause of the coronation oath, Edward the Confessor's law, and Matth. Paris's interpretation of the Curtana *, Bracton and Fleta's *Pomere Regi*. And the House of Commons' collation of the crown to Richard II. and Henry IV. Perhaps the consideration of these passages, if found true upon examination, may give you more satisfaction than any thing that is wrote by, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend and servant,

R. BLECHYNDEN.

I observe you take no notice of that which I lay the greatest stress on; the first ends and designs at the constituting or submitting to governors and governments; for these are the measures of obedience, if there be no express alteration afterwards. For bare succession and length of time makes none; the tenure is still the same.

The passage out of Edward the Confessor's laws is true, and the illustration of it with Chilperic's example, who was deposed, is true also; for he was the *stultus rex* in Pepinus and Carolus's time. See Wheelock's edition of the Saxon Laws, tit. *de Officio Regis*.

"Dear Mr. BLECHYNDEN,

Aug. 30, —91.

"I THANK you for the great pains you take with me, and I must confess I am obliged to every letter for clearer discoveries of the nature of the controversy. Reason must be our best guide, and she has directed you to take the oath, as she does me to refuse them. I consider on one side there is only a little temporal concern, and on the other the danger of perjury. Wherefore, unless the obligation of taking the new oath were much more evident than it is, I think it better to continue as I am. I have sworn allegiance to king James, and I think none but he or God Almighty can dispense with my oath. For what you urge, that therefore I ought to have no protection from king William, I must be contented; but I think it is the law that protects us both. At present it only deprives us of our livings, and that we submit to. When the laws become more se-

* That historian, speaking of the several claims at the coronation of Henry III. says; the earl of Chester carried the *curtana* before the king, "in signum quod comes est Palatii, & regem si oberret habeat de jure potestatem cohibendi, suo sibi scilicet Castrensi contubulario ministrante; et virga populum cum se inordinate ingereret subtrahente." P. 421.

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vere, we must shift as well as we can, and if we cannot live in this country, fly to another. A man should in such controversies as these not only look to the judgement of the present case, and of the great and good men of his own nation, but that of all ages and countries. Oaths always were, and I hope always will be, sacred among all nations and religions, and the doctrine of deposing kings and absolving subjects from their oaths, as it has formerly been condemned by Christians, so I hope to see it again. "He that sweareth to his hurt, and changeth it not," is the character of a good man in Psalm xv. He must not therefore break his oath because it is not his interest to keep it. And a whole nation can as ill dispense with their oaths as a single person, nor can 20,000 do it more than one. I give you here my present country thoughts: when I return to London, I shall consider your letter more fully. In the mean time, pray excuse your obliged friend and servant.

"Dear Sir,

Sept. 5, 1691.

"AS to our country, I will tell you what my present thoughts are. King William is only king *de facto*, nor would the present parliament recognize him as rightful king of England; therefore even they suppose the right in some other, which other must be king James; for in respect of queen Mary and her sister he must be rightful, since they have voluntarily quitted their right. If then the right be in king James, a law that obliges me to swear allegiance to him that has not the right to it, is an unjust law, and consequently not obligatory. Nor will I so far make myself a party in the injustice, as to transfer my allegiance by oath from a person who confessedly has a right to the crown (and consequently to my allegiance, for I think they are convertible) to one that confessedly has not the right. I do really take those laws which have been made since king William's coming to the crown to be good laws, since they are made by the whole legislative power, king, lords and commons (here you see I grant fairly what I can) and find that laws made under usurpers or kings *de facto* are of force if not repealed. Therefore king James has lost thus much by losing possession: he has lost the assistance of his people, for it would be treason and illegal to fight against king William, who has now the law on his side. Even those that wish well to king James can only wish him

restored in a peaceable manner, that is, by another act of parliament. So that according to my present thoughts (which perhaps are singular, for I have not yet consulted any of my dissenting brethren) you see I am not likely to give the government any disturbance; though I give them not my oath, which I think is due only to the rightful king. Now as the law will not suffer me to fight against king William, so neither will my oath or conscience suffer me to fight against king James; so that I think myself obliged to be neuter in the quarrel, just as I thought myself at the prince of Orange's invasion. My allegiance to the king would not suffer me to assist the prince, nor would my conscience suffer me to assist the king in wronging the prince.

" Dear Sir,

Sept. 8.

" **RIGHTFUL** has various acceptations. In the best and highest sense, *i. e.* according to the best and highest reason, the parliament have owned king William, otherwise they had never conferred the crown upon him. There is a second sense of *rightful*; *i. e.* what is done according to the custom of our ancestors in extraordinary cases, for the good of the community; and in this sense also is king William rightful. There is a third in relation to this matter, according to the ordinary course and common practice of succession by proximity of blood, which the written laws chiefly regard, and in this sense he is not rightful. The generality of the people for whom the oath is made; understanding rightful in this last sense, it was neither convenient nor prudent to insert that word in the oath. But had not he been rightful in the former and best acceptations of it, for me, he might be prince of Orange still.

" If right to my allegiance and right to the crown be convertible, then it is plain the parliament suppose he has a right to the crown. For they own our allegiance is due to him by requiring us to promise it by oath. The best way of arguing is from what they have done, not from what they have not done. They know best their reason for not putting in *rightful*. But, I can assure you, this matter was never put to the vote in the house. It was my lord Caermarthen in private committee for the forming the oaths excluded it. But I confess to you, I do not think right to the crown and right to my allegiance is convertible, and I have the *jus gentium* on my side; all nations having ever paid their allegiance to the conqueror or possessor,

possessor, even when the right was manifestly in another. The very notion of allegiance justifies what I affirm. *Allegiance is that fidelity and obedience which is necessary to be paid by every subject to the chief governor or governors, that they may be able to defend the society.* Now the defence of the society being the sole ground (and measure too) of our obedience and fidelity to our chief governor, it is plain that it is due to him, and to him only, that can and does defend the society. He that is in possession only accomplishes the end, and consequently the means subservient to that end is only due to him. So far is the law that gives our allegiance to the possessor from being unjust.

“Where your allegiance is due, there your oath is due if required; and where your oath is due, there your allegiance is due. I cannot possibly conceive how your allegiance should be due to king James, and not your assistance; for assistance, which is given several ways, is the principal branch of allegiance. Allegiance, you will grant, includes obedience; and is there any obedience that does not assist when required, or indeed expected, in the way that it is proper for the person to assist? He that does not regard the law, because it is unjust, as he says, in one case, has no reason to regard it in another, when it is unjust in both or in none.

“You say your conscience would not suffer you, when time was, to assist king James against the prince; *i. e.* it was your judgement that you ought not, as things stood, to assist him, which is to say you owed no allegiance in that case; for allegiance always includes assistance. If your allegiance may upon good reason cease for a day, upon good reason likewise it may cease for ever. He that thinks he ought not to support the injustice and oppression of his country at one time, ought not to do it at any time. I am sure, he that oweth king James no assistance, oweth him no allegiance. And if you are free from the matter and design of the oath, which is assistance, then are you free from the oath itself. Allegiance is an active thing, and the oath of allegiance is not designed for an empty recognition of title, but for the production of real effects: and you thought so in your second letter, when you said the subject by transferring his allegiance contributed to the injustice, by making it impossible for the king to recover his right.

“When king James is restored by parliament (which God forbid) he shall have my allegiance also; but not because it is now due, but because
then

then he will be the actual governour, and in a capacity to answer all the ends of it.

“ Laws that are not made by a just authority, though we use to submit to them for convenience, are not in their own nature binding; and when I thought the breach of them to be for my interest, without prejudicing my country, I would not value them. You see then he that thinks allegiance to be still due to king James, cannot by his principles give the government any security he will not disturb it. I think nothing more absurd than that a man should be obliged to assist neither king William nor James. For that is to say he is a *nege* subject to neither. The laws and reasons for king William against king James do oblige, or they do not oblige; if they oblige, then must you assist king William; if they do not oblige, then is your allegiance still due to king James in its full extent.

“ I wish, when you write, you would let it be your full persuasion upon mature deliberation, for what you sent last does not seem to be so.

“ Now, Sir, I shall answer your former letter, and that more deliberately. If you will rightly weigh the matter, it is not only a little temporal concern that pleads for your taking the oaths. For pardon my plain dealing; you are chargeable with disobedience * (A) to the powers that be † (B) with depriving your country (for which we are all in a great measure made) of the good you may do in your present station, or in the ministry; and with the making or strengthening a party against the public establishment, to the great prejudice of church and state; besides the injury to yourself and family, which an honest man ought not to prejudice but upon very good grounds. All this, I say, you are chargeable with, if the taking the oaths be not manifestly sinful. For the danger or fear of its being so is not sufficient to justify the neglect of any duty, and an opposition to a public establishment and the benefits of it. The Dissenters have been often told by us, in answer to their scruples and fears of the sinfulness of our communion, that nothing less than the apparent sinfulness of it can justify their separation from an otherwise evident duty. So say I, nothing less (I fear) than the apparent sinfulness of compliance with the present government can justify disobedience to it. A faction in the state is as conscientiously to be avoided as a schism in the church. You see then there lies a necessity on you to examine these new oaths till you discern a

* See argument A, p. 646.

† See B, *ibidem*.

plain sinfulness in them. But if, after all your labour, you cannot discover it, then you are obliged to take them.

“ But, you will say, whatever the oaths are in themselves, the taking them is plainly sinful to you ; since you doubt of their lawfulness, and the taking them *dubitante conscientia* is a heinous crime. Besides, reason tells you that *in dubiis pars tutior* is to be followed, which is, to part with a little temporal concern, to avoid the danger of so great a sin as perjury.

“ That you may have full satisfaction for ever in these points, let me beg of you to read Dr. Sharpe of a doubting conscience ; it is amongst the London ministers treatises against the Non-conformists. He proves clearly that prudent and pious men neither do nor ought to bring themselves under temporal inconveniences for the avoiding the danger of finning. Read especially from p. 8 to p. 14 ; when, after a serious consideration of any matter, they cannot discern it to be plainly sinful, though they may have some fears and scruples it may be so.

“ Our great casuist Dr. Sanderfon forbid indeed the taking the engagement with a doubting conscience ; *i. e.* says he, *before you are persuaded in your judgment, upon probable grounds of reason, that it is lawful for you to do so* : take notice, *persuaded upon some probable ground of reason* : that wise man knew that demonstrations are not to be expected neither in politics nor in morals, as Arle has observed before him (C) * ; and that a persuasion built upon greater reason on one side is sufficient to justify our determination to that, though there be still *formido oppositi*, doubts and scruples on the other ; provided we have in our minds weighed both sides impartially.

“ The same great man says, in his *de Juramenti Obligatione*, Prælect. 3. sect. 17. which comes close to our point, that by our oaths to our kings we are bound to defend all their known and certain privileges and pre-eminences, but not those that are *dubii & controversi juris*. He did not think it reasonable to say, we must defend them also in the *dubia jura*, for fear of perjury, and yet this was the *pars tutior*.

“ Our oaths bind us then, in this learned casuist's judgement, only to the *res certas & perspicuas*, not to the *res dubias & obscuras*. Let us now consider what are the *res certæ* in our old oaths. 1st, The recognition of the king's title ; 2dly, the disowning all foreign power, pope, or church of Rome ; 3dly, the not conspiring with or assisting them against him ; 4thly, I will throw in all the general duties included in our natural allegiance, I

* Towards the end of his discourse about the engagement. See C, p. 646.

will

will throw them in, I say; for the occasion of the oaths was particular, and the few general words seem to be restrained by the foregoing or subsequent, and therefore it is no easy matter to prove they contain the natural duty of a subject. However, I grant this.

“ But is this plain from the words, that whatever the king does, or whatever happens, I must always adhere to and obey him as my king, though he be ejected through the providence of God by a foreign power, though ejected for his great faults, though the government be settled in another by the three estates (who affirm anciently that, in so doing, they do but what *in consimilibus casibus de antiquâ consuetudine dicti regni observatum fuit*, Decem Scriptores, p. 27, 56.); though there is no likelihood of restoring him, though it cannot be done without great mischiefs to my country, my religion, and perhaps to the liberties of all Europe? Would any parliament have extended the oaths to these cases, or would any honest man have taken them when distinctly so extended?

“ But if these particulars are not plain in the words, will reason, will the law of God, will the law of the land, ascertain our allegiance to be due to king James in these and the like cases? Reason will prefer the good of the community before that of a single man, especially of one already very false to his trust. The word of God is for the powers that be, and the law of the land is on the side of the possessor. What though there be objections under all these heads; are they such as will out-weigh all that can be said on the other side? as will convince a man's judgement? If not, then is it doubtful whether in these cases allegiance be due to king James. And then, according to Dr. Sanderfon, the old laws do not reach them. The probabilities then of a reason, the conveniences and inconveniences both private and public on both sides, must determine to whom it is fit and reasonable to pay my allegiance. This is the judicious Dr. Sharpe's rule; whereas that of the safer side may miserably cheat a man.

“ But to make it manifest that the probabilities of reason are much the greater on one side, be pleased to know that bishop Sanderfon, who so much studied the point of oaths, and laboured as much as possible to serve the king in his *de Juramenti Obligatione*, in his second Prælect. sect. 8, 9, 10, has told us, that there is a rigid, a favourable, and a just and equitable interpretation, and that the last is to be observed in all oaths, which is very well worth your reading. As by a loose interpretation we open a

door to irreligion and perjury : so by a rigorous one in this case we promote tyranny and oppression. The just and equitable interpretation, Sanderson tells you, does allow all reasonable conditions, though not expressed, and without these the oath does not bind, as you may see also lecture 7. sect. 7. I confess, he says, that oaths relating to the privileges and rights of superiors are in their interpretations to incline rather to the strict than to the benign interpretation. But it must be considered that these oaths were made also for the good state of the realm (see the act) ; and then it would be odd to interpret them strictly and rigorously in the behalf of the prince against the subject.

“ If any oath does admit *benignam interpretationem*, I am confident that those that are enjoined by parliament to prevent sedition and rebellions do require it, when the parliament itself and the community is oppressed and in great danger of ruin.

“ As for what you say, that oaths are sacred things, that the Psalmist's good man will not break them, and that perjury is not to be incurred for the greatest temporal advantage (for as for the danger of it Dr. Sharpe will satisfy you) ; not only I, but every man that has any tolerable sense of religion, will agree with you in every one of these particulars.

“ But to speak to your text out of Psalm xv. It is not plain that I am sworn to king James ; the oath in an equitable interpretation not reaching the present case ; nor has king James any reason to insist on it as the present circumstances are ; nor ought you to oblige me by my oath to hurt my neighbours, or my country, how rigorous soever I might be otherwise to myself. There is a great deal of difference between a private oath relating to my own concerns, of which I am master ; and a public, which was made for the good of the public, and therefore ought in no wise to be strained to the prejudice of the same.

“ The deposing doctrine has, upon great oppression, been maintained by Lutherans, Calvinists, and Papists ; by all but the church of England, who have always had the king on her side till of late, and yet even she hath often approved it in the Low Countries in queen Elizabeth's days, as you have often read. Nay, our most judicious advocate for loyalty of late years has in some cases allowed it. See Falkner's *Christian Loyalty*, chap. last. As for deposing for miscarriages in government and small mal-administrations, this has been condemned in all ages, countries, and churches, and I hope ever will.

“ The

"The law truly protects no man; it is the magistrates made by the king, and the king's sword, that protects us all from injustice and violence.

"That deposing in some cases is agreeable to the laws of the land, besides what I have formerly said, let me add what I have read and heard of judge Vaughan, and the lord keeper Bridgman, in relation to the declaration, that *it is not lawful upon any pretence, &c.* Vaughan, who perhaps was the greatest man of his profession since the Restoration, this learned lawyer was an old cavalier, and would not appear at the bar before any of Oliver's judges, so great was his loyalty: he was a member of that parliament that made the declaration, and he opposed the passing of it, saying "it was at once to give up the *magna charta*, and all the liberties of "England, which had cost our ancestors so much blood;" and the house being moved by his arguments, a great man replied, "by *commissioned* is "always implied *lawfully commissioned*;" which gave some satisfaction, and so it passed. Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord chief justice in 1662, being acquainted that some dissenting ministers would conform but for the declaration, which they thought of dangerous consequence, and against the antient constitution; he replied, "that by *commission* was always understood "lawfully commissioned." So then in some cases there may be resistance in the sense of that *tantum* parliament; and if a resistance may be lawful, a deposing will sometimes be an absolute necessary consequence.

"The affection that men are bred up with towards the memory of king Charles the First, and the abhorrence of the parliament of 1641, does extremely prejudice men for kings, and against parliaments; but both extremes are to be carefully shunned. I do verily believe that bishop Sanderson, had he lived in our days, would not have scrupled our new oath; many of his principles that run through his writings make me think so. The case now and then is vastly different.

"To come towards a conclusion, you see all my arguments tend to shew either that king William is rightful king, and that if he were not, yet allegiance is due to him as the possessor; and I have not met with any objection that makes me in the least wavering in my thoughts, but if my arguments lay together under their respective heads, they would appear much more strong.

"(A)

“(A) For he that owes no allegiance to king James must be disobedient in his heart to king William; and that is likely to produce a real disobedience when an opportunity offers.

“(B) That is, to the ordinance of God, if the wonderful success and preservation of king William, if the general consent of the nation, and if the actual possession of the crown (any one of which in several great men’s opinions is a good argument of God’s approbation); if all these concurring may be sufficient to justify so sacred a title.

“(C) It is a saying of Jamblichus, that *demonstrations are not to be expected in matters concerning God and divine things*; and with as little reason would it be expected in morals or politics, things depending upon so many various circumstances.

“Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth had no right but what the parliament gave them; and if they then, notwithstanding the oath of supremacy with obedience to heirs and lawful successors, could do this, I think upon far greater reason may our parliament do the same now; but I will neither tire you nor myself further. Yours affectionately,

R. BLECHYNDEN.”

“If that will do you any service, you may see an act of recognition of king William and queen Mary’s title, that they were, are, and ought to be, of right king and queen, &c. Had I recollected it at the beginning, I might have spared my argument.

“Ought any man in prudence to run upon certain inconveniences to both the public and himself, for the avoiding an uncertain sin (for the bare danger of perjury is so), which here it is very probable (to me certain) is none at all?

“I thank you for your so speedy visiting my uncle. Dr. Smith has twenty shillings of mine, which he pleased to take of him.”

“Dear Mr. BLECHYNDEN,

Sept. 16, —91.

“SINCE you recommend some authors to my reading, let me recommend one to yours, a truly honest man, who had no other design but teaching Christians their duty, I mean the incomparable author of the *Whole Duty of Man*: partition xiv. sect. 2. he tells you that *the civil parent*

rent is he whom God hath established the supreme magistrate, who by a just right possesses the throne in a nation. So that he supposes bare possession cannot give right, nor is he set over us by God that ascends the throne by injustice: some distinction must be made between God's permission and his providence. Especially read the fifth section, which he concludes thus: *it may suffice subjects to know, that whatsoever the king's duty is, he is accountable to none but God, and no failing of his part can warrant them to fail of theirs.* This man did not write either to get a bishopric or to save one, but purely what the spirit of Christianity prompted him to. Whatever schism we may now make in the state, it is those that are of another opinion that separate from the church of England till she has solemnly condemned her homilies against rebellion. It would be very convenient likewise the university of Oxford should reverse her decree of July 21, 1683, wherein she has solemnly condemned all these propositions as seditious, impious and heretical, &c. repugnant to the holy scriptures, decrees of councils, writings of fathers, the faith and profession of the primitive church, &c. by which this revolution is justified. Now I think the honour of religion in general, and the reputation of the church of England in particular, is far more considerable than the outward security or appendages of either. She ought to be one and the same, let there be what changes there will in the state. It is enough to make all men Hobbists, and to question whether there be any such thing as right or wrong, truth or falsehood, if churchmen can thus change their opinions with the wind, and that not only singly, but in such illustrious bodies. It is true, the sons of the church of England (by their general defection) have brought an indelible scandal upon her; and it is not to be wiped off by the constancy of a small party. But yet it is glorious to see an archbishop quitting the honour and profits of his station, rather than quit the obligation of an oath to an emperor. And yet herein he injures not his country, but adheres firm to her constitutions, which is certainly the best way to secure her. It was, I own, out of respect to her safety that the oath was enjoined. The altering them may serve a present turn, but no man knows what civil wars, desolations, and miseries, we have cut out for posterity. King Charles II. with his prerogative at the highest, supported with the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, had much ado to keep us from those civil wars we had so lately smarted under. Non-resistance upon any pretence whatever is a plain

plain rule that exposes us only to the inconveniencies of tyranny: but if every man must be the judge of the actions of his prince, and quit his allegiance whenever he thinks the coronation oath broken, there can be no such thing as peace; and if I were to chuse, I had rather suffer injuries from my king than from my fellow-subjects. It is not enough for you to say they must not be small mal-administrations that will justify a rebellion: for every man herein will be his own judge. Self-preservation is the first thing nature teaches us; and if oaths will not tie up our hands, whenever I think the king injures me, he ceases to protect me, and consequently my allegiance ceases, and I am to take the best care I can of myself. People may, if they have a mind to it, argue themselves out of all their duty; and, as Dr. Scott observes (*History of Passive Obedience*, p. 105), *drunkenness, whoredom, or perjury, may as well be defended, as resistance against lawful authority*. If it be a great and eternal truth, that subjects may resist their sovereign when their religion and rights are invaded, it had been proper for Dr. Tillotson to have declared as much to my lord Russell, that he might have had the satisfaction of dying a martyr for it; and not have told him, as he did in his famous letter, that he left the world in a delusion and false peace to the hindrance of his eternal happiness. It had been proper to have asserted these great truths when poor Johnson suffered for them: and not to give the world occasion to say we are guided wholly by interest. As for bishop Sanderfon, I think he is of our side, if he be quoted right (*de Conscient. prælect. 5. p. 183. l. 2.*) *Proinde regni invasori sic præstandum est obsequium, ut fidelitas legitimo hæredi debita nullatenus violetur, nec aliquid fiat in juris sui præjudicium*. This is agreeable to my sentiments, there is an *obsequium* to be paid to the king in possession, but very different from the allegiance that is due to the true heir. An unlawful government is better than none at all; and I will defend that against the enemies of all government, but I will not defend it against the rightful king. I wonder you should conclude your letter, that you are so fixed in your opinion that allegiance is due to the king in possession, that no objection against it can make you waver. A person that by an unjust war gets a kingdom is a king in possession: and yet at the end of your second letter you suppose he has no right, for there you say he ought to restore it to the former king, but no man is obliged to give away his right. Upon which I urge, that, if it be unjust in the usurper to detain what be-

longs to another, it is unjust in the subject to abet and assist him in that unjust detention, and therefore he cannot promise allegiance exclusive of the rightful king. If allegiance be due only to him that protects, allegiance was due to Oliver Cromwell; and bishop Sanderfon disobeyed the powers that were, and consequently sinned by refusing the engagement. And the behaviour of all honest men in those times may serve as an instance against your *jus gentium*, that allegiance has not always been paid to the possessor. And I question not but in all conquered towns and countries there have been a party that have thought themselves obliged to stick by their rightful prince, though perhaps the majority have been swayed by interest. And therefore in new conquests there is greater confidence put in garrisons and citadels than in the allegiance of the new subjects. Therefore I stick to my proposition, that a right to the crown and a right to my allegiance are convertible, and unless the former can be made out, I can never give the latter. As to your first sense of rightful, that the parliament have declared king William so: supposing his parliament had that authority, which now I am satisfied they have not; yet they cannot give right where there is none, or make me own the right is, where I know it is not. As to your second, the custom of our ancestors; you know the common law of England may be altered by statutes, and unless the process has been agreeable to our present constitution, it is illegal. So that there remains only the third according to the ordinary course and common practice of succession by proximity of blood, which the written laws chiefly regard: and here you suppose that the generality of people would not own king William in that sense; and for that reason the word *rightful* was left out of the oath. This indeed is the right that I own in king James, and I think there can be no dispute between the competitors. And if our laws were as plain that a king should forfeit this right when he was lawfully convinced of mal-administration; as they are that a subject shall forfeit his inheritance for treason, I would refuse allegiance to king James upon such a legal process, notwithstanding my oath. If you think yet there is any hopes of me, sum up in your next in as small a compass as you can (if you please syllogistically) what you have hitherto said, or have further to say, against king James's right; for unless that be destroyed, I must stick to my allegiance.

Fragments of Mr. AMBROSE BONWICKE, relating to the same Controversy.

Whoever has a right to the crown, has a right to govern.

Whoever has a right to govern, has a right to govern those that ought to be his subjects.

Those that ought to be the subjects of one man, ought not to swear they will be the subjects of another.

“ In our last dispute, you affirmed that a king in possession is rightful king: and you grounded your assertion on the laws of England, and my lord Coke’s interpretation of them. To which I object, that certainly no law ought to be interpreted contrary to the intention of the law-giver; that it could never be the intention of the king or parliament of England to encourage an invader; that to say whoever is in possession of the crown of England is rightful king of England, is a great encouragement to an invader.

“ There are several acts of parliament made to establish the right of the Lancastrian line.

“ A rule of law which saith, *jura sanguinis nullo jure civili dirimi possunt*. Speed in Henry IV.

“ Anno 7 Henrici IV. cap. 2. The realms of England and France entailed to the king and his four sons by name.

“ Anno 39 Hen. VI. A.D. 1460, cap. 1. A parliament holden at Coventry, 20 die Novembris, anno 38 Hen. VI. shall be repealed; and all acts, statutes, and ordinances, made by the authority of the same parliament, shall be repealed, because the parliament was unlawfully summoned and holden, and the knights and burgessees not duly chosen.

“ Anno 1 E. IV. cap. 1. Henry IV. V. VI. late kings of England in deed and not of right.

“ In any of the times of the pretended reigns of any of the said late kings in deed and not in right. — In the time of any king lawfully reigning in his realm, obtaining the crown of the same by just title. In the times of the noble king Edward III. and Richard II. late lawful kings of England.

“ And

“ And also that all manner of acts and ordinances, made by authority of any parliament or parliaments holden in the time of any of the said late pretended kings, for the conservation and keeping of the town of Shrewsbury, &c. shall be of like force and effect, as if the same acts or ordinances, and every of them, were made in the time of any king or kings lawfully reigning in this realm, and obtaining the crown of the same by just title.

“ Also whereas the said late pretended king Henry IV. in deed and not of right king of this realm,—the twenty-fourth year of his usurped reign &c.

“ Anno 17 Ed. IV. and A. D. 1477, cap. 7. A repeal of a parliament holden anno 9 Ed. IV. and anno 39 Hen. VI. and of all the acts therein made, and of their exemplifications.

“ Anno 1 Hen. VII. cap. 6. A pardon granted to all them who assisted the king in wars against Richard duke of Gloucester.

“ Anno 11 Hen. VII. cap. 1. None that attend upon the king, and do him true service, shall be attainted or forfeit any thing.

“ The king our sovereign lord, calling to his remembrance the duty of allegiance of his subjects of this his realm, and that they by reason of the same are bound to serve their prince and sovereign lord for the time being in his wars, for the defence of him and the land, against every rebellion, &c.—and that for the same service what fortune ever fall by chance in the same battle against the mind and will of the prince (as in this land some time past hath been seen) that it is not reasonable, but against all laws, reason and good conscience, that the said subjects—any thing should lose or forfeit for doing their true duty and service of allegiance: it be therefore ordained, &c. be in no wise convict or attain—by act of parliament, or &c. And if any act or acts, made contrary to this ordinance, that then that act &c. stand and be utterly void. Provided alway that no person or persons shall take any benefit or advantage by this act, which shall hereafter decline from his or their said allegiance.

“ Cap. 18, in marg. He that will not go in person with the king in his wars, when he is in person, shall lose his office, &c. granted by the king, certain persons excepted. Anno 19 C. I.

“ Psalm xix. 62. *O trust not in wrong and robbery.* Q. Katherine the widow of king Henry V. and mother of Henry VI. secretly marries Owen ap Theodore or Tudor, the most noble and most goodly gentleman

of all the Welsh nation, and endued with admirable virtues, who drew his descent from holy Cadwallader, last king of the Britains. To whom she bare three sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen, and a daughter who lived not long. Owen took the habit of religion at Westminster, the other two by king Henry VI. (their half brother) were honourably preferred. The first of them was created earl of Richmond, the other of Pembroke. This Edmund is he who by Margaret the sole heir of John Beaufort duke of Somerset (grand-child to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster), had Henry VII. the only heir of the house of Lancaster. Speed, pages 661 and 671.

“ To the actual possession and exercise of his undoubted hereditary sovereign and royal authority, 12 Car. II. cap. 14.

“ This is repeated to shew the vile spirit of these great men, that could destroy so many royal persons — who had offended nobody. Patrick on 2 Kings x. 6. Jehu’s zeal for the Lord exceeded its bounds; for he ought not to have taken any indirect course to fulfil his will — God does not stand in need of any man’s sin to compass his ends. Idem, ver. 18. Prov. xxiv. 11. See Patrick’s Paraphrase; and Whole Duty of Man, p. 344.

“ For first, notwithstanding what you have said, I have great reason to think that that act of parliament, as it is called, by which the Prince of Wales is at present postponed (for I know no act, or pretended act, by which he is excluded, if he becomes a Protestant, as by the grace of God he may very well) is no good law, from the great defects in the legislative power by which it is was made; for, first, king William being only king *de facto* and not *de jure*, I can never think a law made by him as obligatory as one made by a lawful king; and this, anno 1 Edw. IV. cap. 1. is taken for granted, where it is said that all manner of acts and ordinances made by authority of any parliament or parliaments holden in the time of any of the said late pretended kings, for the conservation and keeping of the town of Shrewsbury, &c. shall be of like force and effect, as if the same acts or ordinances, and every of them, were made in the time of any king or kings lawfully reigning in this realm, and obtaining the crown of the same by just title. And, secondly, there was a great defect in that parliament, which was only an assembly summoned by the Prince of Orange’s circular letter, which certainly could be no more a parliament than that of 12 Car. II. which in 13 cap. 15, is called an assembly, and not

of a parliament; and several acts of that assembly, though of necessary use, were not thought to have the force and strength of acts of parliament till they were confirmed by the next parliament.

“ But, secondly, supposing this law were never so good, it is a great question whether it can extinguish what in the first of king James I. cap. 1. is called “inherent birth-right.” And Speed tells us, in his Henry VI. that then they had a rule of law which saith, *jura sanguinis nullo jure civili dirimi possunt*. And accordingly Richard duke of York put in his claim to the crown, notwithstanding several acts of parliament made to establish the right of the Lancastrian line: and his title was owned to be good. In like manner we are now asserting the right of Charles III. to the crown of Spain, in opposition to all the settlements the Spaniards have made or can make of it upon the house of Bourbon. I must confess, if Philip V. be only a pretended king, there is one of those defects in the Spanish settlement as well as in that of the house of Lancaster, which in the former paragraph I observed was in ours: but I have one instance yet, which seems to be above all objection, and would make one believe, that proximity of blood in an ancient hereditary monarch comes very near a natural right to the crown, which you yourself own ought not by any law to be invaded or violated: and that is, her majesty’s title to the crown of France, which is directly against an ancient law of that kingdom yet in force, besides all the laws that have been since made for the confirming the right of their kings. I can see no other reason for the first claim of Edward the Third, and her present majesty’s continuance of it, than such a natural right as no law can extinguish. And I question not but upon the first claim it was offered to be proved, that that limitation of the succession to males by the Salic law was a breach of a law of nature, or violation of a natural right.

This I take to be the case.

“ There is a young man born at Madrid, and now living there, who never took any oath to king Charles the Second, and his heirs, but is now called upon to swear allegiance to Philip the Fifth, though the right be in Charles the Third. The partisans of Philip plead, that though the right was in Charles, yet Philip is in possession, and the whole legislative power of Spain have recognized king Philip’s title to the crown, and settled it on him and his heirs, with a further limitation of it to the children
of

of Anne of Austria (the mother of the present French king, and the duke of Orleans deceased), in case there should want an heir of Maria Theresa the Dauphin's mother; so that, whatever right Charles had before, he has now no right or title whatsoever to the crown of Spain.

“ To which I answer, that the right having been in Charles at Philip's accession to the throne; he was then at least an usurper: and it is not reasonable to think that any laws, that he and his partisans can afterward make, should alter the case, and extinguish the right of Charles, or make Philip cease to be an usurper. It is plain here in England we are of another opinion, and think all the laws, that ever were or can be made in France, cannot extinguish the right and title of our kings and queens to that crown. But if such an unreasonable thing should be granted, that a law, made by Philip the king in possession, is to all intents and purposes, even in the present case, as good as if it was made by a king lawfully reigning in Spain, and obtaining the crown of the same by a just title, yet I say such a law is unrighteous, and therefore null in the sight of God and all good men. For certainly it is great injustice to deprive an innocent prince of his right: and in those two laws before mentioned, the one for settling the succession of the crown of Spain, and the other for the further limitation of it, by which the said Charles is deprived, upon which they ground their declaration of his not having any right or title whatsoever to the crown of Spain, or any other the dominions thereto belonging, they are so far from laying any crime to his charge, that they do not, as far as I can understand, so much as mention him, or any other of the house of Austria that stands excluded by those laws. If they object, that he is a favourer of Heretics, and therefore is justly deprived because he makes use of the assistance of Protestants for the recovery of his rights; this is not his crime, but theirs, who by their disloyalty have reduced him to that necessity. And, if it be unjust to punish a person for no fault of his own, it is surely no less so to punish him for the faults of others, and even of those who inflict the punishment.

“ Upon the whole, I cannot see how this young man can, with a safe conscience, take the oath required, though he be not under the obligation of any former oath: for, by swearing allegiance to Philip, he solemnly obliges himself to support his usurpation, and to hinder the injured Charles, as much as in him lies, from ever recovering his right; by which the iniquity of the said oath is, I think, sufficiently manifest.”

ABRIDGE.

ABRIDGEMENT, by Mr. BOWYER, of
M. PHIL. ROHR'S *Pictor Errans*.

Painters err; I. In representing the Creator as an old man, the "Ancient of days" of Dan. vii. 9, censured by Augustin, Ep. cxxii.

II. In painting the serpent which tempted Eve without feet; whereas his creeping on his belly was inflicted on him as a punishment. See Pole's Synops. in Gen. iii. 1:4.

III. Many of them place one angel with a drawn sword as a guard to Paradise, when man was expelled from it, Gen. iii. when the text says there were more, *Cberubim*, plural. See Pole.

IV. Falsely make Noah's ark a square house placed on a round ship; whereas the ark itself was more probably round.

V. Misled by the Vulgate, they represent Abraham with a sword in his hand, when he was to sacrifice Isaac, instead of a sacrificing knife, as the Hebrew expresses it, Gen. xx. 10, with which he afterwards slew the ram. See Piscator in loc. Pole's Synops. &c.

VI. Falsely represent Isaac kneeling before the pile of wood, with his face towards it; whereas, as the Hebrew word means, his *hands* were tied to his feet backwards, and he was laid on the pile, with his face upwards, as the sacrifice used to be.

VII. Without any authority from Scripture, Exod. xii. 12, &c. represents the Israelites eating the Paschal Lamb at their going out of Egypt standing. The Scripture is silent as to the posture, whether it was sitting or standing. See Schmidius on Matth. xxvii.

VIII. Exod. xxxiv. 29. The Vulgate renders *quoniam cornuta esset facies sua**; whence the painters have represented Moses with horns coming out of his head. But the Hebrew word denotes the glory that shone in his face, as the LXX have rightly rendered it, *δεδοξασται το προσωπον αυτου*.

IX. In Canticles, i. 4. the Vulgate reads, *Trabe me: post se currinus in odorum unguentorum tuorum*; which Hermannus Hugo having translated in his Emblems, lib. ii. emblem 8, has obliged his painter to represent the bridegroom going before with a censer of frankincense, of which there is

* The margin of the quarto edition has *splendens*. Edit.

not a word in the Hebrew, nor in any approved version, the Hebrew having only *Trabe me post se*.

X. Isaiah is painted as fawn asunder from the head through the body, of which we have no sufficient authority. But as this has been believed by many of the Fathers, we will let it pass as dubious.

XI. Cornelius à Lapide says, that in an ancient Ms. of Basilii Porphyrogenitus the prophet Daniel is painted as *beheaded*; against the authority of all history, which tells us that he died a *natural death*, Dan. xii. 13. Josephus, Hist. x. 12. The report of his being beheaded is *portentum fabulæ & puerile delirium*, says Reinesius, Var. Lect. lib. ii. c. 13.

XII. The painting rays of glory round the heads of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Apostles, is an universal custom, taken up without any sufficient foundation.

XIII. John the Evangelist is painted young while writing his Gospel, which he wrote, as some suppose, at ninety years of age; but all agree, when he was very old.

XIV. To ridicule the Christians, some one represented a person in a gown, with asses ears, and one foot hoofed, holding a book in his hand, with these words underneath, *Deus Christianorum Ononchysis*. "This was" that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of "Zibeon his father." What was said of Anah, they ascribed to Moses; and afterwards from the Jews to the Christians, as Selden tells us, De Diis Syntag. II. Voss. de Idol. lib. iii. c. 75.

XV. Without any authority or reason, they represent Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, as an old man.

XVI. In the Virgin Mary's Conception, some represent Christ as an infant descending from heaven, bearing his cross in his hand; which, in picture, is the very sense of the Valentinian heresy.

XVII. In the pictures of the Nativity, an ox and an ass are represented feeding at the manger, which arose probably from the false translation of the LXX. Hab. iii. 2. *ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήs, in medio duorum animalium cognosceris*. Jerom, according to the Hebrew, renders *in medio animalium vivificas illud*. Vide Cas. c. Baron. Exerc. ii. § ii. From this, joined to Is. iii. 1. *the ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib*, arose the custom of placing these two animals as guests at that solemnity*.

* The ox and ass are introduced at the Nativity merely to shew that it happened in a stable. EDIT.

XVIII. The *Magi* who came to Christ are represented as Kings with crowns on their heads, and to have been three only in number, and one of them of a tawny complexion: for none of which circumstances we have any authority.

XIX. Simeon, Matt. ii. 25, is pictured in the habit of a priest, and blind, against all authority, as Bp. Montague observes, Orig. Eccl. part i. p. 161.

XX. Matt. iii. 4. Mark i. 8. John the Baptist is usually painted as a satyr, with the skin of a camel thrown over him. But he had probably a coarse vestment made of camel's hair, as Beza maintains, and Luther's version expresses it.

Matt. iv. 6. Our Saviour is represented as set by the devil on a sharp spire * of the Temple: but as the roofs of the Jewish houses were flat, surrounded with a parapet wall, so probably a parapet wall was carried round the Temple, for ornament's sake, as Grotius observes on Deut. xxii. 8.; and Christ probably was placed within-side of that wall.

XXI. The painters represent the houses of the Israelites with slant roofs, like our modern ones, directly contrary to the command given them, Deut. xxii. 18. Whence we often find mention made of walking on the battlements of their houses, 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26. 2 Sam. xi. 2. xvi. 22. See Matt. x. 22.

XXII. Luke xvi. 21. Lazarus is by some ill-represented, lying along in the *parlour* of the rich man, as if a man full of sores would be admitted within doors. By others he is represented lashed by the servants, while the dogs lick his sores, to whom he was grown familiar by his frequent coming thither. But he would hardly have come again, if he had been scourged away by the servants.

XXIII. Matt. xxi. 21. At Christ's procession into Jerusalem, boughs and the cloaths of the populace are represented strowed under the feet of the ass; but that, as Lightfoot observes, would rather have made the ass to stumble. It is probable, therefore, that they built small houses on the road-side with boughs, and covered them with their garments, as was usual on the feast of Tabernacles. Lightfoot, Hor. Hebraic. in Matth.

XXIV. Christ is represented *sitting* at table with his guests, the disciples, Matt. xxvi. 21. and John, like an infant, before him, in his bosom. But

* The original in Matt. iv. 5. and Luke iv. 9. is *εἰς τὸν πτερυγιον*, a battlement. EDIT.

the Jews, it is well known, like the Romans, used at this time to eat lying along, as appears from the words ἀνακλίσθαι, and κατὰ κλίεσθαι, used in the N. T. and from Lazarus being said to be carried to Abraham's bosom, Luke xvi. 12.

XXV. The bread which Christ broke with his disciples, Matt. xxvi. 26, is often represented as a piece of a great loaf. But the Jews used at their meals small loaves, or manchetts, as we find from the mention of breaking them so often mentioned, as Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark vi. 41. vii. 10, &c. and from the fragments which were left, Matt. xiv. 20. xv. 37.

XXVI. In the monastery of St. Mary Magdalen at Magdeburgh, Christ is represented lying down in a brook full of sharp stones. A conceit formed from John xviii. 1, *he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron*; and Psal. cx. 7, *he shall drink of the brook in the way*; which is no support for the painter's fancy.

XXVII. Some painters represent Christ scourged with rods, others with whongs, or scourges, Matt. xxvii. 26. Mark x. 26. Luke xii. 33. That the former are wrong is clear from the word, in the text φρασελλῶν, Matt. xxvii. 26. Mark xv. 26. and μαστιγῶν, Luke xviii. 33, which denote scourges, not rods. It is said that the Jews used only scourges, Buxtorf, Syn. Jud. c. xx. And though the Romans used rods, witness that form, *L. liſtor colliga manus, caput obnubito, VIRGIS CÆDITO*; yet this form was left off in time, *Cic. pro Rabirio Cos.* and scourging was introduced in later times. *Sciendum est, Pilatum Romanorum legibus judicium ministrasse, quibus sancitum erat, ut qui crucifigitur prius FLAGELLIS verberetur*, Rich. Montacut. Orig. Eccles. tom. I. part. post. p. 390, from Jerom. But this Artist does not seem to know that *flagellum* denoted a twig as well as *virga*.

In this scene of the scourging, two executioners are represented as performing the act; whereas, according to the Roman custom, only one was employed, as appears from the form before cited; and according to the Jewish likewise, as Buxtorf shews from the Mishna. According to which likewise the pillar to which the criminal was bound was only about a cubit and an half; not of that length in which it is usually painted.

XXVIII. Some represent Christ and Simon the Cyrenian both bearing the cross at once, expressly against the narration in Matt. xxvii. 32.

In

In some pictures the cross on which Christ is crucified is represented like a capital T, with the upright beam not projecting above the transverse; which, though it was the form of some crosses, was not so of our Saviour's, according to Justin Martyr; and see Lipsius, de Cruce.

Another mistake is committed when they represent the feet of Christ fastened to the cross with *one* nail only; *i. e.* with three nails in all, two through the hands, and one through the feet: whereas Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Nonnus in Paraphr. p. 230, ver. 37, expressly mention four nails. And the same method is attested by Plautus;

*Ego dabo ei talentum primus, qui in crucem excurrerit,
Sed ea lege, ut affigantur bis pedes, bis brachia.*

The two malefactors (ill called thieves), who were crucified with Christ, are represented generally with their hands and feet tied to the cross; but why their hands and feet should not be represented nailed likewise, no reason can be assigned. Nonnus is express, *κνήροις ἀνθρώποις*. See Montac. Orig. Eccles. tom. I. par. ii. p. m. 393.

A small feat was in the middle of the upright beam, as Justin Martyr likewise testifies; but is usually omitted by the painters of the Crucifixion.

The soldier who pierced the side of Christ is generally painted on horseback; contrary to the express testimony of John, an eye-witness of the fact, xix. 34, *ἃς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχη αὐτῷ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐνυξέ*. The word *στρατιώτης*, by itself, denotes only a foot-soldier, and the spear *λόγχη* was not the weapon of the horse. Justly therefore does Salmasius blame Xaverius the Jesuit for following this error in the History of Christ, published by Lud. de Dieu. See Salm. ep. ii. ad Bartholin. The former of these two reasons is a good one, but the latter not so; for in the latter times the horse used *λόγχη* as well as the foot: Josephus, *φέρουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιτεταμένοι πρὸς τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀσπίδα, — Οὐδενὶ δὲ ὅπλα διαλλάττειν οἱ περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπικρίνται* ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΑΛΑΙΣ ΊΠΠΕΩΝ. See Schelius in Hyginum, c. xii. p. m. 297.

XXIX. In the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 1, some painters represent the Virgin Mary in the midst of them; that she may, as Beza observes, appear the Queen of the Apostolical College.

Tongues in the shape of fire are likewise represented as *sitting* on the *heads* of the Apostles: but, according to Ursinus, Analect. lib. vi. c. 38. the fiery tongues were seen, *ωφθισαν*, in the *mouths* of the Apostles; and what is said to sit or *rest* upon them was the Holy Spirit, which immediately follows, according to the Hebrew construction [or rather the *fire*, which is just before mentioned]: *And tongues, as of fire, were seen distributed among them, and it [the fire] rested upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.* This, in my opinion, is so forced a construction, that I recommend to the painters to keep to their old copies.

XXX. Paul, at his conversion, is usually represented on horseback, and falling from his *horse* at the heavenly vision, Acts ix. 2. But it is more probable he was travelling on foot, otherwise his sudden fall from a horse would have endangered his life. His companions, it is said, stood *speechless*, ver. 7; and ver. 8, that *they led him by the hand*. Had he been on horseback, they would more probably have set him on his horse again.

XXXI. Painters represent Christ prostrate before the Father, supplicating for our salvation; whereas the Scripture represents him as sitting on the right hand of the Father. See Rom. viii. 26. 1 John ii. 1.

XXXII. Why Death is usually painted like a skeleton, with an hour-glass and a scythe, we know not. It is not the figure of Death in the Apocalypse, c. vi. 8, or of Death among the ancients, which was that of a beast with large teeth and crooked nails.

XXXIII. Christ coming to judge the world is represented sitting on a rainbow; taken no doubt from Apocalypse iv. 3. Compare with Matt. xxv. 31. But it cannot be Christ who sits on the throne in the Revelations; for he is represented by the Lamb, cap. v. 7, as all commentators agree.

XXXIV. The woman who washed the feet of Jesus with her hair, Luke vii. 38, is represented *falling down* at his feet, when the text says, she stood at his feet.

XXXV. The sons of Zebedee are represented as children.

By permission of Dr. OWEN, we have subjoined the Letter of Professor OCKLEY to Mr. WOTTON, on the confusion of tongues, &c. and construction of Eastern languages, mentioned in the "Anecdotes of Mr. BOWYER," p. 226, in a note.

To Mr. WOTTON.

REVEREND SIR,

YOU do me too much honour to think me worth consulting, especially after having received the opinions of so great men as my Lord Bishop of Carlisle and the learned Mr. Reland; the mention of which names I should have thought a sufficient excuse for my not speaking one word; but only the sense of gratitude, which I have, engages me to do every thing which may possibly oblige you; and, besides, your not having all the books by you which our library affords, is, I confess, a very good reason why you should command your friend.

The contents of your Letter are of two sorts. In the one you mention your own hypothesis with relation to the confusion of languages at the tower of Babel: in the other, you ask me some particular questions relating to the different circumstances of the Eastern languages.

As to the confusion of languages, the most learned Jews, I find, are very much divided in their opinions, which is a consideration not to be wholly neglected; because, it not being a religious controversy, it is evident that they speak according to the best of their judgements and traditions, unbiassed by any prejudice.

You know, Sir, that the best of the judgements of the Rabbins in this very polite and learned age pass for mere reveries; and indeed it must be confessed, that the best of them had a quite different way of writing from what is in use with us. However, you will give me leave to touch upon the opinions of two or three of them of the most eminent character.

I pass by the opinions of R. Bechai and Rabbi Levi Ben Gershon as trifling; the former will needs have it, that the builders of the tower having been sensible of the destruction of the world by water, did it to secure themselves from the future destruction of it by fire. The other excuses them from all manner of blame, and instead of making a judgement

of it, interprets it as a mercy, viz. *That if all mankind were to live in one place, some signal calamity, as fire, water, pestilence, or the like, might possibly be the cause of the extirpation of the whole race; whereas, if they were dispersed, it would not be so probable.*

The author of the comment called Chizkuni hath, according to the Jewish traditions, made a greater miracle of the people before the dispersion than could be possibly in the dispersion itself: for he interprets these words, *so that one man shall not understand another*, thus: * *Every one should forget every language but one; so that what this understood, the other should not: now all of them understood seventy languages, and we must not interpret it as if at this time seventy new tongues were created, they were not all new.* This notion of the seventy languages is manifestly taken from the division of the branches of the families of Japhet, Ham, and Shem, in the chapter before, which amount to just seventy: and the Jews are so fond of this notion, that they will needs have every person of their Sanhedrin to have understood seventy languages as a necessary qualification, that he might not be beholden to an interpreter in the hearing causes and examining witnesses. But enough of this; for it is plain, that those Rabbins were never at the pains of learning any other language than their own, or else they would never have talked after that manner.

Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezrah and R. Solomon Jarchi roundly affirm, that the שפה אחת, *one lip*, was the Hebrew tongue. Which notion seems not to be built upon any certain foundation, notwithstanding the great pains that have been taken to make it good. The Rabbins say that out of prejudice in favour of their own language, and they would have done the same if it had been Dutch. The Syro-Chaldeans do the same on the other side; and, I believe, whosoever impartially reads the preface of that learned Maronite, George Amira, who first printed the Syriac grammar at Rome, will be of the same opinion with myself; that he hath at least (if not obtained an entire victory) made it a drawn battle between the antiquity of the Chaldee and Hebrew. R. Solomon Jarchi is of opinion, that דברים אחדים, *one speech*, signifies *one consent*; and some

* שכל אחד ואחד ישכח כל הלשונות ויהיה שמוע וזה לא ידע וזה אבל כלם
ביחודו שבעים לשון ואין לפדש שבאותו הזמן נבראו שבעים לשונות הדי אין כל
חדש:

are

are of opinion that those expressions, *one language*, and *of one speech* both used in the first verse of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, are synonymous expressions for the same meaning. If that meaning could be made out, then it is plain, that the confounding their language would be only confounding their design. The same Rabbi Solomon hath given a strange interpretation of these words, * *And they said one to another*; for he says, that it was each nation to each nation; viz. Mizraim spake to Cûsh, and Cûsh to Phût, and Phût to Chanaan. The same interpretation is in the Tanchuma or Jellammedenu. This interpretation directly interferes with our prolepsis by which we reconcile the immediately foregoing chapter with the present; for in the former we have the nations divided according to their several languages, and immediately after an account of this division of languages ascribed to the building of the tower of Babel; but be that how it will, we are not so much concerned for the reputation of Rabbi Solomon Jarchi.

Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, inferior in reputation to none of the Rabbins, is forced to come to an allegorical interpretation. His words run thus: † *The persons dispersed at Babel (according to our Rabbins) rebelled against their Creator. But those that follow the literal interpretation [are of opinion] that they meant nothing but only to form a society: alledging this reason, viz. that the scripture hath given an account of their meaning [in these words] lest we should be dispersed, without adding any thing else. If it be as they say, they [i. e. the builders of Babel] were fools; for how should one city and one tower contain all mankind? unless you will suppose, that they had no expectation of increasing and multiplying, and that the seed of the wicked shall be cut off; but whosoever understands the meaning of a name, will understand what they meant by what they said, let us make us a NAME.*

Now, Sir, I have laid before you the opinions of the most celebrated Rabbins that I had within my reach. You are pleased to give me liberty

* Ver. 3.

† ואנשי הפלנה על דברי רבותינו מורדים בבוראם ורודפי הפשט שלא היה דעתם אלא שיהיו יחד מחוברים כי הנד הכתוב דעתם פן נפוז ולא ספר עליהם ענן אחר: ואם כדבריהם יהיו מפשים כי איך תהיה עיר אחת ומגדל אחת מספיק לכל בניהעולם או שמא היו חושבים שלא יפרו ושלא יברו חרע רשעים יברת אבל הודע פירוש שם יבין כונתם ממה שאמרו ונעשה לנו שם:

to offer any objection which I should think material against your main design, which is to prove, *That the present differences of our languages can be accounted for no other way, than by the confusion of the tongues at Babel.* You know, Sir, it is not in my power to refuse you any thing; wherefore, to oblige you, and for argument's sake, I shall propose what seems to me most obvious and likely to be objected; and then proceed to answer, as well as I am able, your particular queries concerning the Oriental language.

Now as to the difference of languages; we must consider, that the first hint we had of it is from this present controverted text of scripture, Gen. xi. 1. Our interpretation of the text must result both from the literal meaning of it, and from what the nature of the thing will bear; for, unless both be had due regard to, all the interpreters in the world will allow, that there can be no accommodation between the common reading of the scripture and the common understanding of mankind.

As for the literal meaning, it is plain, that כּל־הָאָרֶץ, *Col-haaretz*, the whole earth, is used in so many places of scripture where it would be absurd to translate it so as to understand *all the world* or *all mankind* by it, that it is needless to produce the instances. From whence I conclude, that the universality of this confusion cannot be inferred from the literal interpretation of the words of the text.

The nature of the thing seems to offer a great many objections at first view: for if we consider mankind to have been in all ages the very same that it is at this present, their being all at once of the same mind will be a greater miracle than the confusion of languages itself. And if they were so at that time, I believe it is the first instance that can be produced since the creation; and the last that is to be expected till the resurrection. No question but there was such an undertaking: but then one may imagine it to have been like the going out of a swarm of bees, which never leaves the hive empty. And it is hard to suppose, that since they were under no despotic power to compel them, nor under any universal calamity (which was the case of the children of Israel, who, no doubt, came out of Ægypt unanimously) that there might not be some of them, who might have fixed their habitations nearer Mount Ararat where the ark rested, without any desire of rambling. And if there were any such, which is not much to be questioned, there is no need that the sacred historian should take notice of them; for I need not tell you, Sir, that there is nothing so common

common in the scripture, as the omission of a multitude of things, which must needs be supposed to have been done, and touching only upon the most eminent and remarkable; and that in such a general way of speaking, as must be understood only by acquainting one's self with it; for if we, instead of accommodating ourselves to their customs and manner of expression, shall screw it to our modern way, we shall cut out work for the reconcilers to the world's end.

But allowing for once that they might possibly have been all of one mind in this undertaking, give me leave to offer one argument to prove that they were not. Now I argue still upon the same difference of mankind as before: and as, if it had been a pious, or at least innocent, design, there would not have been wanting turbulent spirits to have opposed it (for that same accursed Cham, that ridiculed his father after the most beastly manner, would hardly have made any scruple of disobeying him); so, on the other side, as it was a wicked design, founded either upon the disbelief of the Divine Providence or defiance of his power, there were not wanting men of such singular uprightness (for Noah and Sem were both then alive) as would not only not have complied with any thing that expressed the least distrust in God, but, which all good men always do, have restrained all those that they had any influence upon from being concerned in any such undertaking.

From whence will follow, that all mankind were not engaged in that work, and consequently not all punished. But to proceed: I would ask again of Rabbi Levi Ben Gershom (the only interpreter that hath exempted them from blame) what need there was of any miracle at all to disperse them? None at all, most certainly. Which is an undeniable proof of its being a wicked design, and struck at by the divine vengeance at the very beginning; for that is undoubtedly the meaning of those words where God says, *and this they begin to do* *: whereas if it had been an innocent one, it must have fallen to pieces in a very little time. How long do you suppose that these builders could have subsisted upon the plains of Shinar? Ask any experienced officer in the army, and he will certainly tell you, that a fortnight's time must needs have starved them all. For allow what number soever of them you please to bring in provision for the rest, it is plain, that

* Gen. xi. 6. *וזה החלם לעשות*.

they must have wanted in a shorter time. To this purpose give me leave to insert a story which I transcribed out of an * Arabic manuscript in the Bodleian Library. The sum of it is this. Othman Ben Yuseph, Sultan of Ægypt, a whimsical, weak man, had a fancy to demolish one of the pyramids in the year of the Hegirah 593 (of Christ 1197); in order to which he assembled a vast number of workmen, removed his whole court thither, and employed a prodigious number of men, some to throw the stones down from the top, others to dig them out of the ground again, and others to remove them to another place. It was the little red pyramid which they pitched upon; and after eight months incessant labour, and when they had tired out all their men, and consumed all their provision, what they had done came only to this, viz. that my author says, if you first look upon the heap of stones that they carried away, you would imagine that the whole pyramid had been demolished; but when you come again to look upon the pyramid, you would not miss any of it, only a little broken off the top on the one side. My author, when he saw the large stones which they had thrown down, asked a master-workman, whether or no, if any man would give them a thousand pieces, they could put one of those stones into its place again? He swore they could not do it, if any man would give them twice as much. So much for the pyramid; but this by the way: wherefore our sacred geographers need not, in their maps, build the tower of Babel so high, for undoubtedly the Sultan of Ægypt was in a much better condition to demolish a building than they to raise one.

The seventy languages, reckoned up in the tenth chapter immediately foregoing, seems to some to be a very strange prolepsis. In the fifth verse it is said †, *By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue.* Either they had these languages according to their respective families before the confusion of Babel, or else they derived them from thence. To affirm the former, takes away the very foundation of your hypothesis; they therefore derived them from thence. So then it must follow, according to Chizkuni, that there was a language reserved for each family or tribe. So then Javan and Ashkenaz, two sons of Japhet, by which the Jews understand the Greeks and the Germans: and Mizraim and Chanaan, two sons of Ham, by which are understood the Egyptians

* Abdollathif, his History of Ægypt.

† מאלה נפרדו איש ללשונו;

and Canaanites : and Elam and Aram, two sons of Shem, by which are understood the Persians and Syrians ; must have gone away from this confusion with their respective dialects into their several countries. Now the being dispersed by the divine wrath, carries along with it such a terrible apprehension, as is hardly reconcileable to that order and uniformity which they are ranked under in the tenth chapter. For it is hardly to be supposed, that an incensed Deity had that regard to their families as to reserve to each of them a distinct language ; but rather that people, thunder-struck and frightened out of their senses, and incapable of understanding one another, took their chance, and shifted for themselves in the best manner they could ; and if they were once so scattered, it is impossible to rank them again under their respective families, which makes the opinion of Chizkuni, and all those Rabbins who assign a different language to each family, ridiculous.

You affirm, Sir, *that as far as we know of the history of languages, the difference between them can be accounted for no other way, than by a miraculous formation of languages not before known, and essentially different from one another at that confusion of Babel.* Since so learned and sagacious a person as yourself has undertaken the proof of it, we need not doubt the success. I would only ask, whether the essential difference between the languages in America is to be accounted for this way ? We are assured by those who have travelled there, that there is such a difference in their languages, that a man meets with a new one every fifty miles or thereabout ; and what may we conceive it to be at the distance of so many degrees ? It is much to be questioned, whether or no, if the world were reduced to its native simplicity, and the respective languages not secured by letters, there would not every day new ones be formed, as essentially different from one another, and from any now known to us, as Welsh is from English. Many times have whole families been driven into desert places through variety of calamities, which afterwards, proving warlike, and able to grapple with their neighbours, have formed considerable kingdoms. Though it must be supposed, that they were almost forced to form a language first : for instance, how much Hebrew might Ishmael be supposed to understand, when he was at thirteen years of age sent into the desert with his mother Hagar ? Not so much but that his own children as they grew up would of course have made it a quite different language, in less than forty

years time. I do not mean by the addition of words (for that makes no essential difference) : but as nature had exerted itself in every one of them (which would have been according to its different capacity, and the occasions and circumstances of its life), not only new words, *i. e.* nouns, but actives, passives, and different particles and conjugations, would have been found out by degrees, as occasion offered, till at last they had shaped it into a language, which could only be by allowing each person his own invention, and complying with his manner of expressing it.

To explain what I mean upon this subject more clearly. I take it for granted, that the beginning of language was from applying articulate sounds to the names of things obvious to the senses; and that the actions and passions, which are expressed in our verbs, came a long time afterwards to be expressed in words, at first only by signs. This is evident from the behaviour of ignorant foreigners and little children when they begin to speak; who quickly learn the names of things, and are content for a considerable time to express their desire or aversion to them, by different sounds and various gestures of their whole bodies. The reason is plain, because we are capable of observing objects which strike immediately upon our senses, and pointing them out to one another, much sooner than we make observations upon the different operations of them upon each other, in which all our active and passive verbs do consist: and no question but the sense which we have ourselves of pleasure, pain, heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and the like, did first extort from us those words by which we express any power, action, or passion. So he that had never seen any blood shed must of necessity, upon the hurting himself accidentally, or seeing any fight between men or beasts, return to his clan full of ideas, which he would labour to express, till either some of them who had observed the same helped him out, or else they acquiesced in the manner of his expression. The same may be said of him that saw the first fish swim, or any other thing worth observing, that is, which had not been observed before.

It was an innocent thought of that prince who made two children to be fed by mutes, that he might find out what was the primitive original language, which God had endued mankind withal; but it is impossible to infer any thing from thence, but what, it is to be feared, would conclude against your hypothesis; and that, if such an experiment was made in forty places

places at once, they would, according to the difference of climate, constitutions, food, sounds, and voices of animals which they overheard, and would infallibly endeavour to imitate; from these, I say, and a variety of other accidents, they would frame languages every one of them essentially different from each other. Notwithstanding what hath been urged by the Rabbins and their followers in behalf of the Hebrew tongue, it is most certain that it is no other than the old Canaanitish language, and common to the Zidonians and other neighbouring nations. Mr. Webb has written an essay to prove that the Chinese is the primitive language; and one argument (as I remember) that he endeavours to prove it by is its simplicity, as consisting all of monosyllables, only varied by different accents as *tehù, chè, hù, chà, &c.* just as children express themselves when they first begin to form articulate sounds.

I shall trouble you no longer, Sir, upon this topic; but proceed to answer your queries concerning the Oriental languages and their relation to Greek and Latin. The Turkish, Armenian, *Pelhàvi* (or old Parthian), *Dhèri* (or present Persian), and Coptic, are essentially different, not only from one another, but from all other languages that we know of in the world. Those which are most in use among us, and commonly known by the name of Orientals, *viz.* Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, and *Æthiopic*, are in your sense the same language; that is, they do not so much differ, but that though there are a vast many words, phrases, formations, and constructions, used in one which are not in the other, yet they make no essential difference any more than there is between Latin and Greek.

You say, Sir, *that the essence or form of a tongue is not to be drawn so much from the words that compose it, as from the grammar by which these words are framed and put together.*

That the grammars of Hebrew and Greek are essentially different.

I confess, I was a little surprised at the first reading of your first proposition; but I take the meaning of it to be this: that if *cupio* did signify *to bear*, and *audio* *to desire*, and so of the rest of the nouns and verbs in the Latin tongue; the essence or form of that language, notwithstanding the difference of the words, would be still the same, so long as the conjugations, syntax, and influence of the particles are the same.

Wherefore, to set this matter in as clear a light as I am able, let us on the one side take the Greek (under which I comprehend the Latin) and
the

the Arabick (under which we rank the other five Orientals): and by comparing them a little together, observe wherein the essential difference lies with relation to construction.

And since you do not place the essential difference in the words but in the grammar, the difference is not altogether so great as would at first sight be imagined. The Greek and Arabick agree in this: 1. That they have the dual number both in their nouns and verbs; 2. That the preceding noun governs the following one in the genitive case; 3. That Neuters plural (the Arabick feminine serves for both feminine and neuter) are construed with verbs singular; 4. That the article *ال* *al* in Arabick is the same with *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τὸ*, in Greek, with this difference, that you prefix your Greek article commonly to proper names, as *ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης*, *ὁ Πτολεμαῖος*, &c. but you do not say in Arabick,

Mahomet	ال محمد	Al Mohammed,	} but {	Mohammed.
Abraham	ابراهيم	Al Ibrahim,		Ibrahim.
Moses	الموسي	Al Musa,		Musa.

5. The Arabick nouns are governed by particles, as in the Greek: where it is to be observed that they have but three cases in Arabick; viz. the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative. The nominative supplies the defect of the vocative, and the genitive supplies the defect of the dative and ablative. An accusative case in Arabick seldom follows any particle (and then it is either exceptive or negative), but most commonly a verb.

So much for a specimen of their agreement. The essential difference lies, as you have justly observed, in the conjugations; which will stand in a clearer light when we come to the *Παράδειγμα* which you desired me to send you.

The next difficulties to be considered are the affixes in the Arabick, and the compounds in the Greek: there is not so much essential difference in this matter as appears at first sight.

As to the affixes, they are nothing but curtailed pronouns joined to the ends of verbs; and whether they be joined or not, makes no essential difference.

For

For example.

Arabick.	Hebrew.	Latin.
ضربني Darabani.	Hiccáni	קָדַרְנִי Verberavit me.
ضربك Darabaca.	Hiccáca	קָדַרְךָ Verberavit te.
ضربه Darabaho.	Hiccáhu	קָדַרְהוּ Verberavit eum.

In Greek, *τετιθε με, τετιθε σε, &c.*

In English it is exactly the same in our ordinary speech as it is in Hebrew and Arabick. If the tense be formed after this manner,

Sing.	Plur.
He beat me.	He beat us.
He beat thee.	He beat you.
He beat him.	He beat them.

So that when we first begin to learn Hebrew we wonder at the affixes and suffixes, as being quite different from what we ever met with before; when we use it in our ordinary discourse every day.

Besides you know, Sir, that Oriental pronouns are not varied by cases; and when they join them to the verbs, they abbreviate them a little *euphonia gratia*, which signifies no more than if one should say *audillum* for *audi illum*, and not so much as *sis* for *si vis*. So much for the affixes of verbs; those of the nouns consist in having the pronoun possessive set after the noun, as *קָדַרְי verbum meum*, &c. Only in Greek and Latin these are not joined as in Hebrew * and Arabick.

As for the compounds; I have been often asked by very learned men, how it was possible for the Arabick tongue to express the fulness of the Greek without compounds? The answer in short is this, partly because of the variation and force of the Eastern conjugations, not to be expressed by any Western language; partly because the Arabick is not so much without composition in reality, as is vulgarly imagined. The reason of which is, that the Arabick particles which come between the verb and the noun following do abundantly perform the office of those which are prefixed to a Greek verb; for which reason, in the best lexicons, there is always an ex-

* For a philosophical account of the Hebrew tongue, I refer you to Spinoza's Hebrew Grammar, at the end of his Opera Posthuma,

ample

ample given of the particle with which such or such a verb is construed. So for instance, **خرج** *Hháraja* signifies *prodire, to go out*.

خرج من البيت
 albeit. min Hháraja
 τῆ οἰκῆς. ἐκ ἐξῆλθεν
 the house. out of He went

Where *min* signifies the same with *ἐκ*, and so you will find there is a redundancy in the Greek composition; whereas the Arabick verb with the particle subjoined performs all that the Greek doth with its two prepositions, one of which is prefixed to the verb, and the other cometh between it and the noun following. In Latin you say *ascendit montem*: the Arabian either expresses all that meaning in one verb, or else he would say *scandit ad montem*, which is all one, and expresses the force of the composition.

Now followeth the Paradeigma.

Con- jugat.	Arab. Formæ.	Potestas.	Signification.	Arab. Verb.	Potestas.
I.	فَكَدَ Fákada.	[Denotes a simple action.]	He beat.	ضَرَبَ Dáraba.	
II.	فَكَكَدَ Fákkada.	He set people together by the ears,		ضَرَبَ Dárraba.	
		i. e. to beat one another.			
III.	فَاكَدَ Fákada †.	He fought.		ضَارَبَ Dâraba.	
IV.	أَفَكَدَ Afkada.	He made somebody beat somebody		أَضْرَبَ Adraba.	
		else,			
V.	تَفَكَدَ Tafákada.	He beat himself.		تَضَرَبَ Tadárraba.	
VI.	تَفَاكَدَ Tafákada. †	They beat one another.		تَضَارَبَ Tadârabâ.	
VII.	انْفَكَدَ Infákada.	It was broken.		انْكَسَرَ Inkáfara.	
VIII.	اِفْتَكَدَ Iftákada.	He was vehemently shaken or		اِضْرَبَ Iddáraba.	
		shattered every way.			
IX.	اِفْكَدَ Ifkádâ.	He turned pale.		اِبْضَرَّ Ibyádda.	
X.	اِسْتَفَكَدَ Istáfkada.	He desired such a person to be		اِسْتَشْهَدَ Istáshada.	
		witness for him.			
XI.	اِفْكَدَّ Ifkâdda. †	He turned black.		اِسْوَدَّ Ifwâdda.	
XII.	اِفْكَوْكَدَ Ifkáukada.	It was very thick.		اِخْشَوْشَنَ Ichsháwshana.	
XIII.	اِفْكَوْوَكَدَ Ifkáwwada.	It stuck close.		اِغْلَوَّصَا Iyláwwada.	

† The circumflex in the third, sixth, and eleventh conjugations must be nicely distinguished.
He-

Conjugat.	Hebrew.	Potestas.	Conjugat.
I.	פָּקַד	Fakād.	Kal.
II.	פִּקַּד	Fikkād.	Piḥl.
III.			
IV.	הִפְקִיד	Hiphkid.	Hif-il.
V.	הִתְפַּקַּד	Hithpakkād.	Hithpaḥl.
VI.			
VII.	נִפְקַד	Nifkād.	Nif-al.

Five of the Hebrew conjugations are plain from this active form. Pual and Hophal are only the passives of the second and fourth, which are *fók-kida* and *ofkida*, exactly agreeing with *púkkad* and *bophkad*.

You see, Sir, I was obliged to patch up my form of the Arabick verb with some other words; because there is not any one word in the whole language that can possibly go through all conjugations.

Hithpael * in Hebrew is manifestly the same with the fifth conjugation in Arabick both in form and signification. In the future it is *يَتَفَكَّدُ yete-fákkedo*, i. e. *יִתְפַּקֵּד yithpakkíd*. So Niphal is the same with the seventh conjugation. In the future it is *יִנְפֹּקֵד yenfákido*, where the Nun is expressed in the Arabick and supplied by Dagesch in the Hebrew. If you read it with a Dagesch, it is *yeffákido*, *yippakíd*.

You ask, wherein Piḥl and Pual intrinsically differ from Kal or Niphal; the answer is, that they come nearer to the signification and force of Hiphil and Hophal, i. e. have a transitive signification. And the active denotes an influence upon, and the passive an influence received from, another.

Now as to the signification of the Arabick Verbs. The first conjugation gives the naked primitive signification of the word, either transitive or intransitive.

The second and fourth make simple verbs transitives. So *حَزَّنَ Házza-na* and *أَحْزَنَ A'bbzana*, *To make a man sorrowful*. See Erpenius.

The third signifies an action upon any object capable of returning it again, as *غَزَلَ gázala*, *to talk amorously*.

* The force of that conjugation is expressed in Greek by *ἐκδοτικὸς*.

The fifth is oftentimes the passive of the first signification, and oftentimes reciprocal, as *התפעל* in Hebrew.

The sixth is reciprocal between two parties, and signifies the doing of any thing together, as *playing, fighting, talking, &c.*

The seventh is passive of the first.

The eighth has sometimes the signification of the first, sometimes used as in the paradeigma.

The ninth and eleventh express nothing but colours: the former in a weaker degree; the latter in as intense a signification as can be conceived. If you would say any person was *white, black, or yellow*, then you use the ninth conjugation; if he was very much so, then the eleventh.

The tenth signifies petition, as *أَسْتَفِرَّ* *Isfárfara, he asked pardon.*

As for the twelfth and thirteenth conjugations, they only make the signification of the word more intense. They are very rarely used. You may read twenty voluminous Arabick authors, and hardly meet with either of them.

Now if these rules held constantly, it would be as easy studying Arabick as to go to sea when the longitude is known. But he that, understanding a primitive word, should go to translate it through the several conjugations by these rules given us by the grammarians, would make a wretched piece of work of it. I will produce two or three instances, which I observed in reading *Janhary*, a famous Arabick lexicographer. *صعد* *saída* in the first conjugation signifies *to go up*. According to the rule, it ought in the second and fourth conjugations to signify *to make somebody else go up*. Instead of this, in the second conjugation it hath only an active signification, that is, *to climb a hill*; and in the fourth *to travel*. So *مالح* *málabha* [from the Hebrew *מלח*] signifies *to season a pot*. *أملح* *amlabha* in the fourth conjugation doth not signify to employ another person to do it, but it signifies *to season it overmuch*. So *مرض* *marida* signifies *to be sick*. *مَرَّادًا* *márrada*, in the second conjugation, signifies *to take care of a sick person*. In which signification it agrees with the Hebrew *פָּחַד* *to sin*, *פָּחַד* *to expiate sin*. So *حسن* *hbásona* signifies *a thing was very good*; but *أَسْتَحْسِنُ* *Isfáhbšana* in the tenth conjugation doth not signify according to

to the rule, *to ask for a good thing*, but it is a sign of liking and approbation of the goodness of it. All that can be said is this, that these are the most general rules that can be laid down: the rest must be attained by constant use and long experience; for you cannot conclude with any certainty any thing from the use of one word relating to the signification of another. The Greek tongue gives us no less difficulty another way, viz. by the variety of the significations of the prepositions in the compound verbs; without which the trouble of understanding it would be very inconsiderable in respect of what it is at present.

The best help in the Arabick tongue is, to be thoroughly acquainted with the force of the particles, and observe exactly how they follow every verb.

There is one thing more remarkable in the Arabick tongue, which gave me some trouble when I first studied it; and that is, that the participle passive, if the Active denotes any thing *great*, signifies a privation of it. So شرف *shárip* is noble: مشرؤف *meshróuf*, ignoble: فاضل *fádil*, excellent: مفضول *mephdoúl*, good for nothing. What deceives beginners is their attending more to the Latin interpretation in their lexicons than to the genius of the language they study. In these two instances, whoever takes them as adjectives will be at a loss to find out the meaning of the passive participle. But remember the active participle, and translate *shárip*, one that doth noble things, and the passive will signify, one that is outdone in noble things. So *fádil*, excelling: *mephdoúl*, excelled, i. e. good for nothing. عالم *álim*, knowing. معلوم *melóum*, known.

Your last query is, "Whether there have been any essential variations in the Arabick grammar since Mahomet's time, and whether the Alcoran be not grammatically written in the same language which is now spoken in the empire of Fez and in Arabia Felix?"

There has never been any essential variation in the Arabick language that we know of. Janhary, a famous Arabick lexicographer, who finished his great work in the year of the Hegirah 390, of Christ 1000 quotes a great many verses of celebrated poets before the time of Mahomet; which are reckoned the purest and most authentic part of the language. And, bating the compliment which they pay to the Alcoran out of superstition,

there is never a learned man among them who will not readily allow that the Arabick tongue was at its perfection long before Mahomet *. They own the preservation, not only of their language, but of their genealogies, history, and whatsoever was worth remembering, to their poetry. They used to meet every year at the famous fair of O Chad, where there was nothing done for a whole month together but reciting poems, and outvying one another that way. Those verses which were best approved were hung up amongst other curiosities and rarities collected by kings and princes. Among which are the Moallakât, seven famous poems; before Mahomet's time, translated into Latin by our late learned Syke, but never published †, which some will have to have been hung up in the temple of Meccah, but the author of Camûs says that that opinion wants proof.

That there was writing among some of the Arabs appears probable from some ancient inscriptions mentioned in Dr. Pocock's Specimen ‡; but so far from being universal that Ebn Chalecân, a celebrated historian, and of good credit §, says, that when Mahomet first published the Alcoran, there was not so much as one man in all Arabia Felix that could either write or read.

The Alcoran is grammatically written in the same language which is now spoken in the empire of Fez and in Arabia Felix; nor is there any other alteration of it that I could ever learn, any more than must be necessarily supposed, considering the distance of the countries in which it is spoken: that is, no more than the Greek and Latin were varied after the conquests of Alexander the Great and the Romans. All places || do not speak the same language in equal perfection; nor was the Latin in Spain and Africa the same as in Italy; nor the Greek spoken in Ægypt the same as in Antioch. The Arabick tongue is spoken in perfection at Bagdad and many other cities of note, and varies from itself no otherwise than Ammianus Marcellinus doth from Cicero or Livy.

* See Pocock's Specimen Historiæ Arabum, p. 158.

† They have lately been given to the publick, with an elegant English version, by the justly celebrated Sir William Jones, now one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in the East Indies. 10 J. N.

‡ Specimen, p. 154.

§, Ib. p. 156.

|| So Cicero Divinat. in Verrem. "Si litteras Græcas Athenis non Lilybæi: Latinas, Romæ non in Sicilia didicisses.

As for Locman's Fables, they are no other than a translation out of the Greek of *Æsop* of modern date; after *Almamoun* * had encouraged the translation of Greek books into Arabick. There was, it seems, one *Locman* famous among the Arabs for his wisdom and sagacity, whom they will have to have been contemporary with *David*. *Mahomet* hath prefixed his name to the xxxist chapter of the *Alcoran*. And the scribler that translated these fables out of Greek was willing to ascribe the credit of them to his own nation. It is no new thing among them to add, or detract, or mangle, which way soever their fancy leads them, any book that passeth through their hands.

Thus far, learned Sir, I have endeavoured, according to my poor ability, to answer those things which you were pleased to propose to me. If you find me mistaken, your candour will excuse it. If there be any thing else that lies within the narrow compass of my little sphere; assure yourself that you may at all times command,

Reverend Sir, your most obliged, humble servant,

Swavesey, June 25, 1714.

SIMON OCKLEY.

* He was inaugurated Caliph in the year of the *Hegira* 198, of *Christ* 813.

For the following curious DISSERTATION the Editor is indebted to the Kindness of Dr. HENRY OWEN, who has permitted his Name to be thus joined to that of his late worthy Friend Mr. BOWYER.

WE read, 1 Kings, x. 22. and 2 Chron. ix. 21. that "once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and *apes* and *peacocks*." Heb. וקופים ותוכים.

There can be no doubt about the meaning of the text, unless perhaps it be about the interpretation of the two last words.

The words themselves may justly be reckoned among the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα; as they occur only in these two places, one of which is a transcript of the other.

They seem to be likewise *technical* terms, and of foreign extraction. For in the Oriental versions they are, allowing for the difference of dialects, exactly the same as in the Hebrew; and remain in all untranslated.

Thus the Chaldee Paraphrase has וקופין וטוכין, literâ כ in ס mutata; and the Syriac ܩܘܦܝܢ ܬܘܚܝܢ, ve *kupho*, ve *thuse*.

The Latin translations annexed to these several versions in our English Polyglott, uniformly make the words in question, to signify *apes* and *peacocks*. But whether these modern Latin translations give us the true, precise meaning of the words, is a point that merits discussion.

With respect to the Greek version, the Alexandrian MS. in Kings, reads ἡ πειθήμων, ἡ ταῦρων, & simiarum, & pavonum: but the Vatican very differently, ἡ λίθων τορσεύων ἡ πελεκητῶν*, & lapidum tornatorum & dolatorum. In Chron. the Vatican has ἡ πειθήμων and no more. And herein the Alexandrian agrees with it. But the Complutenian edition has ἡ πειθήμων ἡ σεκείμ: which last word is evidently the Hebrew תכים expressed in Greek characters.

* It is a matter of some uncertainty, whether these words are intended for a translation of the Hebrew וקופים ותכים, or of the other foreign term שנהבים. In either case the Vatican is defective.

Though

Though the general agreement among the learned, in rendering the words by *apes* and *peacocks*, may be looked upon as a strong presumption, that they have rendered them right; yet are there some considerations, which would lead one to imagine, that some other things might have been really meant: things of worth and value, serviceable to the state; and conducive to private and public utility.

The value and importance of the three first articles, viz. gold, silver, and ivory, we all know; and we see, 1 Kings, x. 16, &c. to what excellent purposes they were applied. But of what utility were *apes* and *peacocks*, or, as others render it, *parrots*? Were *these* fit to be made a constant part of a stated cargo, imported for the service and benefit of the state? Could it be either prudent or politic in Solomon to crowd his ship (πλοῖον γέμον, 2 Chron.) with such useless animals, when the place afforded various articles, which his people daily wanted, and without which they could not live? Of these necessary articles I shall mention only spices; for which they had peculiar demand both on a civil and religious account. What vast quantities of spices were expended in the temple-service, in making the holy oil, and the perfume, Exod. xxx. 23, 34. and in various other ways (see Josephus de B. J. c. viii. § 3.), is well known.

Might we not therefore expect to find that great quantities of them were statedly imported by this royal navy (besides what were brought by the spice-merchants, 1 Kings, x. 15.), as well for public as for private use? And if we examine the text narrowly, we may perhaps have some reason to conclude, that this was really the case.

Let us then minutely consider it. It was before observed, that the words are not properly Hebrew. They were in their origin, most probably, Egyptian: and from thence, by means of commerce, adopted afterwards by the Syrians and Chaldeans, &c.

Now in Syriac, the word ܕܕܐܢܐ, *kuphi*, signifies a compound perfume, or incense, which they offered in their temples to the Gods. And Plutarch tells us, that the incense which the Egyptians offered in the evening, and which was a mixture composed of sixteen aromatic ingredients, was likewise called ܕܕܐܢܐ. De Isid. & Osirid. § 81. ed. Squire. Let this word then rest on these authorities.

As to the other, viz. **טוֹסֵן** or **טוֹסֵם**, it may be explained thus, though perhaps not so fully and authoritatively as the former.

The Chaldaic and Syriac word **טוֹס** or **טוֹש** (from whence comes the Latin *thus*, as the Greek *Δίσκος*; from the Hebrew **לבנה**) seems to be a generick term (like the Hebrew **בשם**), comprehending under it the various sorts of volatile aromatic gums; such as frankincense, myrrh, galbanum, stacte, olibanum, &c. which enter into the composition of perfumes and ointments. Vid. Castelli Lex. in voc. **טוֹס** & **טוֹש**. And when we reflect how many of these spices are required by the Mosaic law for the purpose of making the holy perfume and holy ointment, Exod. xxx. 23—38, not to mention other uses, we cannot but think them a valuable and necessary article of importation: especially as Judea could supply but little of them.

If there be any solidity in these observations, the text may be rendered thus: "Once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and *spices of different sorts, both in a compound and a simple form.*"

The following little Disquisitions on a curious Biblical Subject, by Mr. COSTARD and Mr. BRYANT, being purchased at the Sale of the former's Library, may be deemed no improper Supplement to the Miscellaneous Works of a common Friend of both.

GOSHEN seems to have been the Delta of the Greeks in general, at least that part of it which was habitable in the time of Joseph. It is called so from the form of it. The word جوش *Gush*, signifies *cor*, 'a heart'. And nothing is more common than the adding ن *n*, at the end of words in the Eastern languages, so that جوش and جوشن *Gush* and *Gush-en*, or *Goshen*, all mean the same thing, a heart. And this will give a better reason why a heart, placed over a burning altar, was made a symbol of Egypt than that given by Hierapollo, who indeed is a most egregious trifler.

The particular spot inhabited by the Israelites was called the Land of Rameses (Gen. xlvii. 11.), from a city of that name which, probably, was the capital of that district. And it was from that city that the Israelites began their march (Exod. xii. 37.) Instead of the Land of Rameses (Gen. xlvii. 11.) the Arabic version hath the Land of عين شمس *Ain Shems*. The Nubian geographer says, p. 98. "Ex parte meridionali Fostat jacet Oppidum Menf. Et ad plagam ejus septentrionalem urbs *Ain Semes* dicta. Sunt autem ambæ quasi rura sitæ in parte quæ respicit montem *Mocattam*."

"Fostat (says the same Nubian geographer, p. 97.) est ipsamet *Metzr*, sic dicta a *Mefram* filio *Cam*, filii *Noe*." "Valet autem hæc vox," (says *Golius*, Not. in *Alfergan*. p. 151. "tabernaculum, vicum, urbem." It was

* Pf. lxxxvii. 4. lxxxix. 10. Isa. li. 9. Egypt is called *Rahab*.

so called, says the Nubian geographer, p. 97. "quod volente Amro filio
 "Aas post captam Metzr proficisci Alexandriam præceperit ut præcederet
 "eum Alfostat, & figeretur accidit ut columba descenderet, ovumque
 "in ejus vertice pareret Itaque relicto tentorio mansit in Metzr us-
 "que ad ortum pulli columbæ, & tum profectus est."

Amrus Ebn Aas conquered Egypt, anno Hegirah 18, or anno Christi 640.
 Therefore Fostat may be looked on as a modern place, but Metzr (or
 مصر), to which it joins, says the same Nubian geographer, p. 97, "vo-
 "cabatur etiam antea Ain Semes," i. e. عين شمس Ain Shems. There-
 fore Fostat, Metzr, and Ain Shems may be looked on as names of one and
 the same place. But the last of these is not true.

Not far from Metzr, or Fustat, is Cairo, as it is called by the Europeans.
 It was begun anno Hegirah 360, or anno Christi 970, by Gjeuhar (جوهر)
 general of the forces of Moez-lidin-illah. As this new town increased,
 Fustat, or Metzr, fell to decay, and at the same time became distinguished
 by the name of القاهرة العتيقة the Old Kahirah, or Old Cairo, as it
 is still called.

When Moez-lidin-illah, therefore, is said, by Abulfaragius, Hist. Dy-
 nast. p. 207, to have entered Al Kahirah without striking a stroke, it must
 be understood of this Old Cairo, and not of the other which was not then
 built. And this observation is necessary in order to avoid confusion.

Abulfedah, in his Geography, speaking of منف Menph, or Mem-
 phis, adds, وهي مصر القديمة "this is Old Mitr." He then adds,

وهي من غربي النيل ولما فتحها بن العاصي وخرّبها وبني
 "this was situated on the western side of the
 "Nile, but when Amrou-Ebnol-Aasi took it and demolished it, he then
 "built Fostat on the land on the other side." This is all that Golius, in
 his Notes on Alferganus, p. 152, quotes from Abulfedah. But Schultens,
 in his Geographical Index, at the end of his Life of Saladin, adds,
 وبمنف اثار عظيمة مذكورة من الصخور المنحوتة المصورة
 وعليها دهان اخضر وغيره باق الي يومنا هذا لم يتغير من
 الشمس

الشمس وغيره علي طول هذه المدة* " In Menph are vast remains, but neglected, of stones carved with a variety of figures and covered with a green surface. There are likewise remaining there other things, not at all altered by the sun or other accidents, though for so many ages."

It appears then that Memphis was built on the western side of the Nile, and was looked on as the capital of Egypt (Mitzr), and from thence had itself the name of Mitzr مصر. That it retained that name till Amrou took it, and built Fostat over against it on the eastern side of the river, when Fostat took the name of Mitzr مصر. That afterwards, when Geuhar جوهار built Kahirah or Cairo contiguous to it, Fostat became not only Mitzr, but Old Cairo.

What Abulfedah means, as cited by Schultens above, when he adds, ومنف من مصر علي مرحلة قريبة Menph is distant from Mitzr about a station, is hard to say. For, however uncertain that measure is, it cannot possibly agree with its distance from Fostat, or Cairo, which was but just across the river. It is possibly therefore nothing more than an interpolation.

The Nubian geographer, as observed before, makes Metzr to have been called at first Ain Shems. But it doth not appear that Memphis on the western side of the Nile was ever called so, or that there ever was a place so called on the eastern side, where Fostat, or Old Cairo, was afterwards built. Indeed Abulfedah particularly distinguishes Ain Shems from Cairo, and makes it be at the distance of half a station from it. وعين شمس في زماننا رسم وليس بها ديار ويقال انها كانت مدينة فرعون وبها اثار قديمة عظيمة مذهلة من الصخور العظيمة وبها عمود عديدي مربع يسي مسئلة فرعون طوله نحو ثلثين ذراعا وهي عن القاهرة علي نصف مرحلة وعندها ضيعة تسمي مطرية وهي من القاهرة في جهة الشمال علي درب الشام* " Ain Shems in our days is nothing but ruins without any houses in it. It is said to have been the city where Pharaoh resided. There are many

"large and ancient, but neglected ruins of large stones. There is in it a sharp-pointed stone called Pharaoh's Needle, the length of it is about thirty cubits. It is distant from Al-Kahirah near half a station. Hard by it is a small village called Mataria. It lies to the north of Kahirah in the road to Syria."

And with this agrees what we are told by another Arabian author cited by Schultens in the same place, عين شمس مدينة فرعون بمصر, بينها وبين القسطنطينية ثلاثة فراسخ من جهة بلبيس من ناحية الشام وهي قصبة كورة ابريت بها اثار قديمة وعواميد سود طوال تسميها العامة مسال فرعون وبها عمودان طولهما في السماء خمسون ذراعاً وعلي رؤسهما شبة الصومعتين من نحاس مبنيان علي وجه الارض بغير اساس وبها يزرع البلسان ويستخرج دهنه وبالصعيد قرية اخري اسمها عين شمس. "Ain Shems is the same with the city of Pharaoh in Egypt. It is at the distance of three parasangs from Fostat on the side of the river, where stands Balbeis, and in the road to Syria. It is the metropolis of the nome called Aphrodite. In it are some ancient ruins and tall black pillars, called by the common people Pharaoh's Needles. There are two pillars whose height above ground is fifty cubits, the tops of which are pointed. They rest on the surface of the earth without any foundation below it. At Ain Shems are planted balsam trees, from whence issues the juice. In the Upper Egypt there is another place of the same name Ain Shems."

The name Ain Shems, I suppose, is no older than the time when the Mohammedans made themselves masters of Egypt. It was designed by them to express what the Greeks called Heliopolis, which seems to have been the same that is called, Jerem. xliii. 13. בית שמש *Beth Shemesh*, the House of the Sun; and in Isaiah xix. עיר החרס, *Air Haberes*, the City of the Sun. For what is Job, ix. vii. האמר לחרם, is, by the Vulgate, rendered *qui praecepit Soli*; and by the LXX. Ο λεγων τω Ηλιω. So likewise the word חרם *heres*, is rendered *sun* by the Syriac and Arabic versions there, as well as by the Targum.

When Gideon is said to have returned from the battle before the sun was up, Judges viii. 13. the word for sun there is שֶׁמֶשׁ *heres*. And it is so rendered there, both by the Vulgate and the Targum, though neither the LXX. nor the Syriac, nor the Arabic versionists, seem to have understood the meaning of the word by their retaining it. And this, among many other instances, offers a convincing proof, that these versions were not made each of them at once, and by the same persons.

The word שֶׁמֶשׁ, *shemesh*, signifies *to minister*, and the word שֶׁרָא, in the Arabic language, is, among other things, *observavit, speculatus est*, according to Schindler. As therefore the sun was termed שֶׁמֶשׁ, *shemesh*, among the Hebrews, from his *administering* light and heat, so he might be called שֶׁרָא, *heres*, by the Arabians, and, perhaps, the Canaanites, from his *seeing* and *observing* every thing. There is no doubt, therefore, but שֶׁרָא עִיר, *air haberes*, is properly translated *the city of the sun*, and in Greek Ηλιούπολις. By the former of these names the place was known to the Canaanites, as by the latter to the Greeks when they became acquainted with Egypt.

Among the native Egyptians it seems to have been called *On*. At least, *vice versa*, wherever *On* occurs it is rendered by the LXX. Ηλιούπολις. Pharaoh, it is said, Gen. xli. 45. married Joseph to Asenath the daughter of Potiphra (כֹּהֵן אֵן) priest of On. LXX. ἱερεὺς Ηλιούπολεως, *sacerdotis Heliopoleos*, says the Vulgate. And so again, ver. 50, and chap. xlii. 20.

Jablonski, in his Pantheon, vol. I. p. 137, seems to think that On was known in Egypt to have been the old name of Heliopolis as late as the fourth century, when the Coptic version was made. For those interpreters, says he, were intirely ignorant of the Hebrew language, and translated only the Greek of the LXX. And yet, wherever the LXX have Ηλιούπολις, they render it by *On*. How far this is a fact I cannot pretend to say, but it would not be very surprizing if it could be made appear that Cyril said true, as he is quoted by Jablonski there, "*On, Ægyptiorum lingua, dici Solem.*"

Cyril was Patriarch of Alexandria, and a Greek. But there seems to have been something particularly harsh in the Egyptian language, and disagreeable to Grecian ears, so that they seem not to have troubled themselves at all about it, nor endeavoured to make themselves acquainted with it.

it. This betrays itself upon a variety of occasions. Observing, therefore, that wherever the name *On* occurred in the Hebrew, it was constantly translated by the LXX *Ἡλιούπολις*, and knowing well enough what *πολις* signified, he might take it for granted that *Ἡλιος* was the exact translation of *On*, and therefore assert that *On* in the Egyptian language was the same with *Ἡλιος* in the Greek.

In the Coptic language, according to Jablonski, *ut supra*, the name of the Sun is *Pbre*; and therefore, had those versionists translated only the Greek, without knowing any thing of the Hebrew, they would probably have translated *Ἡλιούπολις* by *Pbre* and some other Coptic word that signifies *city*. But they might be enough acquainted with Hebrew to know that in the text *On* constantly answered to the Greek *Ἡλιούπολις*, and therefore chose to retain it, as other versions before theirs had done.

That Ain Shems is Heliopolis, says Golius, Not. in Al-fergan. p. 157, “& nomen & rudera nec non consentientis geographorum descriptiones evincunt.” But whether this was *مدينة فرعون* *Pharaoh's City*, or the place where Pharaoh lived, may admit of some doubt. For we have it only from Arabian historians, who are come full late, and are not to be too far relied on in matters of such great antiquity.

Golius, in his Notes on Alferganus, p. 149, speaking of Damiat, adds, “cumque hujus & vicinæ Tanis regio pascuis in Ægypto alias raris læta vireat, merito pro Terra Goshen aut ejus saltem parte censerì potest. Etsi ea ad Bilbeis Mari Rubro propinquiorem, de qua ante dictum, referat Macrizius, diligens rerum Ægyptiarum scriptor; attamen opinio, ni eidem hoc magnopere obest, quod arenosa hæc terra est non nisi exundante Nilo aut ex piscinis irrigua, ac proinde rei pecuariæ minus idonea.”

Wherever Goshen is to be placed, it could not be at a very great distance from the Red Sea, and the nearer the better; for the Israelites crossed it in the night of the third day from their setting out from Rameses. And Rameses is expressly said, Gen. xlvii. 6. to be in or belong to that district. For though Goshen, from the name, seems as if it lay between the branches of the Nile, yet the territory might extend without it to the east, where I conjecture Rameses was situated.

Instead

Instead of Goshen, Gen. xlv. 10. the Arabic version hath **السدِير** *Sadeir*. The LXX. *ἐν γῇ Γεσημ Αραβίας*. And farther, wherever this was it was not far from the capital at that time: for Joseph expressly adds immediately after, "and thou shalt be near me." And chap. xlvii. 28. what is Goshen in the Hebrew is in the Arabic version **بَلَد سَدِير** the Land of Sadir; but in the LXX. *Καθ' Ἡρώων Πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ραμεσση*. Joseph met his father and brethren before they came to the capital; for he tells them, ver. 31. "I will go up to Pharaoh." And when Joseph informs Pharaoh, chap. xlvii. 1. that "they stopped short in the Land of Goshen," the Arabic has **فِي بَلَد السَدِير** "in the Land of Sadir." And Pharaoh calls it the *best* of the land, ver. 6. It is called, ver. 12. the Land of Rameses, which in the Arabic is translated **عَيْن شَمْس** *Ain Shems*. Rameses, therefore, was a part, and the best part of the Land of Goshen."

They left their little ones, &c. **فِي بَلَد سَدِير** Gen. 1. 8.

The reign of the Pastor Kings in Egypt is a subject of great embarrassment. Who were they—when did they reign—and where—whence came they—and what became of them?

JACOB

JACOB BRYANT*, ESQ. TO MR. COSTARD.

DEAR SIR,

Cypenham, 17th September, 1767.

GIVE me leave to return you many thanks for the kind notice which you have taken both of me and my work, and at the same time for those learned reflections and observations which you have been pleased to transmit to me in consequence of it. I should have been very glad if I had been acquainted with them before my treatise had been sent to the press, as there is much Oriental evidence which I could not procure for myself, and several scriptural excerpts that I had not attended to, and which might very happily have been applied to my purpose. I am, however, sorry to find, from some particular positions in the letter with which you favoured me, that you in some points differ from me in respect to Goshen and Zoan. I think I may trust to your goodness, and be assured of your candour and forgiveness, if I lay before you my doubts about your corollary, though drawn from some very curious premises, viz. "that there seems but little doubt that Rahab, Goshen, Delta, mean the same country and district;" and in your fifth page, "we have now found, I think, that Zoan, Goshen, Rahab, and Delta, are only different names given at different times to one and the same country." Permit me, with that freedom which your friendship and love of truth will warrant, to speak to the first of these positions, "that Goshen was Delta, or (as in another place you explain yourself) "at least that part of it which was habitable in the time of Joseph." In the first place, there is reason to think, that not a part only, but the whole of Delta was habitable in the time of Joseph: for the Caphtorim had made their migration to Philistia before the days of Abraham: and their original establishment is supposed by most learned men to have been about Pelusium and Sethron: and if the

* As this Letter was not originally intended for the press, it is necessary that the Editor should observe, that the learned Writer of it, by whose obliging permission it now appears, informs him that "it is a very imperfect sketch of his notions upon the subject."

sea coasts were inhabited, we may readily admit that the higher lands were so likewise, for they must have been first occupied. Both this settlement in Egypt, and migration from it, are mentioned by the Prophets. "Have I not brought up Israel out of the Land of Egypt or Mizraim, and the Philistines from Caphtor?" Amos, ix. 7. "The Lord will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the country, or rather of the isle, of Caphtor." Jeremiah, xlvii. 4. The Caphtorim, we find, are put in opposition to the Mizraim: the former inhabited one of the island provinces near the sea, the latter were in possession of the other parts of Delta. The region of the former being unwholesome and inconvenient for its marshy and barren soil probably induced them to quit it very early; for before the time of Abraham's sojournment in Canaan they had driven the Avim from their settlements in that country, and seized them to their own use. Genesis xx. xxii. 33. 34. See Bochart, l. 293.

But, waving this, and allowing to Delta what extent you please, yet Goshen and Delta can never be esteemed synonymous, and the same, without perplexing the Mosaic account, and making it in many places inconsistent with itself. The wonders exhibited in Egypt are said to have been displayed in Rahab and in Zoan. Pharaoh confessedly resided in those parts; and they must necessarily have been occupied by many of the Mizraim, and the Naphtuhim, as the upper regions of Egypt were possessed by the sons of Pathros. Let us then, as Goshen and Delta are to be esteemed synonymous, use them in that manner, putting one for the other, as shall seem best to us, and attend the consequence. In the plague of flies the cities and the houses of the Mizraim were to be full of them, and also the ground on which they stood was to be covered: but, says the Lord, "I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there," Exod. viii. 21, 22. The Land of Goshen was to be severed: it is plain, therefore, that it was a detached province. If, instead of Goshen, you put Rahab or Delta, every circumstance will be contradictory. The land will, without any limitation, be said to be affected, and at the same time not to be affected, with this curse from heaven. Again, chap. ix. ver. 24, 25, 26, we read of the plague of hail, where fire was mingled with the hail: it is said to have been grievous over all the Land of Egypt; there was none

like it in all the Land of Egypt or Mizraim since it became a nation : and the hail smote throughout all the Land of Egypt or Mizraim, &c. only in the Land of Goshen there was no hail. If then the Land of Goshen was Rahab and Delta, there could be no hail in Delta and Rahab, nor in Zoan ; for they are by you supposed to be the same, yet they were the places of all others which were most afflicted by it. As then the Scripture plainly says, that in the Land of Goshen, where the Children of Israel dwelt, none of these plagues were felt ; it is manifest, that the Land of Goshen was a particular and separate district ; and never could comprehend all Rahab or Delta, of whatever dimensions they may be supposed to have consisted. So when Joseph went up to meet Israel his father to Goshen, Gen. xvi. 28, the same difficulties will arise from your supposition. It is a circumstance that could not happen. He could not go up to Goshen, for he was in Goshen before ; Rahab and Goshen being in your acceptance the same. And after this, ver. 31, 34, when Joseph advises his brethren to tell Pharaoh, " that they were shepherds," " that they may dwell in " the Land of Goshen ;" for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians : and when in the next chapter, ver. 5, they act in consequence of this advice, and tell Pharaoh that they are, and have been *ab origine*, shepherds, and conclude, " now, therefore (for this reason, because we are shepherds, and noxious), we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the Land of Goshen." If Goshen was a separate province, as I have endeavoured to prove that it was, every thing is plain and consistent ; but if it be taken for the whole of Lower Egypt, the method of reasoning is unaccountable. " We are all shepherds, say the sons of Israel, we are all odious in your sight, and in the sight of your people, therefore let us come and live among you." All the scope and force of what is said is hereby ruined, and the grounds on which they found their petition rendered void and ineffectual. Why should they, upon these principles, desire particularly to dwell without any limitation in Lower Egypt, where Pharaoh dwelt and the chief of the Egyptians ? To have been consistent, they should have requested to have been sent far away, if there were no particularly vacant and detached district in Rahab. But it is very certain that there was a place of this nature, void and separate, which was well adapted to their circumstances. For this they petitioned, and to this they

they succeeded. It was a particular district, and called the Land of Goshen. It was at the very point of Delta, above Heliopolis, and called the Arabian Nome by the Greeks; but originally termed Cusha and Cushman, and by the Mizraim Gushan. Its situation may be exactly defined, as it lay at the extreme point of Delta, nearly between Babylon and the Pyramids, which latter were a small matter above; which Cusha was in process of time called by different nations Casa, Kaïsa, Geesha: and it is demonstrable from its situation, that the modern Geeza is the very place; for it lies exactly in the same direction between the Hill of Arabia, where stood Babylon and the Pyramids before mentioned. Nor must it be wondered at, if the name of Gushan, or Gusha, has been changed in so long a period of time to Geesha. In other countries we find the same variations. The Abyssinians, or Western Ethiopians, are as much the descendants of Cush as those were of the East; and we find among them many parallel circumstances, and names exactly analogous. They say that they are of Chaldean original; which I wonder that Ludolphus should at all controvert; they moreover say, that one and the principal language of their country is the antient Chaldaic; and what is very remarkable, they term it "Lessena Gheeza," the language of Gheeza (for the country of Ethiopia is called Geezha); and Ludolphus confesses, that there is a similitude between it and the antient languages of the East, but thinks it has the greatest affinity to the Arabian; and, not knowing the purport of Gheeza, he gives not the precise meaning of the word. Ludolph. *Æthiop.* p. 76. In my treatise I have endeavoured to go methodically to work, and step by step to advance to the truth. I flattered myself, that what I had done would, in some degree, prove a regulator, and, as far as it went, determine both times and places. But I fear I have so clogged my machine with extraneous, yet necessary, matter, that my best friends cannot distinguish the springs, nor understand the meaning of the movements.

Permit me to make some observations on another part of your letter. You take notice of Zoan, ~~ys~~, or Tsaan, which you suppose to have been built under the administration of Joseph, and named from some of the emigrants when he removed the Egyptians from one city to another through all the land. In answer to this, it must be considered, that it was a place

of royal residence; and it is scarce credible that a metropolis could take its name from such a circumstance; *צַחַח*, Tzaah, *ivit de loco—in locum migravit*: nor is there any reason to think it was so recent. Indeed I cannot conceive that such an event could give name to any place, it being too common and general, and what every city in Egypt had equal pretension to be named from. But, setting this aside, with submission, I think it cannot be, as you suppose it, built in the time of Joseph, not even upon your own premises. You quote Joshua, but it should be Numbers, xiii. 22. to shew that Kirjath-Arba, called afterwards Hebron, was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt: and from thence you would ascertain the building of Zoan, and make it coincide with the time of Joseph. The words of Moses are these, “And they ascended by the south, and came to Hebron, “where Ahiman, Shefhai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were.” Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt. And we are farther told in Joshua, xiv. 15. “The name of Hebron before was Kirjath-Arba;” which city you suppose from 1 Chron. ii. 42. to have received the latter name from Hebron the son of Maresnah, who was the great grandson of Caleb. This last fact I very much doubt on many accounts, there being nothing in the Scriptures to authorise the notion, but the very contrary. Indeed it is pretty certain, that the place was long before called Hebron in the time of Moses, as appears from the chapter above appealed to, Numb. xiii. 22. The son of Maresnah therefore did not give name to the city, but received his name from it. But if we were to allow that Hebron rebuilt, and gave name to it, and that the place had two founders, in which state do you think it may be said to be built seven years before Zoan? and how can it either way be made to correspond with the life of Joseph? If Hebron be the place you mean, and it was named from the person you suppose, it must have been built three centuries *after* the æra which you would bring it to; and Zoan was still later. If Kirjath Arba be the place alluded to, which undoubtedly is the truth, that city must have been built some centuries *before* Joseph; for Sarah died in Kirjath-Arba; so that it was a city before the days of Abraham, at least before his sojournment in Canaan (see Gen. xxiii. 2.); consequently long before the birth of Joseph; and Zoan was within seven years as ancient. Zoan, therefore, could never take its name from *צַחַח*, Tzaah, *ivit de loco, in locum migravit*,

vit, &c. nor be founded by those emigrants, nor be denominated from them.

I know nothing more fallacious than etymological proofs. And I have made it a rule, never to admit them singly and unsupported; on the contrary, to make etymology dependant upon history, and not to render history blindly subservient to etymology. I considered in my treatise that there was a portion of Egypt which had been occupied by shepherds; that one part of it was named Goshen; that it was the best part of the land, and particularly adapted to flocks and herds. It was called Tzoan or Tzaan; from whence I concluded, that it was derived from צֹאן, צֹאן, Tzon, Tzan, and Tzanah, which signify flocks, sheep, and cattle. As to a place in Egypt not being spelt exactly according to the Hebrew method, it amounts to nothing: the sound is the same, and the sense, meaning, and analogy, seem to authenticate my position. If it be found otherwise, erase it at once; it will not affect any thing that I am there proving, for I build not the least upon it.

One observation more. You join with me in supposing that Zoan and Memphis were not far asunder; but you go farther, and from some similitude of sound between Hanes (one of the names of Zoan) and Tahpanhes, you imagine the latter to have been Zoan. It was undoubtedly one out of many places where the kings of Egypt sometimes resided, but it could not be Zoan; Tahpanhes, Taphanes, or however it may be expressed, was the Daphnæ of the Greeks, Δαφναι Πηλουσίου of Herodotus, the Ταφνας of the Seventy; joined by the Prophet Jeremiah with Migdol, which was a sort of tower near Pelusium, but stood in Arabia upon the sea coast. Taphanes was 16 miles from Pelusium; consequently far removed from Memphis, which was 123 miles above that place, and 107 from Taphanes. See Ant. Itin.

You see, my good and learned Friend, how much I presume upon your candour, in venturing to submit to yourself these doubts and strictures upon your own performance, which abounds with much excellent learning, but, in the points which I have been canvassing, is not so satisfactory as I could wish. I am, after all, with due esteem of your parts and learning,

Dear Sir, Your most obliged humble servant,

JACOB BRYANT.

The

The two following Letters, from the pious Mr. NELSON, to his young Cousins GEORGE and GABRIEL HANGER, having been preserved with great care by Mr. BOWYER, to be printed whenever a proper opportunity should occur; they are now offered to the reader as the concluding articles of these Miscellaneous Tracts.

TO GEORGE HANGER, Esq.

DEAR COUSIN,

YOUR father having designed to send you for Turkey by the next ships bound to those parts, and intending thereby to breed you to business; that you may be enabled to advance your own fortune in the world, and to assist your brothers, when they shall be fit to receive the advantages of your kindness; I cannot forbear commending that readiness of mind you have shewn on this occasion, to comply with that scheme which your father, on mature deliberation, with the advice of your best friends, has formed for the employment of your youth. So near a relation can never want kindness to design that which is best for you; and the advantages of his good sense, and great experience, enable him to judge right in this matter. So that, being governed by the dictates of so kind and wise a father, you steer by a much surer compass, than by following the suggestions of your own thoughts, which must want due ripeness in that path of life you now tread. I look upon this first step of your conduct, to be a happy presage of your future wisdom and steadiness; and a good omen that your voyage of life will be prosperous and successful; for the miscarriage of many a youth has been owing to his own willfulness and obstinacy, refusing the advice and guidance of his best friends when he stood most in want of it.

Being therefore, Sir, determined to travel, by your father's appointment, and by your own prudent consent, I thought myself obliged to give you some advice in relation to your future conduct; and you ought to bear with me the rather in this matter, because I have had some share in the care of your education; besides, the character of a god-father entitles me to some to prescribe to you: but whether any of these reasons would have prevailed upon me, if I had not felt a particular love and kindness for you, I know not. I am sure, the liberty I am now about to take, proceeds from a sincere and hearty concern for your future welfare; and upon that ground, therefore, I hope, it will be agreeable and acceptable to you.

I. In the first place, I must beg you often to reflect upon the great end for which you were sent into the world, which was not to sport away your time in pleasure, nor only to get a fair estate; but to fit and prepare yourself for a happy eternity, in the enjoyment of God, by a constant and universal obedience to all his holy laws; in comparison with which, all the labours of life are meer trifles. My reason for giving you this hint, is, that, by having your chief business always in your view, you may be continually upon your guard; so that neither the pleasures nor business of life, nor the desires of growing rich, may ever cause you to forget that you are a stranger upon earth, and that your days are as a shadow which will soon pass away.

II. In the second place, you must endeavour that this great end be prosecuted steadily and vigorously, by all those ways and means which God has established for the working out your salvation. You must resolve upon a holy and virtuous life, if ever you pretend to attain that happiness which God has promised: all other ways of getting to heaven are fallacious, and will in the end deceive you, if ever you are so unhappy as to trust to them; for without holiness, no man shall see the Lord. Now the virtue and holiness I mean, are of a large extent, and comprehend your duty to God, your neighbour, and yourself, and is what the apostle calls living righteously, soberly, and godly in this present world. In order to this purpose, God has given us his holy word to instruct us in the particulars of our duty, which therefore you must frequently peruse with great application of mind; he has moreover encouraged our addresses to him, by
promising;

promising to hear our prayers, which we must therefore offer to him in our closets, and in the public congregations, that we may receive strength and power from above, to perform our duty. He has further instituted the holy sacrament, to be a continual memorial of the sacrifice of Christ's death, to convey to us the benefits of his sufferings: therefore, if you sincerely desire the pardon of your sins, grace and assistance to conquer them, and to make a progress in all virtue, you must frequently approach the altar, where these blessings are to be found; and indeed a man must have but very slight notions of the benefits of Christ's death, that refuses to give this easy testimony of a thankful heart. You must frequently examine your self, that you may exercise repentance where you may fall short of your duty, and that you may thank God where you have been enabled to perform it; you must accustom yourself to meditate upon such divine subjects as occur in the course of your reading, that you may stir up all the faculties of your soul to a vigorous prosecution of them. The aforementioned means of grace are not to be rested in as the substance of religion, but are to be used as necessary to beget in us true piety and virtue; and except we aim at that in the use of them, they will not be acceptable to God: a man may be a bad man and frequent them, and yet there is no being good without them when the providence of God gives us the opportunity to enjoy them.

III. In the third place, I must desire you, as much as you can, to live by rule and method; to divide the day into such proportions, that a proper time may be assigned for all your actions; that the hours of your devotion, of your business, and your diversions, may all be stated; thus time will not lie upon your hands, nor sting you with regret when past. While you are subject to the commands of others, you must be content to have your hours of business regulated by them; these you will quickly be acquainted with; and what are left to your own disposal, must be employed partly in your prayers, in reading good books, and such as are otherwise commendable, both French and Latin, that you may not lose those languages you have taken so much pains to acquire.

IV. In the fourth place, I must advise you to diligence and industry in your business, which is the best method to make it succeed. Seest thou a man, says Solomon, diligent in his business, he shall stand before princes; the

the wisdom of man, is distinguished by using proper and fit means to attain his end; therefore, as you are concerned to support that character, and desire to bring to perfection what you project, you must never be careless and negligent in those things committed to your trust and management; for this is even to offend against the duties of religion.

V. In the fifth place, since trade and commerce are pitched upon for your employments, never deviate from exact justice and uprightness in all your dealings; every particular circumstance of life has its particular temptation, and a man that sincerely designs his duty, will put his guard on that place where the greatest danger is apprehended; frequent dealings with others present to us as frequent opportunities of over-reaching them; and the more a man is trusted, the better he is able to play the knave. Now, though I think as to this world, that honesty is the best method of thriving, because it secures credit and reputation, which are the main instruments of trade and commerce; yet there are some opportunities of unrighteous gain, that require good principles of religion to keep a man right. Remember always that no repentance will make our peace with God for ill-gotten goods without restitution, which makes that necessary work difficult and irksome. That whatever varnish we are able to put upon our injustice before men, yet God sees through the whole deceit, and will one day judge us for it: and it contradicts the great rule laid down by our Saviour, of doing to others as we would they should do unto us.

VI. In the sixth place, I must not forget to enjoin you to take care to beware of covetousness, because the love of money is the root of all evil, and it is a secret poison which destroys the souls of such men who otherwise appear sober and virtuous. Besides, this is a vice particularly incident to those that get estates by their own industry, and therefore it is the more necessary to give you warning of it; be not therefore over eager in the pursuit of riches; and when they increase, set not your heart upon them. To acquire them by unjust means, is the perfection of covetousness; but this vice lurks in many other actions less notorious; as when a man pursues the world to the neglect of the duties of religion, even of prayer in his closet and family, when his mind is always anxious about the success of his projects, when the poor have no share of his gains,

when he is fordid and cannot find in his heart to enjoy moderately what he possesses, or, if he does, spends it upon his lusts, and when he makes riches his trust and confidence. Now the love of this world is enmity against God, and does as effectually debar us from heaven, as all the extravagances of lewdness and debauchery.

VII. In the seventh place, I must put you in mind of keeping good company, by which I mean chiefly men of pious and virtuous dispositions, though, with these qualifications, it may be extended to those of the best rank and quality where you reside; from whom you will be able to learn more than from those of an inferior education. And it is often seen that a young gentleman, newly come into the world, is more frequently ruined by mean and inferior company, than by conversing with his superiors, for whom having a deference, he becomes more modest and humble in his behaviour; whereas when he finds himself the top of the company, it disposes him to pride and vanity. It is difficult for those whose circumstances throw them into a great deal of company, always to avoid that which is bad; and charity may sometimes oblige men to converse with such, in order to their reformation, were there any probable hopes of making bad men better. But it is in every man's power to chuse what persons he designs for friendship and frequent conversation; a matter of that importance, that it requires time and serious deliberation before you engage. Men of no principles of religion are not to be relied upon, having no foundation to support friendship; besides, they may be apt to infect you with scepticism; and men who believe religion, and act contrary to their principles, give but a scurvy proof of their sincerity, and by their bad example may insensibly corrupt your morals. Those we love have a mighty influence over us, therefore let not a wicked man become your intimate.

VIII. In the eighth place, I must advise you to obstinate temperance in drinking, the best method to preserve health, and a virtue strictly enjoined by the Christian religion. There is no young man that converses in the world, but who is more or less exposed to this temptation; but your particular situation of Smyrna, by reason of the frequent arrival of ships, will make it difficult for you not to exceed the Christian measure, except you arm yourself with great resolution. Never think it a piece of manhood to be drunk yourself; or to make others so; for this is to distinguish yourself
by

by what is the deprivation of manhood, extinguishing at once both your sense and reason: besides, it will make you liable to many unfortunate accidents; a debauch has brought many a fever, which has ended in death, has occasioned the breaking of many a limb, which is not recovered without pain and charge; and how many have broke their necks on such occasions, and so gone out of the world without repenting of so great a crime! Sometimes it creates quarrels, which have cost the life of one or both the disputants. But if you escape these dangers that affect the body, your best part, your soul, must suffer by so plain a breach of your duty, till you reconcile yourself to God by unfeigned repentance; never reckon an excess in drinking a small fault, a *peccadiglio*, for this may prevail upon you to comply with the importunity of others; it is certainly a breach of God's laws, and you must count nothing inconsiderable that offends Him. Be free to own your weakness as to drinking, that it prejudices your health, and that you are not able to bear so much as others, and then, if the company have any good-manners, they will not press you; when you entertain friends yourself, introduce coffee and tea after dinner, and propose some diversion that drinking may be hindered; several little arts a man will call to his assistance, that designs to keep himself and the company sober. But then, if you are at any time surprised, immediately next day testify your repentance, profess your sorrow to God, and resolve on more firmness for the time to come; if your companions should make a jest of it, let them know, it is no jesting matter. And I think you would do well, if you punished yourself for so unfortunate an accident, by imposing upon yourself a day of fasting, or by abstaining from the use of wine for two or three days.

IX. In the ninth place, I must caution you against uncleanness, so frequent a failure in youth, and which, when once indulged, will corrupt the best principles, and has carried many a man to scepticism and infidelity; because, when a man cannot reconcile his constant practice to the laws of religion, he casts about how to get rid of the obligation of such laws, which bear so hard upon him, and give him so much uneasiness. Now the best rule in this case is, never to indulge the least appearance of this vice, to discourage all loose and wanton thoughts which may arise in your mind, to forbear all obscene and filthy discourse, to avoid all familiarity with the

fair sex, not to seem pleased when others attempt to divert the company by lewd jests, to be modest towards yourself, and to treat yourself with reverence and respect. For chastity consists in a due government of those appetites which God has placed in us for the propagating of mankind; which are never to be gratified, but in the state of matrimony; so that any thing that pretends to provoke these appetites out of that state, by our own voluntary consent, has a share of the guilt of the last act, and is what we must be accountable for, and therefore ought carefully to be watched against. If you ever give yourself up to this vice, you will expose your constitution to great shocks, make your body the sink of many noisome diseases, consume your estate, neglect your business, and bring contempt upon you from all sober people; it will harden you against all good advice, provoke the wrath of God, and infallibly draw upon you in the next world the miseries of a sad eternity.

X. In the tenth place, guard yourself from the bane of conversation, which is evil-speaking; this lessening the reputation of others by exposing their faults is grown so common, that, more or less, even good people split upon this rock; so that, if you have not a particular watch over yourself, you will be carried down the stream, and become involved in this common calamity. Some people never examine the truth of what they report, provided it was told them; but this is calumny and slander; and if they know what they say to be true, yet, if neither justice nor charity require the discovery, it is the vice of evil-speaking, forbid by the Christian religion: for, when there is no justifiable reason to the contrary, we ought to throw a veil over the faults of our neighbour, for this is the treatment we desire from them; we are not willing what is true of ourselves should be exposed to publick view: besides, it is contrary to that love which is due to our neighbour; which, when sincere, will dispose us to cover those defects that may tend to the impairing of his reputation. Now the more you mortify the evil passions of pride, envy, and revenge, the less you will be subject to distraction, which very often proceeds from them. An over busy meddling temper will expose you to the same temptation; but if you would entirely secure yourself, resolve never to speak evil of any one; do not suffer yourself to repeat stories to the disadvantage of others, though never so public; for though this on some occasions might be innocently done, yet by degrees it may infensibly betray you to real defamation.

XI. In the eleventh place, I must give you a great charge, not to suffer yourself to be infected with the common vice of swearing; you will find yourself tempted to this unreasonable sin, by the practice of all nations, who agree in no evil more universally than this. But remember, that an honest man's word should be esteemed so sacred, that he should have no occasion to confirm what he says by an oath; besides, the reverence of a solemn appeal to God, being diminished by common swearing, leads a man to perjury, a most confirmed piece of iniquity. It is plainly and directly forbid by the Christian religion, and the corruption of our nature suggests the fewest temptations to it of any vice whatever; which makes the practice of customary swearing more inexcusable. Avoid the company of common swearers, for conversing frequently with them will abate that horror we have at first for the rash and common use of oaths. If I mistake not, you have been preserved hitherto from this corruption; and let not the greatness or gentleness of those that practice it ever betray you to any good opinion of it. You must not imitate the best bred men by their vices, which are no part of their good breeding.

XII. In the twelfth place, remember to be courteous and affable towards all men; they who exclude civility out of the catalogue of virtues seem to me not thoroughly to understand the nature of Christianity. By this method you will preserve the good will of those you converse with, which will make them the readier to serve you upon all occasions, and by degrees give you power to do them good in matters of the greatest importance. In time it will bring you to a habit of self-denial, for this affability will often make you forego what you like best, in indifferent things, in order to please and oblige others; and it is no inconsiderable talent to be ready upon all occasions to contradict our own wills; besides, it is a part of that charity we owe to our neighbours, to whom we are obliged to do good by all the means that lie in our power; and certainly every man is delighted and pleased in being well used.

XIII. In the thirteenth place, I must particularly recommend to you the practice of charity; by which I mean doing good to the souls and bodies of men. It is true, God has set apart a particular order of men to be useful and serviceable to others in the great affair of their salvation, and there are several holy actions which are peculiar to the priests of the
Lord;

Lord; which for a layman to invade, would be sacrilege; but there are some others which are common to both: every man may instruct his children and servants in the principles of religion, and reprove others when they transgress, and upon fit occasions insinuate exhortations to piety; nay, I think it their duty so to do. But if my children or servants want baptism, I must call for a minister; if I would have them confirmed, I must carry them to a bishop, to lay his hands on them and bless them; if they would receive the holy sacrament, or absolution for any sin that troubles their consciences, I must apply to the priests that wait at the altar; if I would consecrate a child to the service of the church, I must desire a bishop to ordain him, because they only are intrusted with that power. But when you have servants, endeavour to instruct them in necessary Christian knowledge, lead them by your repeated advice as well as example in the practice of religion; comfort your friends that mourn and are afflicted with seasonable discourses of piety; and reprove prudently and gently all your companions, when you find they transgress God's laws; but never unnecessarily vex or grieve any man's mind, for thereby you hurt his soul. As to their bodies, you must, according to your abilities, relieve their wants, and supply their necessities; and, in order to this purpose, I must suggest to you what I take to be a prudent management, which is to dedicate and lay apart a proportion of your gains or your income, when it is certain, for alms-deeds; which will make the work easy and delightful, and you moreover ready to embrace any opportunity that offers for doing good, because you are before-hand provided with the means. The ways of exercising this sort of charity are as various as those wants the body labours under; as, feeding the hungry, cloathing the naked, visiting the sick, and those in prison; redeeming those in slavery and captivity, and comforting such as are under any oppression. These good works, according to your ability, the Christian religion obliges you to; you are farther provoked to them by the example of our Lord and Saviour, who went about doing good; and at the day of judgement, the particular enquiry will run upon these heads which I have mentioned, as you may see in the XXVth of St. Matthew, and the reward and punishment will then be assigned according to those rules.

XIV. In the fourteenth place, I must caution you against Gaming, hoping it will never make any considerable part of your diversion; when
once

once it is loved, it consumes a great deal of time, which is too precious to be thrown away at that rate; the night by this means is turned into day, and the day into night; when men play deep, they venture the ruining of themselves, or at least win from others what should maintain their families; which cannot be justified. This has so inverted the order of the world, that it hath brought footmen into coaches, and has made them walk on foot that before kept them. It raises all those passions which it is the business of Christians to subdue, and often creates such quarrels as end in murder. If you should sometimes divert yourself this way, avoid games of chance, for they are the most bewitching, and the least under government; and when you play at games of skill, never sit too long at them, nor venture much money, nor engage with such as are violently passionate. I wish in your diversions you would aim at health as well as pleasure, which you may reap from walking, riding, shooting, or bowling, always remembering that diversions are for refreshment, not for an employment.

XV. In the fifteenth place, I must press upon you the constant use of the means of grace; such as are prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, receiving the blessed sacrament, self-examination, meditation, observation of the Lord's day, and other feasts and fasts of the church. Some men deceive themselves, indeed, by placing all religion in these performances, and some on the other hand deceive themselves by thinking they are above them: but if you really design the end, which is piety, and virtue, and holiness in all your conversation, you must make use of those means, and that frequently, which God has prescribed for that purpose. You may as well pretend to grow rich without diligence and industry, as to be truly good without praying and receiving the sacrament, &c.

The grace of God is necessary to enable us to do every thing that is good, and to strengthen us in resisting every thing that is evil; and how can we ever hope for such necessary and powerful assistance, except we seek for it in the ways of God's appointment? I must therefore intreat you to be constant to your morning and evening devotions in your closet, to perform them with great seriousness and application of mind, remembering always that Great Majesty to whom you address; and at such times it will be very useful to read some portions of the Scriptures, especially if you consult some good paraphrase or comment upon it. Take all opportunities
that

that are consistent with your business, of attending the public prayers, which are most acceptable to God, as tending most to his glory; and always upon such occasions behave yourself with great reverence and devotion, considering, that you are after a particular manner in the presence of God; stand, sit, or kneel as the church directs in her rubricks; never talk nor gaze about in the church, as it is too common, to the great scandal of Christians; endeavour to correct this ill custom by a contrary carriage, that your example may rebuke and reprove such careless and negligent worshippers. Never turn your back upon the holy communion; when all things are prepared for the celebration of the holy mysteries, let no pretence of your own unpreparedness excuse your attendance. If you live, and I hope you will, as it becomes a Christian, you can very seldom have a just reason for your absence; draw near, therefore, to the holy table with great humility and devotion, and take the holy sacrament to your comfort. The opportunities of receiving abroad offer but rarely; which makes it very inexcusable, if ever you omit any that present themselves. Pay a particular regard to the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday; distinguish it as much by your practice, as it is by divine institution; attend the solemnities of religion in public at such times: this I look upon as of indispensable obligation, and not to be omitted but in cases of great necessity; let the rest of the day be dedicated to pious and devout employments. This seems peculiarly necessary to men of business and traffick; because, being intent all the week long upon their worldly concerns, they really stand in need of recollection and retirement for the improvement of their minds, which the circumstances of Sunday are very proper to promote. Not that I would have you superstitious in the observation of it, making that absolutely necessary which is necessary only as a means; and therefore, when you are accidentally by company prevented in your method, grow not fullen and morose; rather endeavour to season the conversation with hints of piety; and dextrously introduce such topicks of discourse as may make the conversation suitable to the day; but, if possible, let not company deprive you of those advantages you may receive from retirement at such times. You must needs think that I reckon the observation of the festivals and fasts of the church of great advantage to the Christian life, or else I should not have troubled the world with so large a book
upon

upon that subject; to which I refer you for my thoughts in that matter: desiring you to read a chapter in it, as the particular days occur throughout the whole year. As to self-examination, the oftener you perform it, the less trouble and time it will take up; so that, if you would accustom yourself to recollection every evening before you say your prayers, you would easily know the state of your mind, by running over the actions of the day past; which would discover any false step that you had made, and which required a particular repentance.

Never delay this work beyond once a week: you may choose Sunday for that purpose, as the time you are surest to command; keeping accounts fair and clear has as great efficacy in our spiritual affairs, as in our temporal and worldly concerns. When you read any book upon a religious subject, accustom yourself to reflect upon what you have read, that you may perceive whether it enlightens your understanding, or influences your will, or warms your affections; for the business of meditation is to digest that spiritual nourishment we take in by reading; without this practice, much learning and reading turns to little account. I have provided you with a collection of books, from which I am sure you may be thoroughly instructed in all necessary Christian knowledge; excited to the practice of all Christian graces and institutions; and furnished for the exercise of that devotion that is necessary for you, in private and in publick, upon most of the occurrences in life; but I must freely tell you, that these books will not work as charms; if they serve but for the ornament of your closet, they will only administer to vanity. They must be read attentively, and seriously considered, if you design that advantage I have aimed at in making the collection. There is one thing I must observe to you before I conclude this head, that, by reading Archbishop Tillotson's works with care and observation, you will not only learn true notions of religion, but also the way and manner of writing English correctly and purely; his style I take to be the best standard of the English language; therefore, if you would perfect yourself in what is so necessary for a gentleman, and a man of business, I mean writing well, observe his phrases, and the propriety with which he uses words, and the clearness with which he expresses himself on all subjects.

XVI. In the sixteenth place, I cannot conclude these particular heads without putting you in mind of being constant to the communion of the church of England. Abroad you may meet with solicitations to Popery: but the church of Rome very falsely pretends to be the catholic church; at best she can only arrive to be a very corrupt part of it. At home you may be tempted to countenance the separation, but you cannot communicate with the Dissenters without incurring the guilt of schism. The Church of England not only believes the Scriptures to be the rule of faith, but professes her faith in all those ancient forms of words, called Creeds, which the primitive church made use of; to which the church of Rome has made great additions, and requires her novelties to be believed, as necessary articles of faith; though the scriptures and primitive antiquity are silent concerning them, and in some points expressly against them. Their errors in doctrine are aggravated by considerable corruptions in her public offices; which are not only in an unknown tongue, and consequently no way edifying to the people; but are in some parts addressed to Saints and Angels, contrary to Scripture and the practice of the primitive church; and yet farther she has established an absolute monarchy in the church, by cloathing the bishop of Rome, commonly called the Pope, with such prerogatives as are inconsistent with the rights of other bishops, which are established by divine right. The Church of England, moreover, preserves the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, in a due subordination, as instituted by our Saviour and his apostles; whereby she is secured of a right and truly canonical ministry, and consequently her people furnished with valid sacraments. Now, the Dissenters have rejected this divine subordination of church officers; and by throwing off episcopacy, as their ministers have no lawful commission, so their people cannot be assured of the validity of ordinances administered by such teachers. So that you see, in one communion, errors in faith corrupt the doctrine of the Church; and, in the other communion, errors in polity and government destroy the unity of it, both which endanger salvation; and therefore I recommend to you the Church of England with greater earnestness, because free from both these fatal inconveniences. There is another thing wherein the Church of England has gloried, as her particular characteristick; that she teaches sincere obedience and uncorrupted loyalty to princes; that we ought to pay them that
obedience

obedience our constitution requires; and upon no pretence whatever to resist them by taking up arms against them, which is what is called rebellion. This her Homilies teach, which contain good and wholesome doctrine; and this the laws of the land bind firmly upon us; for they place the power of the sword in the king, and no man can draw it but by commission from him (see the militia act of Charles II.) And if subjects have never so good reasons to take up arms against the crown, if for want of success they ever come to a fair trial, according to the Laws, they must be found guilty of high treason, their own friends being upon their jury. The Laws are so plain in this case, that they have afforded no manner of remedy to the subject in those extraordinary cases that are urged. So that non-resistance and passive obedience is the doctrine of the Church and State. I am sure the primitive Christians professed it, even when they felt the bad effects of it, in this world, by suffering wrongfully, contrary to the laws of the state, and even to the rights of human nature. The Papists and Presbyterians have been both tardy in this point; and I wish the practice of some in the Church of England had been more blameless; but, as long as her Homilies and her Laws continue unaltered, it cannot be said that either Church or State avows such doctrines. But these differences between the Church of England, Roman Catholics, and Dissenters, and the other subjects I have hinted to you in this letter, are largely explained in those books I have recommended to your perusal, and therefore I shall add no more concerning them.

I must only put you in mind, that by conversing with those that are strangers to the name of Christ, you are under a more particular obligation of living according to the maxims and rules of the Gospel; for otherwise you will bring a scandal upon the Christian religion, and expose the doctrine, as well as the person, of the blessed Jesus, to the scorn and contempt of Mahometans and Heathens; and woe be to that man by whom offences come!

As to the particular rules that relate to travelling, you will have no occasion for them at present; because you are to go by sea to Smyrna, where you are like to reside for some time. It is very probable, your return may be through Italy and France, or at least I wish you may take those countries in your way home, and by that time your own good understanding

will be so ripened by experience, that you will be sufficiently able to guide and direct yourself; I will, however, suggest to you a few thoughts on that matter before I conclude.

I. First, never set yourself to find fault with the different customs of other countries. This certainly proves you to be a novice, and is the surest method to disoblige the natives, whose friendship and kindness you stand in need of. It is your business indeed, among other things, to observe their customs, that you may compare them with your own, in order to consider, on which side the advantage lies; but, if you have reason to prefer your own, never treat theirs with scorn and contempt, for this reflects upon those that use them, and will certainly provoke their indignation against you; it will make them despise you, shun your company, and deprive you of the advantages you might receive from their conversation. And, notwithstanding the unreasonableness of this practice, nothing more common among young travellers, and therefore fit to be hinted at.

II. Secondly, I must carry you a step farther, which is, to conform yourself as much as you can to the customs of those with whom you reside. All mankind are fond of their own ways and methods of living; and as they think themselves wiser than others, so consequently they determine their own customs to be best: now, your giving into their ways and manners flatters their self-love, and will incline them to be desirous to oblige you; besides, they will have a better opinion of your understanding, when you approve what they have established. This will raise your character; and according as they value and esteem you, so in proportion you will receive the testimonies of their kindness and respect: besides, I cannot tell but that in this method you may best preserve your health, for different climates require different managements; and it is to be supposed, that the long experience of the natives must have found out that regimen which best secures health. I am very sure, gentlemen have destroyed themselves by eating flesh and drinking wine with the same freedom in hot countries as they have been accustomed to in their own colder climes; and therefore could not forbear giving you this direction.

III. Thirdly, endeavour to be acquainted with men of the best character, in all the countries through which you pass. By which I chiefly mean, men distinguished for learning, wisdom, and virtue; from whose conversation

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tion your mind will receive the greatest improvement, and from whom you will learn what is fittest to be seen, and what is most proper in that place, to entertain the curiosity of a stranger. Besides, their acquaintance will procure you respect from others; for, being observed to frequent such men, it will be imagined that you have some of those good qualities yourself which you admire in others. But this advice does not only refer to wise and learned men, but also to those of the best rank and quality, who in all countries are most polished in their manners and behaviour; so that you will never be able to make a true judgement of any country, if you do not know how people of quality live, as well as those of the middle and inferior rank. Strangers generally employ themselves more in seeing sights and rarities, than in knowing men; but as the first should not be neglected, so in travelling the greatest stress should be laid upon the latter; which the want of knowing the language of the place often prevents; and therefore a traveller should make it his business to be perfect in the language of the place, without which, it is impossible he can make any great improvements.

But, be sure, while you are intent upon acquiring ornaments of good breeding; never forget nor forfeit those qualifications that constitute the good Christian. First, take care to be a good man, and then you cannot be too fine a gentleman; when you have secured the pearl of great price, you will do very well to set it to the best advantage. And because I am sensible of the great weakness of human nature, and of the strength of those temptations you may meet with, to the advice I have given you, I shall add my hearty prayers to God:

That his grace may constantly accompany you, that by his holy inspiration you may think those things that are good, and that by his merciful guiding you may perform the same; that your life may be long and happy; that prosperity may never corrupt you, and that affliction may always make you better; and that all your ways may be disposed towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, you may ever be defended by God's most gracious and ready help, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to which well-weighed petitions of the Church a most hearty Amen is affixed by,

Dear Cousin, your most faithful friend, and humble servant,

27th July, 1708.

ROBERT NELSON.

To

TO MR. GABRIEL HANGER.

DEAR COUSIN,

THE best method I can contrive of shewing my concern for you at present, is to furnish you with a copy of that letter which I wrote to your eldest brother upon his leaving England, because it contains some rules which may be of use to you in the conduct of a Christian life: your case and his are so far alike, that you both leave your own country, and are, by the designation of your best friend, your father, settled in a way of merchandize, whereby, with God's blessing upon your own industry, you may both very probably raise a considerable fortune, prove useful members of the commonwealth, and make others happy in sharing in your plenty and abundance. From this similitude of circumstances will arise an agreement in those temptations which it is likely may attack you both, and therefore what I thought proper to say to him you may very well apply to yourself; and thus far I may answer, that, if you take care to practise what is there suggested, you will not fail of recommending yourself to all those in whose power it is to advance your interest; but, what is more considerable, you will thereby secure the favour of Almighty God, whose blessing is necessary to succeed all your undertakings, and who alone can bestow upon you a happiness that is lasting and durable, which he has reserved in heaven for all those who truly love and fear him. You must needs be sensible what care and expence your father has been at in your education, to fit you for the employment you engage in; you know very well what charge he has bestowed to equip you for this voyage; and how ready he has been to gratify you in every thing you could either ask or desire of him, in order to your pleasure and profit. Now, all this adds fresh obligations to your duty; and what returns can you make for so much kindness, which will please him better than your steady sobriety and your constant application to your business? These are such injunctions as are necessary to your own welfare, and yet he will esteem them a full compensation for that paternal affection which he has shewed towards you. And how much more pleasant
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and commendable is it to be the joy of your parents by your prudent and Christian behaviour, than to increase those cares you have already necessarily given them? for you cannot indulge any extravagant and disorderly course without oppressing their minds with sorrow and grief, in a time of life when they are least able to bear it.

This argument of pleasing your best friends should have a great influence upon an ingenuous mind; and I am willing to think you have a great sense of gratitude; and that, by considering what has been done for you, may excite a great ardor and fervency in your mind, to answer the expectations of those to whom you are so dear.

But, Sir, I must tell you one thing more, that, by governing yourself according to the scheme of the foregoing letter, you not truly consult your own interest, which influences every man that is not corrupted by present pleasure to forfeit a future good. So that, if any regard to your happiness, as well as that of your parents, can prevail upon you, we shall certainly hear that you are upright and diligent in your business, sober and temperate in your enjoyments, and pious and religious in your whole conversation.

I am very glad you have been confirmed, whereby your Christianity is become your own deliberate choice; the care of your godfathers and godmother is discharged; and you have, before God and man, engaged to perform your part of the baptismal covenant.

In order to discharge this more effectually; you have been admitted to the holy table, where God dispenses larger measures of his grace to those who approach with sincere intentions of doing their duty; and therefore, I hope, now you have been initiated into the Christian mysteries, you will never neglect such opportunities which Providence may supply you with for the celebration of them.

I have nothing more to add, but my hearty prayers to God, that he would be pleased to prosper your voyage, and bring you in safety to your desired port, since in all your ways you acknowledge him; that he would direct your paths, and teach you to guide your affairs with discretion; that he would never leave you nor forsake you, but conduct you safely by his counsel through all the businesses and enjoyments, through all the temptations

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

tions and troubles, of this life, to that blessed place where our Lord Jesus liveth and reigneth for evermore.

I am, with great sincerity, Dear Cousin,

Your very faithful humble servant,

The Epiphany, 1713.

ROBERT NELSON.

Remember to be that in health, which you will wish to have been when you come to die.

FINIS.

